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CHRONOLOGICAL RETROSPECT

OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

OF

Mahommedan History,

&c.

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CHAP. I.

THAT there existed in the genius of Mahommedism something calculated to inspire the most powerful energies and exertions, has been too widely and fearfully exemplified in the unparalleled success of its votaries, to be made a question of. But without conceding too far to the opinions of some very distinguished modern authorities on the subject, there are, in the experience of succeeding ages, sufficient grounds for the belief, that its early and rapid advancement is to be ascribed, in an equal degree, to the degenerate spirit of its opposers, and to the already corrupted state of christianity in the sixth and seventh centuries. If indeed the gospel of peace and benevolence, delivered in spotless purity by a mild Redeemer, for the welfare and happiness of mankind, had even at that period, through human folly and depravity, suffered a deplorable perversion; if the minds of men were become already unhinged and embittered by acrimonious controversies, by impious, unavailing, and contradictory attempts to analyze those mysterious properties of the Divine nature, so far beyond the scope of the human faculties to comprehend; if the sole object of pure and rational devotion had been in a manner lost sight of, through the degrading substitution of image worship; "through the cloud

"of martyrs, saints and angels, interposed before the throne of Omnipotence;" it is almost impossible to avoid the inference, that, in the state of ignorance, which then generally pervaded the mass of society, the world was sufficiently predisposed to embrace any change or innovation that might be recommended for its adoption, under the influence of superior talents, and a plausible exterior of sanctity. The surprise will therefore cease, that with endowments of no ordinary stamp, and with the united aid of fraud and violence, the self-commissioned and aspiring legislator of the Arabs should have succeeded in ingrafting on the minds of his uninformed, but ardent, countrymen, together with the sublime and eternal truth, that there is only one God, an acquiescence at least, if not a belief, in the unconnected rhapsodies of the Korân; and in the fiction, necessary perhaps to the establishment of his doctrines, and not less to the views of ambition, that he was the Apostle of God.

It would be foreign to the design of these pages to delineate the numerous artifices, devised by the Arabian prophet, to acquire that unbounded ascendancy, which he is known to have established over the minds of his followers; to lay the foundation of that tremendous system of enthusiasm, which triumphed for a time over the sacred banners of the cross; which scared the Roman eagle from the towers of the city of Constantine; and which, had it not been seasonably arrested on the banks of the Loire, just one hundred years after the death of its author, by that providence which directed the battle axe of Charles Martel, would, to borrow for once the glowing language of the eloquent Gibbon, peradventure long since have reared the emerald standard of the race of Fatima on the pinnacles of Saint Paul's cathedral.*

A. Hidjeræ VIII. A. D. 629. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Yet in tracing the early causes which unhappily tended to educe the ferocious enthusiasts, whose history we propose to attempt, beyond the sands of the desert, it may be nevertheless, necessary to recur to the eighth year of Mahommed's exile from his native city of Mekkah, corresponding to the six hundred and twenty-ninth of the christian æra; when that formidable adventurer was provoked into hostilities with the troops of Heraclius, the emperor of the east: hostilities, which are alleged to have been produced by an act of unwarrantable violence, committed on the

* The reader may refer on this subject with advantage to Gibbon's decline and fall of the Roman empire, and to Sale's preliminary discourse.

person of Hâreth, the son of Amrû, of the tribe of Ezd, one of his emissaries, employed to convey a letter to the governor of Bosra, a well known town in the Syrian territory, south of Damascus. This man being intercepted on his arrival at Mûtah, an obscure place in the district of Belka, in the same territory, and avowing the object of his journey, was put to death by order of Sherheil, the chief of the Arabian and Christian tribe of Ghassan, at this period presiding over Damascus, on the part of Heraclius, by whom the province had been recently recovered from the Persians. A.H. IX. A.D. 629. Rouzût assuffâ.

This circumstance, though probably in itself no more than the well merited punishment of an incendiary, the harbinger of sedition and revolt, has, by the oriental historians, been recorded as the only solitary instance in which any of the prophet's messengers was known to have suffered death; and it was accordingly sufficient to excite in Mahommed, then at Medeinah, the asylum of his exile, the most violent indignation; and he hastened to demand of his followers, without delay, their concurrence to avenge the insult. A detachment of three thousand men, under the immediate command of his servant Zeid, the son of Hâreth, with reversion in case of death to his cousin Jauffer, the brother of Ally, and another of his captains, Abdullah Rouâhah, was, without much difficulty, assembled for the service; and as it was the first in which they were employed beyond the Arabian territory, he is said, in the farewel address to his troops, ascribed to him on this occasion, to have enjoined them in their exertions, in what he was pleased to denominate, the cause of the most high, and in avenging the injury which he had sustained from their enemies, the people of Syria, to forbear molesting the harmless votaries of domestic seclusion; to spare the weaker sex, the infant at the breast, and the aged already hastening from this scene of mortality; to abstain from demolishing the dwellings of the unresisting inhabitants, and from the mutilation and destruction of any species of fruit tree, particularly of the palm, so necessary to the sustenance of men and animals residing under the influence of a burning sun.

On intelligence of the approach of these fierce and exasperated invaders, one of the brothers of Sherheil, at the head of fifty men, was employed to observe their motions and discover their force. But this small detachment, unexpectedly falling in with the enemy, and its commander being

A.H. VIII. A.D. 629. killed, Sherheil was seized with a panic; and retiring within cover of his castles, dispatched to solicit speedy and powerful aid from his sovereign, who resided at this period in the adjoining territory of Belka. Heraclius aware of the advantages of early support, did not delay to furnish the reinforcements required by his general, who found himself in a short time prodigiously superior to the Mosslems; if excess of numbers could in any way be accounted superior to an enemy, in whose heart the fear of death had been in a great measure obliterated, by the prospective glories and rewards of martyrdom.

Rouzut ussufâ.

In the neighbourhood of the village of Mûtah, as if their footsteps had been conducted by destiny, to signalize their vengeance on the very spot on which the insult had been offered to the dignity of their prophet, this band of zealots, found themselves in the presence of the enemy; at first sight they appear to have been considerably staggered at the tremendous odds, against which they were proceeding to contend, it being suggested by the more considerate among them, that it would be prudent to wait for aid, or further orders from Medeinah. The enthusiasm of Abdullah Rouâhah succeeded, however, in dispelling their fears, and in reconciling their minds to the alternative of victory or immolation. An action immediately ensued, in which Zeid, the general of the Mosslems, boldly advancing the standard of Mahommed, was among the first that fell. He was succeeded in the post of danger and command by Jauffer, the son of Abûtâleb, the prophet's cousin, and the brother of his favorite son in law and earliest proselyte. This brave chief, having lost both his arms successively, and continuing nevertheless to embrace the sacred standard to his bosom, also fell covered with wounds. Abdullah Rouâhah then assumed the command, and soon afterwards obtained what he eagerly sought for, a glorious death in what he conceived to be the cause of truth and justice.

The united voice of his associates in danger, now called upon Khâled, the son of Ul Wâlid, though yet a youth,* and in the first year of his conversion, to conduct their efforts. Confusion, had however, by this time, so

* Shortly after this period, when the troops of Mahommed were proceeding to the reduction of Mekkah, and defiling before Abû Soffeyan, the latter expressed his surprise that the advanced guard, consisting of a thousand men, should be entrusted to such a stripling, as Khaled then appeared to be; and yet Khaled was long since considered a brave and experienced officer, and must have been much older than is here intimated.

widely pervaded the ranks of the Mosslems, that, in spite of the remonstrances and the example of their intrepid leader, they would most probably have been entirely destroyed, but for the seasonable intervention of night: nevertheless, the ensuing morning, when the action was renewed, Khâled, by a skilful change of disposition which hé had executed during the night, contrived to impose upon his adversaries the belief that he had been reinforced. From which they derived so great a panic, that they shamefully abandoned the field of battle, to an almost incredible disparity of number; it being asserted that there were on this occasion, no less than one hundred thousand of the Syrian and Roman troops opposed to three thousand only of these bold and energetic enthusiasts.

A. H. VIII. A. D. 629. Rouzut ussuffâ.

On this occasion, we aré seriously told by the Mahommedan writers, that providence interposed to annihilate the distance between Mûtah and Medeinah, in order to bring the occurrences of the field of battle under the immediate view of the prophet. In other words, on a curtain or sheet, which he caused to be extended before him, Mahommed pretended to observe the progress of the action, the casualties of which, he recited, in the order in which they occurred, to his companions, on the spot, three days before any intelligence of the victory was supposed to have reached Medeinah. The exertions of Khâled were considered so far to surpass the ordinary energies of human prowess, that he received from the prophet the appellation of Seyf Ullah, or sword of God, which he ever afterwards retained. And to console the afflicted relatives of his kinsman Jauffer, he represented that, in paradise, in exchange for the arms which he had lost, he had been furnished with a pair of wings, resplendent with the blushing glories of the ruby, and with which he was become the inseparable companion of the archangel Gabriel, in his volitations through the regions of eternal bliss. Hence, in the catalogue of the martyrs, he *has* been denominated Jauffer teyaur, the winged Jauffer. But it would be endless to enumerate the fictions imposed by this extraordinary man on the credulity of his followers.

Possessed of a victory, which, the most desperate valour could alone have given him any pretensions to expect, Khâled had the prudence to remain satisfied with the glory of chasing from the field of battle, an enemy so far superior, without hazarding the precarious contingencies of a distant pursuit. He appears, accordingly, to have conducted his victorious

A. H. VIII. A. D. 629. detachment immediately back to Medeinah; taking, however, an opportunity, on his return, to chastize the garrison of one of the castles or fortified posts on the confines of Syria, by whom, during its march towards Mûtah, a soldier of the detachment had been put to death.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

Having, with little opposition, effected the conquest of Mekkah, during the month of Ramzaun, of the eighth year of the Hidjera, and escaped the most imminent personal danger in the subsequent battle of Honeyne, in which, at the head of his advanced guard, Khâled had suffered himself to be completely surprised, the views of Mahommed, on his return in triumph to Medeinah, at the close of the year, became, as may be imagined, with his power and reputation thus augmented, considerably enlarged; and in the pride and exultation of recent success, his mind may have been the more easily wrought upon, to set on foot a second expedition against the territories of the Greek emperor. To such an enterprize he is however said to have been further stimulated by a variety of reasons; among others, the Karvauns or Caravans, from Syria, trading with the Arabs, had circulated reports that Heraclius or Herkul, which is the name he bears with the Asiatics, was assembling a force, for the purpose of attacking him in his sacred retreat at Medeinah, invited by the letters of the Arabian christians, wherein they represented the feeble state to which, in consequence of a severe scarcity, the self inspired prophet and his associates were reduced, and the facility with which, at such a crisis, his power might be destroyed. On the other hand, this second enterprize has been ascribed to the crafty insinuations of the Jews, who urged him to the conquest of Syria, as an argument of the truth of his divine mission, which could not be more powerfully evinced than by its manifestation in the peculiar land of prophecy, and the destined scene, on which were to be displayed the aweful terrors of final judgment.

A. H. VIII. 10th to 30th of Ramzân. A. D. 630. January.

The historian is, however, disposed to think, that some more powerful motive than the latter must have prevailed upon the prophet, to undertake an enterprize of such magnitude, contrary to the inclinations of the majority of his followers; and in spite of the violent repugnance which they expressed to engage in such an adventure, before they had secured their harvest, and the fruits of their vine and date plantations, in such a season of scarcity, and with the obvious hazard of perishing among the sands of the desert through want of water. It is at the same time a

mere conjecture, that he might have conceived the design of alleviating the horrors of famine, in the fertile region of Damascus, and of anticipating the attack of Heraclius, to whom rumour had already joined several of the christian tribes of Arabia. A.H. VIII. A. D. 630. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Be this however as it may, the prophet was not to be dissuaded from his resolution by any consideration, and he accordingly summoned his associates to aid him in the equipment of the expedition, and in the relief of those distresses under which the poorer orders of their fellow citizens were then suffering; the meek and unassuming Abû Bukker set the example of liberality, by consigning the whole of his property to support the expedition. Omar contributed the moiety of his possessions, and Othman gave three hundred camels completely equipped, together with a thousand pieces of gold. Others subscribed in proportion, and not a few of the women made a sacrifice of their jewels, to bear a part in the charge. By these means, an army amounting, on the lowest computation, to thirty thousand men, collected from among the proselytes of Arabia, was assembled with sufficient speed in sight of Medeinah, of whom ten thousand served on horseback, with an equipment of twelve thousand camels for the purposes of war and the conveyance of baggage. Of this force, the immediate command, together with the principal standard, was entrusted to Abû Bukker; Ally having been reluctantly compelled to remain in charge of Medeinah. Khâled, as on several former occasions, was placed at the head of the advanced guard; and Telhah, the son of Abdullah, and Abdurraihman, the son of Ouff, and brother of Othman, conducted the right and left wings respectively.

Thus formidably accompanied, the Arabian prophet marched from Medeinah towards the Syrian territory; but on the very first stage he was destined to experience the most mortifying defection among his followers: his friends, the Jews, being the foremost to set the example. Abdullah, the son of Abi Saloul, deriding the folly and presumption of a man, who could so lightly engage in a contest with the unknown and incalculable multitudes of the yellow race, did not scruple to foretel that both he and the infatuated associates of his rashness would be made prisoners, and distributed as slaves to the remotest parts of the earth. The succeeding stages furnished Mahommed with a renewal of the same mortifying reports; his followers abandoned him in whole divisions, though he affected to

A. H. IX. A. D. 630. Rouzut ussuffâ.

make light of the matter with the observation, that if there had been but a particle of virtue in the composition of the wretched deserters, their destiny would unquestionably have led them to share his fortunes.

However, these comparatively trivial disappointments were obliterated by the fiercer distresses of hunger and thirst, which he was soon after compelled to endure in the horrors of the desert, from which, it would seem, the patronage of the angel Gabriel did not extend to relieve him. Such indeed were the extremities to which his army were reduced in their march on this occasion, that they fed on the most putrid and loathsome substances, and killed their camels* in order to derive from the precarious moisture retained in the stomach of that useful animal, the means of preserving life. But the purposes for which Mahommed and his fierce associates had been raised into notice, were not yet accomplished. After enduring every species of distress and hardship incident to the journey of such a multitude through the desert, in the parching heats of summer, and in a season of uncommon drought, they contrived at last to reach the station of Tabouk, described to have been either a small town, or castle, or well, it is not determined which, on the confines of Syria, and from which, as it there terminated, this bootless expedition was destined to find its name.

It is scarcely possible to conceive that Mahommed, either from his own experience, or from the information of others, could have been ignorant of the difficulties with which he must have been assailed in this march, which carried him only a few days journey from Medeinah. The dangers of the desert, and the nature of them must have been perfectly familiar to the Arabs of Medeinah, whose intercourse with Damascus and the other towns of Syria, appears to have been by no means unfrequent or unusual; it is therefore not easy to conjecture by what motives he could have been actuated to engage his people in such a march, and at such a season, in contradiction to their earnest solicitations, and to every maxim of prudence, unless it was in punishment of his own and the sins of his followers. With the protection of his guardian angel, his usual sagacity indeed seems also to have abandoned him on this occasion.

* It is however not in general conceived that an Arab would die of hunger when he could procure camel's flesh.

At any rate, his sufferings during this ill-advised and ill-concerted excursion, appear for the present to have extinguished his ardor for military glory. During an interval of two months, in which he found it necessary to remain at this place, to recruit and recover the exhausted strength and spirit of his army, he at last discovered, that the rumors of the emperor's hostile views, which had brought him from Medeinah, were groundless. He therefore condescended to summon a council of war to advise upon his further proceedings. Before his assembled chiefs, who met him on the occasion, he acknowledged, in reply to a question from Omar, that in the present undertaking, he was not acting under the influence of his divine legation; that if he were, he should not have troubled them for their advice. Upon this, Omar began to expatiate upon the formidable strength and resources of the Roman empire in the east, intimating, what appeared with him a consideration of some importance, that among the myriads which would be embattled to oppose him, *there was not yet one convert to the truth;* and he finally advised, that all further prosecution of the enterprize should be suspended until the ensuing year, when the terrors of his name would have time to operate upon the minds of the enemy; that his approach thus far, was sufficient to lay in their hearts the seeds of alarm, and that he should for the present be satisfied with this reflection. Omar, therefore, no longer hesitated to propose an immediate return to Medeinah: a proposal which, as it concurred with his own opinion, and was probably the result of previous concert between them, he carried into immediate execution.

A. H. IX. A. D. 630. Rouzut ussuffâ.

That he might not however appear to return without having derived some species of advantage from the expedition, he thought fit, while he still remained in his camp at Tabouk, to employ Khâled with a troop of four hundred and twenty horse, in an attempt to surprise the fortress of Doumut-ul jundul. To the inadequacy of this detachment, adventurous as he was, Khaled at first objected, but he was ultimately satisfied by the prophets prediction of the very means by which the chief would be thrown into his hands. Accordingly, while the chief of Doumut-ul jundul was engaged, without suspicion of danger, in chace of a wild ox, and by his eagerness in the pursuit of which, he had been drawn from the gates of his

A. H. IX. A. D. 631.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

castle, he fell, as Mahommed is said to have predicted, into the hands of Khaled's troops. The latter was, at the same time, authorized to release and continue to him the possession of his fort, for a ransom which consisted of two thousand camels, eight hundred horses, four hundred spears, and four hundred coats of mail.

To *this* expedition, it may be curious to add, the historians of Mahommedanism have ascribed one important result, which we cannot properly be here withheld from relating. "When Heraclius," they state, "was "apprized of Mahommed's arrival at Tabouk, he employed a person of the "Arabian tribe of Ghassan to explore the camp of the invaders, and to "bring him as circumstantial an account as possible, of the appearance "and demeanor of this new prophet. The emissary, thus employed, gave "to Heraclius, on his return, so convincing a report on these particulars, "that he immediately convened his ministers and principal nobility, and "proposed to them to abandon the faith of their ancestors, in exchange "for the doctrines of the Korân. But the Rûmian council receiving this "proposal with an indignation which menaced the subversion of his throne, "the emperor desisted from his design, although in private he embraced "Isslaum, and thus ensured his eternal happiness." An assertion, which stands on grounds so very questionable, that, without some motive more powerful than is here perceiveable to ordinary understandings, and without assigning to the subject of it a greater share of credulity and flexibility of principle than commonly falls to the lot of human weakness, it will be impossible to afford it the slightest credit.

Such in substance, at all events, appears to have been the termination of the last military adventure in which Mahommed is represented to have borne a personal share; for having regained Medeinah in safety from this perilous expedition, he there continued during the greater part of the year ten, (for that reason denominated the year of arrivals) providing for the reception of those multitudes, which from all parts now thronged to embrace his doctrines; while his son in law and kinsman Ally skirted the borders of Arabian Irâk, and traversed Yemen, to prosecute the work of conversion by the more convincing argument of the sword. During part of this service it was thought expedient to place Khâled under the orders of Ally; when his untractable spirit unfolded itself in such early and determined

disobedience, that he drew upon himself the severe displeasure of his illustrious commander. For this he attempted to retaliate, by transmitting to the prophet, against Ally, a charge of undue appropriation of the spoil; particularly in the instance of a female captive, whom he had selected to console himself in his absence from the divine Fatima. The result of this accusation, however, was to establish more decidedly the authority of Ally; the prophet expressly declaring him in all respects entitled to the same privileges with himself; as of all the community of believers, he pronounced him to be the best; cautioning the bearer of the accusation, as he hoped to avert the wrath of heaven, to banish those sentiments of animosity, which he seemed disposed to entertain towards this distinguished favorite.

A. H. X. A. D. 631. Rouzut ussuffa.

The remaining incidents of the life of Mahommed which it may be necessary to select, will be comprised in a few sentences. On the twenty-fifth day of the month of Zikaudah, accompanied by a train of proselytes, from all parts of Arabia, to the number of one hundred and fourteen thousand persons, he quitted Medeinah to give to his followers his last lessons in the ceremonies of the visitation to Mekkah; the particulars of which, as they may prove interesting to some readers, though to others immaterial, shall be transferred to a note at the conclusion.*

A. H. X. 25th Zik. A. D. 632. 21st February.

On his return from Mekkah on this occasion, the prophet's demeanor with respect to Ally, (by whom he had been previously joined during his performance of the sacred ceremonies) gave indications sufficiently strong of the person whom he designed to succeed him, at least in the reverence and esteem of his disciples; if not in all the honors of temporal power. At the conclusion of one of the stages of his journey, and under the shadow of a grove of trees, at Azzir Khum, having caused a sort of tribunal to be formed with the furniture of his camels, and summoned the observant multitude to attend him, he ascended this, with Ally on his right hand; and addressing the assembly, he first demanded, if they considered any thing more valuable than life? They told him, in reply, that with them God and his prophet were dearer than life, or any other consideration. He proceeded to say then, that to all to whom he was truly dear, Ally, the son

* Vide note A at the end of this volume.

A. H. X. A. D. 632.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

of Abitauleb, must be equally so. He then stretched his hand to place Ally higher up on the tribunal, in doing which, the latter set his foot on the prophet's knee. Resuming his address, the prophet now said, that as many in this great assembly as acknowledged himself for sovereign lord, would not fail to offer the same acknowledgements to Ally. He now addressed himself solemnly to Heaven, calling upon God to befriend that man who was the friend of Ally, and to be the eternal enemy of those who were hostile to his cause. After this he returned to his tent, directing Ally to repair to his own, whither the whole assembly were enjoined to meet and offer him their congratulations on this public and solemn designation of his appointment to succeed. Among those who presented themselves to Ally on this occasion, the name of Omar is particularly distinguished, as having been foremost to salute him on the happy event of that day, on which he had been thus elevated to a pre-eminence over himself and all the faithful.

If this statement be founded in truth, and it is not to be forgotten that the prophet had recently announced his speedy departure from among men, a more clear and explicit declaration of his will on this important point, could not in reason have been required. And yet in the short space of a few weeks, it will be seen, that the recollection was either lost or despised; a circumstance not easily reconcileable with their persuasion of the accuracy of his judgment, or with their respect for his private worth and virtues; much less with the sincerity of their belief in the sacred character, which this strange and extraordinary man had dared to usurp, of being the messenger of Omnipotence to restore the purity of its worship upon earth.

About the close of the month of Zilhudje* of the same year, and not long after his return to Medeinah from this farewel visit to the sacred city, Mahommed was attacked by a fit of illness, of so short a duration however, as not to have excited any particular alarm; although the circulation of the report throughout Arabia, became the signal to a variety of minor impostors to broach their impious pretensions. It was not until Wednesday, the 28th of Suffer, the second month of the eleventh of the Hidjry,† that he is stated to have become seriously indisposed; being on that day

* A. D. 632, March. † 24th May, 632.

visited by a severe attack of the ague, accompanied with violent head ache. A. H. XI. A. D. 632.
On the 29th his illness continued without abatement, although he exerted himself, notwithstanding, to deliver to Assaumah, the son of Zeid, the standard which he committed to him, as general of the expedition already prepared to march the third time into Syria. His selection of this person, though more particularly interested to avenge the death of his father, (who fell with other chiefs in the battle of Mûtah) excited considerable dissatisfaction, when it was found, that Abû Bukker, Omar and Othman, were each of them directed to place themselves under his orders. It became therefore a subject of complaint among some of his principal adherents, that such exalted personages should be compelled to serve under the authority of a slave. These murmurs, with other expressions of discontent were conveyed to the ears of the prophet, and drew from him, from the pulpit, the most public reproof; in which he informed them, that as they had thought proper to acquiesce in the selection of the father, to command on the former expedition, he expected from them a similar acquiescence in the appointment of the son; whose merits he could assure them to be in no respect inferior to those of the father; which they did not appear to dispute. Rouzut ussuffâ.

This latter circumstance is recorded to have taken place on the tenth of the first month of Rabbeia. On the eleventh, Assaumah attended to take leave of his master, whom he found unable to speak, but so far sensible as to raise his hands to call a blessing upon him. And on Monday the twelfth,* in the morning, when he again attended for a last interview with his benefactor, he found him asleep. On his return to the incampment near Medeinah, and whilst he was mounting his horse, to put himself at the head of the troops, who were already in motion to advance towards Syria, Assaumah received a message from his mother, announcing, that the prophet was in the agonies of death.

In tracing the circumstances of Mahommed's illness, we look in vain for any proofs of that meek and heroic firmness which might be expected to dignify, and embellish, the last moments of the apostle of God. On some occasions he betrayed such want of fortitude, such marks of childish impatience, as are in general to be found in men only of the most ordinary stamp, and such as extorted from his wife Ayaishah in particular, the sarcastic remark, that in herself or any of his family, a similar demeanor would long since have incurred his severe displeasure. This was at any rate no great

* A. D. 632, 6th of June.

A.H.XI. A. D. 632.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

argument of tenderness on her part, as the observation was made when she beheld him writhing with agony from side to side on the bed of death. The reply which is ascribed to him on this occasion, bespoke either the most determined hypocrisy, or a very extraordinary degree of enthusiasm, if he *really* conceived himself at the point of dissolution. He said, that the acuteness and violence of his sufferings were necessarily, in the proportion of those honors, with which it had ever pleased the hand of Omnipotence to distinguish its peculiar favorites.

The violent hot and cold fits, accompanied with head ache, under which he alternately suffered, seem to indicate pretty clearly, that his disorder was of the nature of a bilious fever. The idea which prevailed among the people however, was, that he lay ill of a pleurisy. This notion, when conveyed to his knowledge by the mother of Beshir, the son of Berrâi, he seemed to disclaim with considerable indignation; conceiving it inconsistent with the goodnes of the divine being, to subject his messenger to the attacks of a disorder, which so strongly partook of the malignant influence of the spirit of mischief. He declared, on the contrary, that the complaint under which he suffered, was to be solely ascribed to the effect of that treacherous repast, of which, together with her son, he had partaken four years since at Kheybar. What affinity a pleuretic fever could more particularly bear to the author of evil, it is, at the same time not very easy to explain; in the epilepsy, some affinity of the kind may, nevertheless, be supposed to exist.

That in the bosom of his family he continued to be haunted with suspicions of foul play, the following circumstance, which we may here venture to relate, affords no trifling presumption. Having sunk into a state of insensibility, during one of the paroxysms of the complaint to which he was subject, a mixture, composed of aloes and oil of olives, was administered to him, at the recommendation of Essmah, the daughter of Anneiss, one of his wives. On recovering from his fit, he demanded what it was they had given him, and when the matter was explained, he remarked, with apparent indifference, that, peradventure, it might have been a prescription used in Abyssinia. But to remove all kind of doubt on the subject, the whole of his women were summoned to his chamber, where they were all compelled, in his presence, to partake of the same draught; not excepting,

adds our author, even Meymûnah, though she pleaded the obligation of a rigid devotional fast. A. H. XI. A. D. 632.

When he found that his disorder was seriously gaining ground upon him, he desired that pen and ink might be provided, for the purpose, as he said, of dictating some hints that might be of use, when he was no more, to prevent his followers from being misled into error. The crafty Omar, apprehending that this might have a tendency to traverse those views, which, it is not improbable, he had already formed on the succession, remarked to the by-standers, that pain and anguish had evidently produced the ordinary effect; that the prophets faculties were at last subdued. That his divine precepts were already sufficiently engraven on their memories, had received their intire assent, and that any thing further to guard them against the errors of humanity would be superfluous. Upon this a difference of opinion arose; and the parties becoming warm in argument, the tumultuous clamor in his chamber awakened the prophet's displeasure; and he angrily directed them to withdraw, without further offending the ears of God's messenger by these indecorous wranglings. However, when the clamor had subsided, he proceeded to say, that he had three precepts to leave them. The first was, to extirpate from the Arabian peninsula, the errors of polytheism, and those impious doctrines which presumed to assign associates, or rather rivals in glory, to the creator of the universe. The second was, to continue to the proselytes recently arrived at Medeinah, the same attention and encouragements, as they had experienced from himself. The third bequest, it was not thought convenient by his companions to divulge. At the same time it has been acknowledged a misfortune, that none of his associates in imposture had sufficient loyalty, or integrity, to afford him, what he sought for, an opportunity of recording his intentions. Rouzut ussuffâ.

During this crisis of affliction and uncertainty, Ally continued to watch over the sick bed of his father in law, with unabated tenderness and attention, and with a total disregard to every selfish consideration. A very few days previous to the prophet's demise, he was urged by his friends, with repeated importunities, that they might be allowed, by some means or other, to remind him of the necessity of making some positive arrangement with regard to the succession; but, with a self denial, which never forsook him, (the pride of conscious merit perhaps) Ally, to the last, resisted their solicitations, declaring, he would rather consent that the hopes of such

A. H. XI. A. D. 632. succession should be forever lost to his family, than that his benfactor should be harassed with any importunities on the subject. And thus the matter rested. At the same time, whatever might have been the private wishes of Mahommed in favor of Ally, it is not pretended by the most zealous advocates of the latter, that he was ever expressly named as the person proposed to succeed him. Neither can the motives which induced the prophet to leave the point undecided, be any thing beyond conjecture. He appears to have foreseen that his death would be followed by violent dissentions, and perhaps, rather than lend his name to sanction the claims of a vanquished or weaker party, he chose to consign the matter to the decision of chance.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

For the three days immediately preceding his dissolution, the strength of Mahommed was so far exhausted, that he found himself no longer capable of discharging the public duties of his sacerdotal character; and it was, doubtless, a proof of the highest esteem for the virtues of Abû Bukker, that he was the person selected to supply his place in the pulpit of the Imaumet, on this occasion: though the circumstance was subsequently considered, by the predominant party, as sufficiently decisive of the individual whom he designed to succeed to his power as a temporal prince. Yet, that such was not the immediate conclusion, is manifest enough, otherwise, unless she was unnaturally hostile to the exaltation of her father, the pressing instances of Ayaishah with her husband to supersede this selection, are not to be easily accounted for. The reasons she assigned against it are however stated to have been, that the sensibility and tender disposition of Abû Bukker would render him unequal to the task.

In concluding this subject with a statement almost too preposterous for the digestion of the grossest credulity, we can offer no apology, but that it is throughout closely copied from the sense of the original. When Azrâil, the angel of death, after much preliminary ceremony, had at last obtained admission to the chamber of the prophet, he introduced himself with the customary salutation of the country; and conveyed to him, furthermore, an all hail! from that almighty Being, whose decrees he was appointed to execute; professing at the same time, that he was enjoined not to interfere with the soul of God's prophet, without an entire acquiescence on his part. Mahommed intreated that he would suspend the execution of his dreadful

office, until the angel Gabriel should appear. At that instant the mandate of eternal beneficence reached the prince who rules over the powers of darkness, to extinguish the flames of hell, while the ministers of destiny, were conveying the pure spirit of the favorite of Omnipotence to the mansions of immortality. The never fading virgins of paradise; the ministring angels; the heavenly choirs; the glorious inmates of interminable bliss, arrayed in all their brightest splendor; all unfolded in countless myriads, to celebrate the approach of Mahommed. Charged with intelligence so full of bliss and consolation, the archangel, yet sorrowing for the miseries of humanity, approached the chamber of his expiring friend, who complained in mild remonstrance of his cruel dereliction at a crisis to him so aweful. Gabriel, in reply, offered to console, and congratulate him at the same time, on those glorious preparations, in which the whole host of heaven were employed, for his reception into the realms of bliss. The prophet, with that cold indifference, which sometimes marks the hour of death, observed, that so far, every thing accorded with his wishes; yet there was some circumstance further required, to afford him that delight of soul, which he still panted to experience. The archangel then added, that the enjoyments of heaven were closed against the prophets and saints, his predecessors, until that happy period when he and his faithful followers should make their entrance. Mahommed still professed that there was something undescribed, without which his happiness must continue imperfect and incomplete. Gabriel, with an indulgence truly ethereal, for this unquenchable thirst after happiness in a mere mortal, concluded the catalogue of glories which awaited him, by further announcing, that whilst his creator thus chose to signalize him with marks of his divine bounty so trancendent, so far surpassing the lot of all preceding prophets, to his portion was added the fountain of immortality, in a station of the most exalted glory. And last of all, to him was assigned the noblest privilege, the richest meed of benevolence, that of interceding before the mercy seat of Omnipotence, in behalf of those who believed in him; so that, on the fearful day of judgment, so vast would be the multitude of his followers received to mercy through his sole mediation, that he should not fail to participate, to a trans-

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Rouzut ussuffa.

A. H. XI. 12th Rabb. the 1st. A. D. 632. 6th or 7th of June.

cendent degree, in that pure and ineffable delight, of which, immortal spirits alone are capable of the enjoyment. "Then" said Mahommed, "my soul is satisfied; mine eyes have seen the light."

He now addressed himself to the angel of death, desiring him to approach, and no longer delay the execution of that office which he was destined to discharge. The grasp of dissolution immediately seized the springs of life. The rapid and alternate changes in the prophet's countenance bespoke that the agonies of death were upon him. At the same time, in a bason of cold water placed beside him, he dipped his hands, and with one and the other by turns, wiped off the large drops of perspiration, which incessantly bedewed his forehead; until his pure spirit finally forsook its vile and frail enclosure. In his last agonies, he is said, fixing his eyes on the roof of the chamber, to have raised his hand, and exclaimed, "Ah! my com-"panion, I attend thee to the realms above;" and gradually dropping his hand, thus quietly expired.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

Such, at any rate, is the coloring with which his disciples have thought fit to delineate the exit of their master. We, who are, however, neither compelled nor disposed to believe the correctness of the design in its full extent, may be permitted, with greater brevity, and in plainer language, to state, that on Monday the twelfth of the first Rabbeia,* of the eleventh year of the Hidjry, the sixty-third of his age, and twenty-third of his pretended mission, the prophet of the Arabs condescended to accompany the angel of death, to account for his multiplied impostures before the tribunal of Eternal Truth.

* This event is, however, by some writers, recorded to have taken place ten days sooner.

CHAP. II.

WHEN there no longer existed any doubt that the prophet had breathed his last, the Ansaur,* or citizens of Medeinah, proceeded in a body to the house of Saud, the son of Ebbaudah, whom they conducted, though laboring at this time under severe indisposition, to the pavilion or portico of the Benni Saudah, a kind of council room of the tribe, for the purpose of investing him with the sovereign authority, now vacant by the death of their legislator. As the nature of those pretensions, to give a chief to their infant community, set on foot by the two great parties into which the disciples of Mahommed were at this moment on the point of separation, may be generally understood from the language ascribed to Saud, and to the moderate and unobtrusive Abû Bukker on this occasion, it may be necessary to enter into the subject more extensively in this place than is properly consistent with the limits of our plan.

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Rouzut ussuffâ.

In support of the claims of the Ansaur, it was in substance contended by Saud, that they were derived from such a course of meritorious proceeding, as must place them far beyond the competition of any other class of men in all Arabia. In proof of this, it was only necessary to state, that when, for more than ten years, the prophet had continued, in the bosom of his country, to proclaim the doctrines of his divine mission, he found there a few only, and but a few, with sufficient grace or virtue to believe in him. But, when it pleased Omnipotence to direct the footsteps of its messenger to the land which *they* inhabited, both he, and the associates of his flight

* Quasi Nûssrut dehendah. Auxiliaries. Applied to the inhabitants of Medeinah, because, when the prophet was compelled to fly from his native city, Mekkah, in the 13th year of his mission, they gave him an asylum against his enemies and espoused his cause.—Mohaujerein Quasi Humgûreikhtegan. Coexiles. The name applied to the associates of his flight.

A.H.XI. A. D. 632. Rouzut ussuffâ.

found, among the citizens of Medeinah, an asylum and effectual protection against the inveterate designs of his enemies. Their services were, however, not limited to this point alone; but with a pure and disinterested zeal, in which they were unrivalled, they embarked both life and fortune, and all they held valuable, to advance the truth of his mission; and to their sole exertions, under heaven, was to be ascribed, more immediately, the subjugation of the greater part of Arabia, which was the result. Of the superior merit of these services, their prophet, who was now no more, had expressed himself deeply sensible; and for his own part, he should not hesitate to maintain, that they alone were most worthy to dispose of the powers of the Imaumet and Khelaufut,* or supreme authority, both *religious* and *civil*.

His fellow citizens of Medeinah concurred, as might have been expected, in all he had now advanced, and proceeded to declare, moreover, that as the greatest and best of their order, they could consider no other so qualified to enjoy the succession, as himself. That for the residue, if the Mohaujer (coexiles) disapproved of such an arrangement, they were, if they thought proper, at liberty to exercise a similar discretion; to nominate from among themselves a separate chief, so that each party might enjoy the distinction of being governed by a prince of its own.

From the obvious impolicy of this latter expedient, Saud was proceeding to dissuade them, when Abû Bukker, Omar, and Abû Obaidah the son of Jerrauh, entered the assembly together; just as the Ansaur were crouding round the person of Saud, who was closely muffled up in his cloak, in order to pledge their allegiance to him. The appearance of these three persons occasioned a pause in their proceedings; which proved fatal to the hopes of Saud, at the very moment they were about to attain their accomplishment. The discussion was now resumed by Thaubut, the son of Keiss, who again endeavoured to establish the superior pretensions of the Ansaur; and being followed by Abû Bukker, in terms which might be construed to second his opinion, one of the citizens of Medeinah ventured to repeat the proposal, that the parties might be allowed to chuse a separate chief. This being, however, considered a measure so totally repugnant to the dictates of sound judgment and the clearest experience, Omar was preparing to address the assembly in a suitable speech, which, as he subse-

* Pontifical and civil.

quently related, he had previously digested on the way from the prophet's; when he was prevented by Abû Bukker, who, to his no small surprise, expressed himself, in the very identical terms, without either adding or diminishing, of what he had himself in contemplation. He made the most ample allowances to the Ansaur for their exemplary sacrifices, and disinterested zeal in the advancement of the common cause. Their distinguished services, were, he said, indeed, of a description which could never be forgotten: and yet, in justice, he must contend, there were inseparate from the Koraish, claims of a superior order, which were not to be superseded by those of any other tribe whatever. He would further confess, that it was with him a serious question, whether, when it came to the proof, the other tribes could be induced to submit to any authority but that which resided in the Koraish. And on this subject he could not forbear to remind them, that when the corruptions of human invention at last required the interposition of providence, in order to restore the purity of divine worship, the messenger, inspired by heaven, to bear witness to the inseparate unity of God, was chosen from the Koraish. When the tribes of Mekkah, blindly attached to the superstitions and idolatry of their ancestors, took offence at, and in their hostility, branded with the stigma of imposture, the endeavours of the prophet to reclaim them, the Almighty selected from among the Koraish, the *Mohaujer*, whom, regardless of the disparity of their number, or the multitude of their enemies, and, in spite of the persecutions and injuries, to which they were exposed on every side, he animated to assert the truth of his prophet's mission, and the claims of Omnipotence to the exclusive adoration of mankind. The associates of the prophet's flight, therefore, the faithful companions of his fortune under every vicissitude of danger and distress, were, he should not hesitate to pronounce, the most worthy to govern, when he was no more. Nay, further, he believed this was a conclusion which none would dispute, but such as were already iniquitously determined to abandon the doctrines of truth. Thus modestly branding with apostacy, those that should presume to differ in opinion with him. In fine, the arguments of Abû Bukker were closed by a proposition, which he recommended as a most reasonable and equitable arrangement; that the Imaurut, or supreme government, should rest with the Mohaujer; and

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the Vizzaurût, or office of Vizier, or first minister of state, with the Ansaur. And he solemnly called upon the latter, as they regarded the vengeance of an offended deity, to beware of promoting a division so destructive to the stability of the yet unsettled bulwarks of their holy law.

At this crisis of the debate, Mûeyun the Aadian came forward, intreating the coexiles to bear witness to his assurances, that with him and his fellow citizens, they would in all circumstances ever possess the highest degree of respect: but his apprehension was, that from this very source an advantage would be taken, to originate some unjust and ungrateful proceeding. Omar now embraced his opportunity to interpose with an affirmation, that he had the prophet's express authority to declare, that where the sovereign power was concerned, none but the Koraish were worthy.* In this he was supported by Besheir, the son of Saud, who in direct opposition to the interests of his friends, averred that he also had heard the prophet declare himself in terms which implied the same opinion, and for the truth of this assertion he appealed to heaven; adding, that for other cogent reasons, he was persuaded the sovereign dignity must at last permanently revert to the Koraish. As if the single testimony of this person had been at once sufficient to cancel every remaining doubt on the subject, Abû Bukker received it with the warmest expressions of applause; for his own part, he protested, that he was entirely indifferent with respect to any views upon the government; but he could not forbear bespeaking the attention of the assembly to the acknowledged merits of two distinguished men now present; Omar, the son of Ul Khetaub, and Abû Obaidah; either of whom he pronounced to be eminently qualified to preside over the interests of the true faith, at this moment, so materially concerned to avail itself of the advantages to be derived from powerful talents and influence, such as theirs. Both of these personages, however, with an earnestness, either real or pretended, and without hesitation, united to decline the invidious, and important trust; averring, that they knew no one whom so many circumstances concurred to point out for the successor of the prophet, as Abû Bukker; the insepar-

* It is worthy of remark, that either on this very day, or the day before, Omar was equally ready to commit murder in support of an assertion, "that the prophet could not die!" And to this opinion, he would have probably succeeded in terrifying many others, had he not been dissuaded by the good sense and cooler judgment of Abû Bukker.

able companion of his dangers, and the faithful depositary of all his secrets. Neither could they, in common justice, accept of the trust to the exclusion of a man, whose numerous virtues, independent of his acknowledged precedence in the adoption of their master's sacred doctrines, had placed him so far above them. A. H. XI. A. D. 632. Rouzut ussuffâ.

This species of contention becoming at last equally wearisome to all parties, the majority of the assembly seemed disposed to acquiesce in the elevation of Abû Bukker; when Saud, the son of Ebbaudah, was the first, according to some writers, to offer his hand in token of allegiance and homage; a precedence, which is, however, by others, assigned to Omar and Besheir. But when the latter, with such little reluctance, submitted to transfer the claims of his party, the respectable Ben ul Mûnzer, the representative of an illustrious race, demanded, with indignation, what other motive than the basest jealousy could actuate him thus to frustrate the fair prospects of his couzin german. Besheir disclaimed the operation of any unworthy motive, where his conduct was solely governed by a conscious repugnance to invade the undoubted rights of a particular class of the Mussulmans. Ben ul Mûnzer, upon this, seized the hilt of his sword: but the interference of the Ansaur, preventing him from following the impulse of resentment, he calmly observed, that their attention to check the honest ebullition of his feelings might have been spared. It was, however, to be regretted, that some portion of the same activity, which in one respect they could so readily exert, had not been devoted to the preservation of that power, which providence had placed within their very grasp; and which, with a supineness so unworthy of its further care, they had forever abandoned. For his own part, he should not forbear telling them, that even at this moment he saw their children supplicating from door to door, and scornfully driven away without the ordinary relief of a draught of water,, by the fugitives of Mekkah, to whom they had now so blindly submitted themselves and their fortunes. Abû Bukker endeavoured to appease him, by urging the improbability of a treatment so totally repugnant to the common dictates of humanity, and so little consonant to the characteristic usages of the nation to which they respectively claimed an affinity. Ben ul Mûnzer, modestly receding, admitted, that whilst they survived, meaning Abû Bukker and himself, he trusted the claims of hospitality would never cease to be respected; but when their short race should

A. H. XI. A. D. 632. terminate, and the controul descend to those who came after, other practices would be found to prevail, very opposite to those which they had been accustomed to applaud and imitate. There was, however, still one being to whom his supplications should be addressed; whose aid and protection was never withheld from those who placed their trust in him. Ben ul Mûnzer said no more.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

The party of the Mohaujer, in conjunction with the Benni Ouss, proceeded now, without further discussion, to pledge their allegiance to Abû Bukker, to the equal mortification and disappointment of the Benni Khezredj; who, in the early part of the day, had enjoyed so fair a prospect of establishing the sovereign authority in Saud, the son of Ebbaudah, the leader of their tribe; of whom it is further related, that on the same day he was crushed to death, by the pressure of the multitude, which thronged to the assembly on this occasion; although, according to others, he was taken up alive, and conveyed homewards; but retiring, on his recovery, to Jaum, in the province of Syria, he was, at a subsequent period, there assassinated, at the instance of some eminent person of his faith, because, contrary to what has been just asserted, he opposed the majority which had thus declared in favor of the exaltation of Abû Bukker.

In the above detail, which, without injury to the subject, we could not well have omitted, perhaps the circumstance, not least remarkable, is, that notwithstanding his conspicuous merits, and the recent solemnity with which they had been brought to notice; notwithstanding the closeness of his affinity, both by blood and marriage, with the prophet, yet in the whole of this numerous assembly, not a single voice was exerted to bespeak a moment's consideration to the claims of Ally, the couzin of their legislator, and the husband of his favorite daughter. But in the course of the subsequent pages it will be seen, that this was only the first of three successions, in which the pretensions of this distinguished chieftain, were baffled or overlooked; with no other exception to his character than that, among a nation of homicides, he was alleged to be a man of blood.

Abdullah Abû Bukker, thus elevated to sovereign power by the suffrage of his associates, on the same day received the homage of the superior orders; and the day following, while officiating in his sacerdotal character, that of Imaum, he was acknowledged by the people at large. Still the

concurrence of the son of Abitauleb was considered yet wanting to the complete establishment of his authority, and he was accordingly invited to attend. When he entered the place of convention, Ally appears to have felt some degree of surprise, if not of awe, on finding himself, unexpectedly, in the presence of such a numerous assemblage of the most distinguished friends and companions of the prophet; he requested however, to know the object for which his attendance had been required. They apprized him, in general, of the measures which had been determined on, and that it was expected he should unite with the other chiefs of the commonwealth of Isslaum, in allegiance to the authority of Abû Bukker, whom they had chosen as the successor of Mahommed. Upon this, Ally briefly observed in reply, that, from all he was able to understand from the information which had been just communicated to him, by way of argument to reconcile the citizens of Medeinah to the authority of Abû Bukker, recourse had been had to the nature of his affinity with the sacred person, who was now no more. And for his own part, he should at present trouble them no further, than in his own behalf, also, thus publicly to appeal to the same affinity. He therefore solemnly called upon them, without suffering themselves to be any longer imposed upon by specious pretences, and as they had found strict justice, so in justice to declare, who there was among all men living so closely allied to their prophet, as the man who now addressed them.

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With that arrogant spirit, of which he appears to have possessed a conspicuous share, Omar here interfered with a declaration, that he should not be suffered to quit the spot, until, in concurrence with the example of his compeers, he had acknowledged the authority of Abû Bukker. To which, in answer, Ally indignantly observed, that whatever were the conceptions by him and others formed on this subject, he should only state, that while a spark of life continued to animate his frame, he should not cease to assert his claim to that dignity, which he should ever contend to be his own. The importunities of others were now added to prevail upon him, since the matter appeared to have taken an intirely opposite course, to forego those pretensions, of which they did not presume to deny the justice, and by his acquiescence to avert the mischiefs, which otherwise seemed to threaten the public safety. The most urgent, with him, on the

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occasion were Abû Obaidah, and Besheir the son of Sâûd, already spoken of; the latter in particular, protesting that the circumstance which more immediately promoted the advancement of Abû Bukker, was the general impression, that Ally was averse to engage in the cares and anxieties of government; an impression which he ascribed to his secluding himself so intirely from the expectations of the public, while employed in performing the last solemnities to the prophet's memory. To this, Ally further observed, that they must have supposed him possessed of a very limited conception of the rules of ordinary decorum, and the calls of private gratitude, if they thought him capable of forsaking the unburied remains of his master and benefactor, in order to attend to any views of self interest or ambition, however urgent and seducing with other men.

In this place Abû Bukker thought proper to put an end to the debate, by declaring that had he foreseen any contest or competition on the part of Ally, no inducement should have prevailed upon him to accept of a charge which to him presented but few attractions. But as he had now received the homage and acknowledgements of the whole community, he trusted that Ally would not disappoint the just expectations of his fellow citizens, formed on the belief, that, with him, no sacrifice was too great to ensure his country's good. At the same time, he assured him, that if he did not feel himself immediately disposed to give the necessary proofs of submission, he was not to consider himself under the smallest restraint; but that he was at perfect liberty to withdraw whenever he thought it proper. An intimation of which Ally immediately availed himself, quitting the assembly, without having bound himself under any obligation to submit to the authority of the new sovereign.

On the other hand, there are not wanting those who have accused Ally of a precipitancy in his demonstrations of submission to Abû Bukker, almost too ludicrous to repeat; of so much eagerness and anxiety to do him homage, that he forgot some of the most necessary appurtenances of dress. At the same time, if we are to credit the testimony of one class of writers, he was prevailed on to the performance of this act of submission, at the expiration of forty days; or of six months; or, according to others, not until the death of Fatima had bereft him of his fairest plea to the succession. That he was on friendly terms with Abû Bukker, in the commencement of the year twelve, and had then, to all appearance, submitted

to acknowledge his authority, a pretty clear proof will be given by and by. One thing is, however, beyond dispute; notwithstanding the most tempting importunities to urge him, both during this and the following reign, Ally conscientiously abstained from troubling the repose of his country, by any attempt to prosecute the claims of personal ambition. Before he had yet submitted to Abû Bukker on the present occasion, Abû Soffeyan, in particular, endeavoured to stimulate his pride, by demanding, if, with the common feelings of honorable emulation, he could tamely suffer an ordinary individual of the race of Temeim, to exercise the sovereign power, whilst he, himself, would undertake, in his behalf, to cover the adjoining deserts with armies. An offer, of which, with a magnanimity more frequently applauded than imitated, Ally declined to take advantage, rather disdainfully observing, that the principles of the true faith did not yet appear to have banished that disposition to turbulence, by which, during the period of infidelity, he had made himself so remarkable. A reception so ungracious, of an offer of service so important, most probably rendered Abû Soffeyan not the less accessible to the advances of Abû Bukker and Omar, who, on information of his hostile intrigues, contrived to purchase his forbearance, by the promise of the yet unconquered government of Damascus, for his son Yezzid.

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Rouzut ussuffa.

Every obstacle thus removed, Abû Bukker, a few days subsequent to the death of Mahommed may, therefore, be considered as firmly seated in the government, under the title of the Khaleifah; representative or lieutenant, of the prophet of God, which was the designation adopted by this prince, as most descriptive of the functions he thonght himself called upon to dicharge; and in which he publicly declared, he no longer expected the obedience of his subjects, than he was found to administer strict and impartial justice, in conformity to the sacred law of heaven, so lately revealed among them.

ABU BUKKER, Ist of the Kholfa rashedein.*

It has been already stated, that a considerable detachment, under Assaumah the son of Zeid, had been some time assembled, for the purpose of an attack upon the Syrian territory, and the departure of which was

* Legitimate or orthodox, Khaleifahs.—Khalifs.—Lieutenants, or vicars.—The four immediate successors of the prophet so distinguished.

A. H. XI. A. D. 632. only retarded by the dissolution of the prophet. A scrupulous regard for the prophet's memory, impelled Abû Bukker to expedite the march of this detachment, at a period, when it was known, that the intelligence of his death had spread apostacy, disaffection, and revolt, through every corner of Arabia. To evince his unalterable resolution in this respect, he replied to the remonstrances of his friends, against the imprudence of employing the flower of the Mosslems in distant expeditions at such a crisis, that they should proceed to their destination, though, during their absence, he should be torn to pieces by beasts of prey.

Rouzut assuffâ.

The march of this body of troops, which, accordingly took place, in obedience to the Khalif's orders, does not, however, appear to have been signalized by any thing worthy of particular record. After committing some ravages in the territory of an obnoxious tribe, and avenging the death of his father, on the very spot which had beheld his martyrdom, Assaumah, at the expiration of forty days, returned to Medeinah. But, according to others, he returned from his expedition, without even having seen the face of an enemy. Contrary, however, to what was in general apprehended, the hopes of those who were adverse to the prosperity of the new religion, and who, on the death of Mahommed, had conceived that the power of his disciples would be no longer formidable, were not a little diminished, when they perceived that an army, so considerable as that which followed the standard of Assaumah, could be so speedily equipped at Medeinah for offensive and distant warfare.

Nevertheless, his accession had not long taken place, when the accumulated intelligence of apostacy, revolt, and imposture, which Abû Bukker continued to receive from all quarters, compelled him to forego, for the present, all plans of foreign conquest and aggression, and to attend to the more imminent and emergent considerations of domestic and internal safety.

Asswad, who had apostatized and usurped the government of Yemen, on the demise of Bazan the Persian, had already suffered the punishment of his apostacy. On the very day which preceded the death of the prophet, when he had enjoyed the fruits of his usurpation for about three months, he was cut off, by three conspirators, introduced into his bedchamber, by the contrivance of his wife, the widow of his predecessor, whom, in an evil hour, he had selected to share his fortunes with him. This man, by a pretended skill in magic, and a dexterity in sleight of hand, which sur-

passed the comprehension of the multitude, had succeeded in imposing, upon his followers, the notion that *he* also was an inspired person. A. H. XI. A. D. 632.

Another of those impostors, who, by practicing on the credulity of the multitude, succeeded for a short time, in establishing the belief, that he was acting under the influence of divine revelation, was Tûlleihah the son of Khûeylud, the scene of whose impositions lay among the Benni Assud. But, as if the spirit of imposture had determined not to confine itself to either sex in particular, it seized upon Shujia,* a christian woman of the tribe of Temeim, residing at Mossûle, who, at this period, aspired to the honors of the prophecy, and disseminated the infection of her errors through a considerable part of Arabia. From none, however, of all these, was the early establishment of Mahommedanism threatened with more important consequences, than from the alarming progress of Mosseylemah; whose skill in the arts of delusion, was so abundantly successful in the territory of Yemaumah, that, in a short space of time, he could number among his followers, one hundred thousand persons willing to shed their blood in defence of his doctrines. Rouzut ussuffa.

Against the former of these surviving impostors, Tûlleihah the son of Khûeylud, and the tribe of Assud, in the early part of the twelfth year of the Hidjry, Abû Bukker prepared to lead his troops in person; and he had proceeded with this view, to Zilkessah, one day's journey from Medeinah, when he was prevailed upon by the particular remonstrances of Ally, who is even said, on the occasion, to have seized the reins of his camel, to remain, as prudence, and the crisis of the times, appeared to require it, at the seat of government; and to entrust the execution of these subordinate concerns to the bravery and skill of his captains. The fierce and intrepid Khaled was the person selected for this service, and he accordingly proceeded, at the head of three thousand chosen soldiers, towards the territory of the Benni Assud, where, on the banks of a certain rivulet, the son of Khûeylud, lay encamped. A. H. XII. A. D. 633.

It is observable by the way, that while Mahommed was living, this person had embraced the tenets of Isslaum, and had been admitted to enjoy the society of its founder. When he rejoined his tribe, he thought fit, notwithstanding, to abandon those tenets, and to constitute himself the

* She is by others denominated Sejauje.

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prophet, and framer of a new religion. Neither does it appear that he experienced any great difficulty in carrying his plans into execution; for by proposing to relieve such as might be disposed to embrace his doctrines, from the obligations of fasting and prayer, and to admit the practice of usury forbidden to the Mahommedans, with other similar indulgences, he prevailed upon the whole of the Benni Assud to believe, that he was inspired from above: and the Benni Ferauzah, and numbers more of the apostate Arabs uniting with them in the belief of his prophetic mission, his party, about the period of Mahommed's decease, had acquired considerable strength and reputation.

When Khâled had approached within a convenient distance of his camp, he endeavoured, in compliance with the general instructions received from Abû Bukker, to admonish the insurgent from his hostile designs, or at least to recede from his absurd and impious pretensions; without, however, producing any effect; and both sides, accordingly, prepared for battle. On this occasion the right wing of Khaled's troops was commanded by Aaddi, one of the sons of the beneficent and liberal Hautem Taï.

Tûlleihah, on his part, while his followers disposed themselves sword in hand, to establish his claims to divine authority, retired to a secure spot, and, muffled up in his cloak, put on the appearance of awaiting the descent of inspiration. In these circumstances, while the combatants were engaged, and when he had, for a third time, been applied to, by Ayniah the son of Hûsseyne, one of the chiefs of his party, to know whether he had yet received any communication from the angel Gabriel, he was at last constrained to affirm that he had been favored with such communication; the purport of which, as explained by subsequent writers, appears to be this; "that his hopes, and those of Khâled, did not hitherto seem to coincide; and that matters were so circumstanced betwixt them, that he should never be able to forget." Upon this contemptible ambiguity, Ayniah, with equal rage and disdain, observed to the impostor, with an oath, that there was indeed a circumstance at hand, of which *he*, at all events, was not likely to lose the remembrance. Then turning to the people of his tribe, he told them they were not to expect any thing but falsehoods from this base impostor, and if they would be advised by him, they would leave him to his fate, and consult their safety by a timely retreat; and he forthwith

set them the example, by immediately quitting the field of battle, followed by the whole of the Benni Ferauzah governed by his influence. A. H. XII. A. D. 633.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

According to others, after several unsuccessful assaults upon the troops of Khâled, Ayniah was on his retreat from the field when accosted by Tûlleihah, who demanded whither he was posting to? In reply to which, he said, that he and his people had acquitted themselves of their share; and that it was now his time to apply to his friend the archangel, to take *his hands from his bosom*, and bear some part in the danger and fatigue of the conflict.

If these minute and ludicrous particulars furnish either instruction or information, it is, that the same disgustful uniformity pervades the tale of hypocrisy and imposture in every age and every climate: and in an age of doubt and infidelity, it is, however, some consolation to reflect, that whilst among the vulgar mass of mankind there still remains an ample portion of folly and credulity, the race of impostors has been almost, if not intirely, proscribed, by the progress of reason and research, in the greater part of the world.

The defection of this man, with his numerous followers, so materially weakened the ranks of the enemy, that Khâled, without great difficulty, pierced through the remainder, whom he soon compelled to quit the field in dismay; and their leader, perceiving that fortune had decided for the superior valor of his antagonist, also betook himself to flight, directing his course towards Syria. He was pursued, overtaken, and again defeated in the Waudi, or desert of Azraub, by Khâled, but finally succeeded in gaining the Syrian territory, where he threw himself under the protection of the chiefs of the Benni Ghassan. At a subsequent period he is said to have renounced his errors, and returned to the profession of the Mahommedan belief.

Of some other minor impostors and adventurers, who took advantage of the disorder of the times, to aspire at independence, and were at this same period chastized by the sword of Khâled, the particulars are neither important nor interesting, and may, therefore, be easily dispensed with. Of one of these, however, an apostate of the name of Nedjauh, the offences must have been peculiarly atrocious, to have awakened a spirit of severity in the mild and merciful Abû Bukker, by whose orders he was burnt to death, whilst others, on recantation, were received to pardon.

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The success, which, in her scheme of imposition, for a time, attended Shujia, may, perhaps, entitle her story to a more extensive range in this narrative. She was, as hath been already mentioned, a christian, but of extraordinary talents and eloquence of speech. Deeply skilled in the sacred mysteries of her religion, an aspiring ambition had long prompted her to usurp the prophetic character, but the well established fame of Mahommed had deterred her from the attempt while he was living. His death, however, seemed at once to dispel her apprehensions, and give free scope to her ambitious views. Without further embarrassment, she accordingly announced herself a prophetess; commenced her string of rhapsodies, and uttered them in rhyme, professing that these distempered effusions were inspired from above. In these, however, she is said to have enjoined fasting and prayer; alms and purification; but, to the utter abomination of every disciple of Mahommed, to have warranted the use of wine, and of hog's flesh. In the mean time, be the nature of her doctrines what it may, the whole of the Benni Thauleb yielded to the delusions which she put in practice, and embraced them.

Encouraged, therefore, by these early proofs of success, she proceeded to circulate throughout Arabia, letters, inviting the different tribes to subscribe to that scheme of faith which she proposed for their adoption; which letters were universally received with a sentiment so favorable, that vast numbers, from all parts of the peninsula, hastened to enrol themselves in the list of her followers, and procured for her such an acquisition of strength and renown, as to render her not a little formidable to the surrounding chieftains. Among others, whom she successfully assailed in this way, was the chief of the Benni Temeim, Malek the son of Nowairah, whose alleged want of sagacity, or natural imbecility of mind, was such, that, though the intimate friend of Omar, that most zealous of believers, he could submit to exchange the pure principles of Isslaum, for the new formed and ill-established maxims of this artful and ingenious female. The Benni Rebbaut, however, one of the neighbouring tribes, having resisted all her endeavors, to seduce them, she impiously forged a message from heaven for their extermination; and having thus attached the seal of blood to her imposture, the chiefs who had bound themselves to share her destiny, after representing the magnitude of the enterprize, in which they were embarked, and the dangers with which they were surrounded, proposed

to her an immediate attack on the disciples of Mahommed, and the troops of Abû Bukker, as the principal obstacles in her way to the sovereignty of all Arabia. A. H. XII. A. D. 633. Rouzut ussufâ.

This was a step at which she seemed to hesitate, and she therefore proposed to await the result of that night's inspiration before she determined. Next morning she contrived to produce a composition in measured sentences, which she pretended to have had revealed to her in the course of the night; and the purport of which was to indicate that they should first proceed towards Yemaumah, and bring the fate of Mosseylemah to an issue. To this alternative, her followers, without much difficulty, subscribed.

In the mean time, whilst Shujia and her adherents were thus directing their views towards Yemaumah, the troops of Abû Bukker were marching to the same quarter, to crush the ambitious projects of the arch impostor Mosseylemah; but on intelligence of the motions of Shujia, Khâled, who continued to superintend the operations of the Mussulman detachments, conceived it advisable to allow the sectaries by mutual hostilities to exhaust their strength, in order, at a future opportunity, to attack them with greater advantage; and having so determined, he accordingly withdrew, with the troops under his orders, towards Medeinah.

On the other hand, apprized of the warlike approach of the prophetess, Mosseylemah dispatched some of his people to require an explanation of her designs. Having obtained admission to the presence of Shujia, the messengers employed on the occasion, were, by her, enjoined to announce to their master, that she was charged with the mandate of Omnipotence to make war upon him: and with this reply, together with a specimen of the unconnected jargon, which, in the shape of a religious code, she had framed for her purposes, she permitted them to depart. From a sense of conscious fraud, Mosseylemah could not have been much at a loss to appreciate the full extent of these impious and arrogant pretensions: but, as the alarm which had been excited by the advance of Khâled was not yet subsided, he thought it prudent to temporize, and accordingly determined to enter into a negociation with her.

For this purpose, he again dispatched his agents to her camp, in a style and language similar to her own, to advise her, that God had assigned the

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earth in equal portions, one half to the Koraish, and one half to himself: and had moreover associated him, on terms of intire equality in the prophetic mission, with Mahommed. Notwithstanding, if she would submit herself to be governed by real considerations of justice, it was not yet impossible but means might be discovered to transfer to herself, that portion which the supreme being had hitherto allotted to the Koraish. In the mean time, since it would appear that she also was among those favored mortals selected for the descent of heavenly inspiration, he, for his part, did not conceive himself at liberty to withhold from her his belief; but in order that he might have a fair opportunity of convincing himself from her own mouth, of the validity of her claims, his agents were authorized to invite her, together with as many of her confidential attendants as she thought proper, to a private conference with him.

The agents of Mosseylemah now experienced from Shujia a most courteous and honorable reception; and to account for so sudden an alteration in her demeanor, she pretended that in a recent revelation from heaven, they had been announced to her in terms of peculiar approbation; in particular, that they were to be recognized by the singular graces of their persons, the elegance and purity of the language in which they spoke, and by that scrupulous abstinence which they professed to observe, with regard to wine and women; they were, moreover, described to her as a people virtuous and good, whose devotion towards an Almighty being, the fountain of purity and excellence, was attested by fasting and pilgrimage, and a life without reproach. But after all, that same Being who could alone penetrate the secret designs of the heart, must be witness between them.

It is observed by the way, that in his code of faith, the followers of Mosseylemah were totally interdicted the use of wine; but what appears more extraordinary, unless it was intended to check a teeming population, they were also forbidden to cohabit with their wives when once they had become the mother of a child: to which, in this her rhapsodical effusion, the prophetess is supposed to allude. That is, however, of little importance. With a testimony so flattering to the character of those who had embraced his doctrines, the agents of Mosseylemah returned to their master; who, on his side, in the corresponding cant of hypocrisy, pretended to doubt no longer that this woman was also an apostle inspired and commissioned

from above, for the instruction and reformation of mankind. And on this interchange of acknowledgements, with a further assurance from Mosseylemah, that he had the authority of heaven for subscribing to the truth of her divine mission, Shujia did not hesitate to place herself, accompanied by two confidential persons only, at the discretion of her competitor. A. H. XII. A. D. 633. Rouzut ussuffa.

In a garden, without the gates of Yemaumah, where he had caused some tents to be pitched for her reception, Mosseylemah, and this enterprising female came at last to an interview; in which, after some preliminary discourse on the subject of their latest communications from above, he soon discovered that the virtue of the prophetess was not proof against voluptuous advances. Perceiving that she was sufficiently softened by some glowing representations, which he thought fit to delineate, of the enjoyments to be derived from a tender intercourse of the sexes; he adventured to ask, since they were already united in the sacred functions of the prophecy, what should impeach their coalescing in other respects? And without further apology, proposed, that, by entering into conjugal engagements with him, she should resign her person and pretensions to his disposal. Already fascinated by the charms of an engaging exterior, for he is said to have been one of the handsomest men in Arabia, she could only intreat his forbearance until the descent of celestial inspiration; or in other words, until, in the language of succeeding hypocrites, she had consulted the spirit. To remove her scruples in this respect, required no extraordinary compass of invention on the part of Mosseylemah. Immediately throwing himself into a violent fit of agitation, under pretence that it was the inspired moment, he found no great difficulty in persuading Shujia on his recovery, by such ambiguous phrases, as he had composed on the spot, that they had the dispensation of heaven to consecrate their impure and unhallowed indulgences. She attempted no longer to defend the approaches of female modesty, and the triumph of the artful Mosseylemah was complete. Having thus forfeited all pretensions to that purity, which is the brightest attribute of her sex, the prophetess fell from her proud pre-eminence, and became a mere debased, contaminated woman.

When three days, and as many nights, had been consumed in this impure and libidinous intercourse, in what the Arabs tell us, was at this

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time denominated the garden of mercy, but, at a subsequent period, the garden of death; Shujia found, upon recollection, that it would be proper to rejoin her expectant followers, and she accordingly returned to her camp. The Arab chiefs, and Malek ben Nowairah, among others, on her reappearance, signified their desire to be made acquainted with the nature of what had passed during this secret interview with Mosseylemah. She informed them, that she had found him, like herself, commissioned from above, and that, in obedience to the express mandates of heaven, she had even consented to become his wife: but when she added, that she had thus contracted herself without any description of jointure or marriage settlement; they apprized her, that, to a woman of her dignity and assumptions, such an omission was to an extreme degree dishonorable, and that she was indispensably called upon to return to Mosseylemah, and demand one. Conscious of humiliation, she could now submit to the dictates of her inferiors, and in compliance with their remonstrances, she posted back to Yemaumah, the gates of which, she had the mortification to find closed against her; Mosseylemah declining to hold any communication with her, but from the battlements.

From thence, when he understood the object of her unexpected visit, he coldly required that the person whom she usually employed to announce the hour of prayer might be directed to appear; when, in a tone of imperious authority, he commanded him to proclaim to his nation, that Mosseylemah, the apostle of God, had cancelled from their devotions two of the five diurnal periods of prayer allotted by Mahommed, namely, the earliest in the morning, and the latest in the evening; and with no other reply to her application, she was constrained to return to her encampment. When she had, however, remained some days in the same position, Mosseylemah, intimidated by certain further indications of hostility on her part, was ultimately prevailed upon to place at her disposal by way of dower, one half the produce of the dates of Yemaumah.

The Arab chiefs of her party, nevertheless, found it impossible to reconcile the scandal of her interview with Mosseylemah, with those exalted professions of sanctity, which had hitherto attracted their respect; and it was but a step further to discover, in its full extent, their error in forsaking their religion and tribes, to attach themselves to a woman so wretched and abandoned. In the dilemma to which they found themselves reduced,

they consulted on the means of extricating themselves, and it was determined on, as the only expedient to avert the approaching vengeance of Khâled, to make their peace with, and submit to the clemency of Abû Bukker. With this determination, they embraced the first opportunity of separating from the degraded Shujia, and of dispersing to their several abodes. Of herself, the remainder of the story may be comprized in a very few words. On perceiving the destruction of her followers, she made the best of her way from Arabia, and effected her escape to Mossûle, accompanied by about four hundred of the natives of that place, who continued faithful to the last: and at a subsequent period, according to the testimony of some writers, she found it convenient to enrol herself among the more successful proselytes of the Korân. A. H. XII. A. D. 633. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Malek the son of Nowairah, the recorded friend of Omar, we have already had occasion to state to be one among those of the Arab chiefs, whose destiny had led them to join the fortunes of Shujia; and he, like the rest of her associates, on the general separation, betook himself to a place of retirement, where the ties of friendship might, perhaps, have flattered him with no unreasonable hope, that the influence of an advocate so powerful as he possessed in Omar, would not be exerted in vain, to secure his pardon with Abu Bukker. The sequel renders it necessary to add, that the wife of Malek ben Nowairah, possessed such exquisite beauty, as to be the theme of admiration to the utmost limits of the country.

When dispatched to reduce the refractory and apostate tribes to their obedience, Khâled was particularly enjoined, by the instructions of Abû Bukker, to forbear from molesting those among whom, he was still able to distinguish the call to prayers. But even where this appeared to be intirely extinct, he was, as an indispensable preliminary, to invite them to embrace the law of truth, and to the payment of the usual contributions; on refusal to comply with which, he was then only, and not before, to consider their property at his disposal, and their lives at the discretion of the sword; in all which, he was to be governed by such intelligence as should be conveyed to him, by the emissaries he was directed to employ for that purpose.

Accordingly, when this inflexible soldier was assured of the dispersion which had taken place among the misguided adherents of Shujia, his spies proceeded to explore, and bring him advice of what indications of faith, or

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infidelity appeared among that community of Arabs, of which Malek was chief. Some of these, on their return, reported, that on their passage through the obnoxious district, the summons to prayers had not even once saluted their ears; while the direct reverse was attested by Abû Ketaudah the Ansaur, who had been employed on a similar errand, and who positively affirmed that this proof of the prevalence of Isslaum, still continued among them. Malek was, however, admitted to a conference with Khâled, in which the latter, in the exchange of a very few words, came to the conclusion, in his own mind, that he was still, whatever might be his professions, an apostate: and as Malek, in the course of conversation, happened to appeal too frequently to the history and authority of the prophet, Khâled, at last, in apparent indignation, cried out, "Dog as thou art, "whatever relation he might have borne to us, Mahommed was to thee "nothing;" then making a signal to his guards, the head of this unfortunate man was, on the spot, struck off, without any further ceremony or inquiry.

This fact is, at the same time, otherwise represented, by such as are disposed to view the character of Khâled in a light more favorable. By these it is stated, that Malek and his dependents were brought to the camp of that general, at a period when the nights happened to be extremely cold; and orders were circulated by Khâled, from motives of humanity, that those with whom they were in custody, should provide for the accommodation of their prisoners, in such a manner, as to prevent their suffering from the inclemency of the weather. By some strange and cruel misconstruction of orders, however, the method which they took for the purpose, happened to be of a nature so effectual, as to secure them not only against cold, but against all future injury whatever. They were, every man of them, murdered in cold blood. And the conduct of Khâled on the occasion, is rendered still more questionable and suspicious, by the circumstance of his having immediately espoused the beautiful widow of his murdered prisoner.

On intelligence of this apparently wanton and cruel execution, the strongest marks of astonishment and indignation were openly exhibited by Omar. In terms of severe and bitter censure, he complained to Abû Bukker of the conduct of Khâled, and called upon him by every consideration of justice and policy, to remove him from a command, of which, by

his cruelty and utter contempt of decorum, he had rendered himself so intirely unworthy. More especially, since Abú Ketaudah, whose testimony in behalf of Eben Nowairah, had been so arrogantly rejected, had then solemnly sworn, never to serve again under the authority of Khâled, whose contumacy in putting this person to death, and immediately transferring the widow to his own bed, must have equally excited the detestation and disgust of every just and honorable man. Unmoved by either the complaints or arguments of Omar, Abû Bukker desired that he would be more sparing in his censures, and less ardent in his expectations of the supersession of Khâled; because the reasons must be of a most forcible complexion that could induce him to return to the scabbard, the *sword* which God himself had drawn against the infidels. He was, notwithstanding, ultimately prevailed upon by the urgent and repeated importunities of Omar, to dispatch his messengers to require the immediate presence of Khâled at Medeinah, to account for his conduct with regard to Malek the son of Nowairah.

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In obedience to this summons, Khâled set off without loss of time for Medeinah, and had arrived within a short distance of that city, when it occurred to him, that there could be no impropriety in his making use of some expedient in order to secure a private audience with Abû Bukker. This expedient was no other than to send on, a present of two dinaurs* of gold to the Khalif's porter or chamberlain, with a request, that when at a proper opportunity Khâled should come for admission, no other should be allowed to enter with him. The porter accepted of the present, and engaged to conduct himself in the manner he was required to do; thus affording, our historian remarks, the first instance of corruption recorded in the annals of Mahommedanism.

Khâled was accordingly making the best of his way to the mansion of Abû Bukker, when, from the gate of an adjoining mosque, Omar, the very person whom he most wished to avoid, made his egress, and immediately accosted him in terms not very conciliatory, having first seized, and broke to pieces, a couple of arrows, which, as was then the custom of the Arabian warriors, Khâled wore in his turban; then continuing to revile him in a

* The dinaur has been differently estimated, from the value of five shillings to that of thirteen and six-pence. According to Ferishtah, it was equivalent to two rupees, about five shillings.

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strain of bitter reproach for the cruel assassination of Malek ben Nowairah, and his shameless breach of national decorum in the seizure of the widow, he openly avowed his determination to see him stoned to death. To all which, Khâled, conceiving that he had equally incurred the resentment and displeasure of Abû Bukker, made not the smallest reply; and in this manner, galled by the reproaches and menaces of Omar, he reached the entrance of Abû Bukker's mansion, to which the porter gave him immediate admission; at the same time, placing his hand on Omar's breast, he told him that he had received orders to admit none but Khâled. Omar recollecting the respect which was due to the sacred residence of the prophet's successor, forbore to make use of importunities, and withdrew; striking his hands together, and expressing at the same time his persuasion and regret, that the blood of his friend should have been thus shed without the prospect of that just retaliation, which he had so anxiously sought to obtain.

On the other hand, Khâled, on entering the presence of Abû Bukker, was sternly asked, if he was not the murderer of one of the faithful, and the violator of the sacred sanctuary of the Harâm, in espousing his widow? A question which Khâled aukwardly evaded, by demanding, on his part, whether the Khalif was not present, when the appellation of the *sword of God* was bestowed upon him by their prophet. Abû Bukker having replied in the affirmative, Khâled proceeded to demand whether then the sword of the Almighty was destined to fall lightly, or innocuously, on the neck of the infidel only, and the hypocrite? The Khalif, in his further reply, having expressed himself in a manner which indicated the contrary, and otherwise implied that the conduct of Khâled had been explained to his satisfaction, the latter withdrew from his presence, in no small degree elated with the result of his visit; and again observing Omar seated at the entrance of the mosque, watching his departure, he now called to him in a voice of contempt and defiance, and by the name of left handed dotard, dared him to come near; from all which, concluding that he had justified his conduct, and had been restored to the favor of Abû Bukker, Omar thought proper to postpone his resentment until an opportunity should occur for its more effectual gratification.

Having thus successfully vindicated himself against the accusations of his enemies, the resources of courage and skill, which Khâled is by all

parties acknowledged to have possessed in a very eminent degree, were next employed to put a termination to the aspiring and dangerous designs of Mosseylemah; against whom, it would appear, the Khalif conceived it expedient to call forth, on this occasion, the flower of the disciples of Isslaum. Khâled hastened to rejoin the army, which, after the necessary equipments had been completed, he led accordingly straight towards Yemaumah; the division of the Ansaur being consigned to the direction of Thaubut the son of Keyss, and that of the Mohaujer to Abû Khozzaifah the son of Attebah, and Zeid the son of Khettaub, the brother of Omar. A. H. XII. A. D. 633. Rouzut ussuffâ.

During the march, a small detachment of the people of Yemaumah, in pursuit of one of their fellow citizens who had been guilty of murder, fell, when they least expected such a misfortune, into the hands of Khâled's troops; and on being interrogated by that general, as to the articles of their creed, answering without reserve that, like the followers of Mahommed, they also had their prophet, Khâled, with as little ceremony, gave orders to cut all their throats. When, in the course of execution, it came to the turn of Sauriah the son of Aumar, and Mûjaia the son of Meraurah, both of them of the most distinguished rank in Yemaumah, the former addressed himself to Khâled, and advised him, if he was desirous of ensuring success to the enterprise in which he was engaged, to spare the life of Mûjaia: an admonition which appears to have been given on grounds so solid, that Khâled suspended the execution of both these persons, who were thus seasonably rescued from the fate of their companions. After this, the Mosslems continued their march to Abazir, a village in the territory of Yemaumah, where Khâled encamped for the present; determined to conduct his operations against an adversary so formidable as Mosseylemah was now become in this part of Arabia in particular, on the strictest maxims of prudence and circumspection.

Such indeed, through the concurrence of a variety of circumstances, was the power to which the impostor had raised himself, that more than ordinary precautions were perhaps indispensible; a force of not less than forty thousand fighting men being stated to have been at this period assembled beneath his standard. But among the causes which contributed most materially to promote his views and ascendancy in this province, is

A. H. XII. A. D. 633. more particularly mentioned the testimony, however false, which was borne to the nature of his character and mission, by a certain individual, to whom the Arabian writers have agreed to assign the denomination of Nihaur urrudjaul. This personage, like many others of his time, had sought and obtained an introduction to Mahommed, during his abode at Medeinah; had embraced his doctrines, and been by him particularly instructed in the mysteries of that chapter in the Korân, which was afterwards called the Sûrut ul bakkerah.* Returning, however, to Yemaumah, he abjured those doctrines with the same facility as that with which he had embraced them; and attaching himself to the fortunes of Mosseylemah, was enrolled amongst the most confidential of his friends.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

In conformity with the instructions of his new master, he proceeded to circulate in the different quarters of Yemaumah, that, in his presence, Mahommed had expressly acknowledged Mosseylemah to be his equal and associate in all the functions of his divine mission. And such testimony confirmed by that of Mohokkem Ben Teffeil, was received with so much deference, by the most distinguished among the Benni Khozzaifah, that they assented without hesitation, to the truth of what it was intended to establish; and Mosseylemah was accordingly received as the prophet ordained by heaven for their instruction and reformation. In imitation of Mahommed, and on the same pretence of communicating to them some portion of that abundant virtue with which he was supposed to be endued, he was persuaded by the same Nihaur urrudjaul, to lay his hands upon the heads of children, and to introduce his fingers into their mouths. After his death, we are however assured, that all those on whom this imposition had been practiced, became without an exception, either bald-headed, or stammerers in their speech.

But to resume our narration. On the approach of Khâled, the chief persons of Yemaumah were called together by Mohokkem ul Teffeil already mentioned, and by him assured that the fury of these remorseless invaders was about to be directed to the demolition of their towns and temples, and to the destruction and violation of all they held either dear or sacred: neither did he pretend to disguise from them the nature of the enemy with whom they were to contend. He told them, that in defence of their country, they must be prepared to combat with men, to whom

* The chapter of the red heifer.—The 2nd of the Korân.

life had no value when placed in competition with duty; who were accustomed to look upon death in the service of their chief, as the infallible medium of ensuring eternal life. To this they replied, by the most solemn protestations, that on the day of battle, they were resolved to exhibit such proofs of determined valor, as should, perhaps, convince Khâled of the enormity of those crimes with which he was polluted; and though he might contrive to escape from the slaughter of his followers, that he should not dare to look behind him, until he was under the gates of Medeinah. The result will shew that in these professions, they were perfectly sincere and in earnest. A. H. XII. A. D. 633. Rouzut ussuffa.

Khâled was suffered to advance however, without material opposition, until he encamped at a station then called Akkermah, when at the head of his whole force, which he now drew out of Yemaumah, Mosseylemah at length presented himself before the camp of the Mosslems in formidable array. Both sides immediately prepared for battle, the preliminaries to which it was not very difficult to arrange, where the parties were equally anxious and ardent to engage. The right wing of Khâled, notwithstanding the prognostications of Omar, was entrusted to the discretion of his brother Zeid, the son of Ul Khettaub; and the left was placed under Assaumah the son of Zeid, already noticed in the preceding pages. Of this action, which probably decided whether the tenets of Mahommed, or the code of Mosseylemah, should give laws to the eastern world, and which is recorded to have been the most sanguinary and obstinately contested of any in which the disciples of the Korân had been hitherto engaged, we shall perhaps be justified in reciting a few of the leading particulars; although at this distant period of time, they cannot be supposed to furnish much to interest the attention of the general reader.

Early in the battle, and the first who fell on the part of Mosseylemah, was the Nihaur urrudjaul, whose representations have been already stated as so essentially serviceable to the cause of his master, and who was now sent to answer for his falsehoods, by the sword of Zeid. On the other side, those historians who are partial to the memory of Khâled, describe him as setting in his own person an example to his troops, by being the foremost in the conflict, which commenced as usual in most cases, with a succession of single combats betwixt those who were most ardent to display

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their valor. To him succeeded in the perilous exhibition, the gallant Aumar Yausser, a name much celebrated in these early times; he was desperately wounded, and reluctantly compelled to withdraw to his station in the line of battle. Next succeeded Hareth, the son of Hushaum ul Mukhzûmi, and Zeid the son of Khettaub; the latter of whom, after having killed five of the enemy's principal captains, was at last mortally wounded, and fell covered with glory. Abû Khozzaifah, the standard bearer of the Mohaujer, was also one of the martyrs of this fatal day, together with about three hundred others of the most zealous partizans of the truths of the Mahommedan faith. The bulk of those who now fell was indeed of a rank so conspicuous and distinguished, that the Mosslems were thrown into the utmost confusion; and terror stricken at the loss of their leaders a great part of them quitted the field in dismay.

The enemy flushed with victory, pursued the fugitives to the very tents of Khâled, which, in their fury, they proceeded to cut to pieces. Here, discovering the widow of Malek, the son of Nowairah, recently espoused by Khâled, they were about to put her to death, but withheld from their cruel design by the timely interposition of Mûjaia the Yemaumite, confined in the same tents; and by his assurances, that at the hands of this defenceless female, he had not experienced aught but repeated proofs of kindness and hospitality. This success on their part was, however, but of short duration. The avenging fury of Khâled pressed hard upon their footsteps, wrested from the rash intruders their half acquired victory, and drove them from his camp. Nevertheless, the battle continued to rage with undecided fortune, until night came on, and for the present put an end to the conflict; without, however, affording much repose to the exhausted combatants. The hostile armies, each apprehensive of an attack from the other, during this interval of obscurity, and anxious for the fate of the ensuing day, without quitting their arms, and with the bridles of their horses in hand, fearfully watched the approach of morning.

Next day, and probably presuming on the partial advantages of the preceding, the foremost to provoke and renew the battle, was Mohokkem ul Teffeil, the leader in Mosseylemah's councils, and the lieutenant general of his armies. Vaunting his own praises, and the transcendant virtues of his patron, and the adherents of his cause, he advanced, in an attitude of proud defiance to the front of Khâled's line, and was there

transfixed by the lance of Thaubut the son of Keyss, the Ansaur, whom few surpassed in courage and military glory. At the same time, the death of this person has, by other writers, been indifferently ascribed, both to Berraï the son of Malek, and Abdurraihman the son of Abû Bukker, after the troops of Mosseylemah had been driven with such fatal slaughter into the garden near Yemaumah, as will presently be seen. The object of relating events with these occasional variations, being, according to our author in this place, to guard as much as possible against the charge of defect of information on one hand, and partiality of statement in the other, which the disingenuous, the illiberal and the envious, might probably be on the watch to bring against him: an apprehension which appears to be eternally before his eyes; and which, if any were sufficient, might be extended with equal propriety, as an apology for the endless digression and discrepance, with which the attention of the reader is perpetually perplexed and fatigued, in this and almost every other work of oriental history.

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Conformably to such a plan, our author proceeds to relate, that after having slain Mohokkem ul Teffeil, the son of Keyss continued to assail the enemy as they dared to offer themselves, in all directions, until he also fell a martyr to his zeal and fidelity. In the same career of achievement and martyrdom, he was followed by Saeyb the son of Ulaûaum, the brother of Zobair. And it was now that Berraï the son of Malek, of whom more hereafter, became conspicuous to both armies, by the rapidity of his assaults, and the eagerness with which he sought and engaged his antagonists. But the exertions of individual prowess, proved as yet unavailing against the pressure of superior numbers led on by no contemptible share of enthusiasm and valor. Transported to a degree of fury almost ungovernable, the enemy made at last so resolute and effectual a charge, that the Mosslems, incapable of resisting the torrent, were compelled to give way. Khâled alone, unmoved and unappalled, still continued by his voice and example, to animate, and recal to a sense of shame and duty, his dismayed and broken squadrons; whom he finally prevailed upon, though this was not accomplished without repeated shocks, to regain the ground from which they had been driven. The exertions of his general were gallantly seconded by Abû Dejaunah, whose remonstrances brought a body of the fugitives to unite with him in breaking through the columns

A. H. XII. A. D. 633. of the enemy, whose presumption derived from superiority of number only, he taught them to chastise.

Rouzut ussuffâ. Nevertheless, the generous efforts of the followers of Mosseylemah were not of a complexion to be easily overcome. Not less than twenty different times, was the field alternately lost and won by the contending parties in the course of the day. Such indeed was the fierceness and obstinacy of their assaults, that one of the Ansaur, who filled a conspicuous place in the action, is compelled to acknowledge, that if the most signal and shameful defeat did not this day befal the disciples of Isslâm, it was rather to be ascribed to the singular favor of divine providence, and the irrevocable decrees of destiny, than to any claims of superior valor.

Perceiving that this conflict, the most severe and arduous in which, from his own confession, he had ever been engaged, had already proved fatal beyond all precedent, to the bravest of the prophet's companions; Khâled was no longer disposed to doubt, that the blood of Mosseylemah could alone decide the victory, or extinguish the fury of the combatants. He therefore redoubled his exertions to inspire his troops with ardor; he urged them by every consideration of honor, of loyalty, and of safety, with one more simultaneous effort, to throw themselves amongst the enemy; and the impulse was perhaps such as to surpass his utmost expectations. Devoting themselves to death, and led on by the veterans of the field of Beder, and many another hard contested field, the soldiers of Khâled were no longer resistible. The troops of Mosseylemah turned their backs in dismay; and Mohokkem ul Teffeil, who, notwithstanding former statements, appears to have still survived, observing the confusion to be irretrieveable, cried out to the disordered multitude, "to make for the garden;" indicating the garden of the merciful, or as it was subsequently denominated, the *garden of death*, under the walls of Yemaumah; which had probably been fixed upon, as a place of retreat, in case of disaster. The fugitives crouded round the person of Mosseylemah, and with him, accordingly, made the best of their way to this garden, the gates of which they immediately secured, and under cover of its walls, prepared to resist their fierce assailants.

The victors followed in close and eager pursuit; and Berrai the son of Malek, who had alternately rendered himself in this battle as conspicuous by the most degrading cowardice, and the most distinguished proofs of

gallantry, calling upon his associates to throw him into the garden; they raised him to the parapet of the wall, from whence he cast himself into the inclosure; and by further efforts of a courage amounting to desperation, he so terrified that part of the enemy entrusted with the defence of the gates, that the Mosslems succeeded in forcing them open. The conflict was now renewed with undiminished fury and multiplied slaughter. Mohokkem ul Teffeil, to the last moment bravely animating his companions to repel the assailants, here fell, transfixed by an arrow from the hand of Abdurraihman the son of Abû Bukker; although his death is, by others, ascribed to Berraï the son of Malek, with what degree of justice it would be immaterial to discuss. It will be more important and interesting to accompany Mosseylemah himself, as far as we are enabled to trace him, to the concluding scene of life and ambition.

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It becomes necessary to remark in this place, that Hamzah the son of Abdul Mûtlub, the much beloved uncle of Mahommed, and one of the most illustrious in the catalogue of the martyrs of his faith, was one of those who fell in the fatal battle of Ohud:* and the person by whose hand he fell, is generally acknowledged to have been Wahashi or Wahausha.† This man relates of himself, that some time subsequent to that event, he repaired to Medeinah, was permitted to visit the prophet, and embraced the tenets of Isslâm: but as his presence must have been extremely obnoxious, having embrued his hands in the blood of his dearest friend, he was seldom, if ever afterwards, permitted to share in his society, although suffered to live unmolested in the town. After the accession of Abû Bukker, and at the period they were advancing towards Yemaumah, he armed himself with the same spear which had been fatal to the gallant Hamzah, and joined the troops of Khâled.

When Mosseylemah and his surviving followers, had been driven into the garden of death, Wahashi entered that scene of carnage, together

* This battle, in which the prophet with seven hundred men, was defeated with considerable loss, by Abû Soffeyan, and three thousand of the people of Mekkah, principally through the activity and intelligence of Khâled, then an infidel, was fought near the hill of Ohud not far from Medeinah, on the 15th of the month of Shavaul, in the third year of the Hidjera. It is well known that Hinda the wife of Abû Soffeyan, and mother of Mauweiah, is stated, with savage ferocity to have devoured the heart of Hamzah, the martyr alluded to in the text.

† An Ethiopian or Abyssinian slave.

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Rouzut ussuffâ.

with the assailants; and observing him, sword in hand, bravely cheering and animating the exertions of his adherents to maintain the conflict, he immediately singled him out, and advanced to attack him. Mosseylemah, nothing dismayed, flew to anticipate the attack, when, at the same instant, Eben Aumar the Ansaur, assailing him from the other side, clove his head, just as the spear of Wahashi transpierced his groin, or the part adjacent; so that betwixt these two, it was impossible to determine which it was that gave the mortal blow. But in one respect, at all events, Wahashi did not fail to congratulate himself. Considering, that in the period of reprobation and unbelief, it had been his misfortune to destroy the noblest of men, next to his prophet; it was, as he said, some consolation to reflect, that under the purer influence of the true religion, it had fallen to his lot, with the self same weapon to bear so conspicuous a part in ridding the world of its vilest inhabitant, in the false and wicked Mosseylemah.

By the fate of their leader, were extinguished the remaining hopes of his party; resistance was at an end, and their last efforts were now directed to break down the walls of the garden, through the breaches in which they rushed in crouds, to make their escape. They were, however, slaughtered in heaps; to the number of seven thousand, being stated to have fallen within, and an equal number without the garden. The victory was purchased, notwithstanding, with severe and heavy loss on the part of the Mosslems; no less than three hundred and fifty of the coexiles and auxiliaries of the prophet being included in the total of twelve hundred, which was the amount of the slain on the part of the victors. So many, indeed, of the depositaries and reciters of the precepts and revelations derived from the mouth of their prophet, are said to have been cut off on this fatal occasion, that Abû Bukker, apprized of these numerous casualties, and apprehensive that the genuine doctrines of the religion he professed, were otherwise in danger of being gradually corrupted, if not intirely obliterated from the memory of man, immediately gave orders to collect and arrange them in the form, in which they are at this time exhibited in the Korân.

In secure possession of his hard earned victory, Khâled became desirous of identifying the body of Mosseylemah; and for this purpose, attended by the captive Mûjaia, he traversed those spots which the battle had covered with heaps of slaughter. In the course of this disgusting survey, perceiving

a mangled corse, which, from its extraordinary stature, and fine proportions, he conceived to be that of which he was in search; and he, accordingly, demanded of his attendant, if this was not the body of his chief. Mûjaia observed, that he was mistaken; it was that of Mohokkem ul Teffeil, a person, as he said, far more deserving of esteem. At last they discovered one which was no otherwise remarkable, than from its meagre form, and sallow complexion, but which Mûjaia immediately recognized to be the body of that man, whose existence, he now pronounced, to have been productive of such fatal mischiefs to himself and to others. Struck with the diminutive and insignificant appearance of the body, Khâled, with a mixture of scorn and indignation, abruptly exclaimed, "what a wretched "people they must be, who could abandon the sublime truths of Isslâm, "and devote themselves to destruction, from an attachment to so contempti- "ble a creature, as these feeble remains appeared to indicate." And yet, it is to be understood from a preceding part of this narrative, that Mosseylemah, when living, was as much distinguished for the elegance of his person, as for every other accomplishment of body and mind.

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The invention of Mûjaia was employed the while, in devising some plan to rescue the survivors of his slaughtered countrymen from total extirpation; and he began by insinuating to Khâled, that the people whom with so much difficulty he had defeated, were, however, only such as a rash and unruly spirit had precipitated to their ruin: but, that the fortifications which lay before him, were still overflowing with the best and bravest warriors of the Benni Haneifah, with whom, he therefore recommended an immediate negociation. Leaving these reflections to operate on the mind of Khâled, he found means, by a private message, to communicate with the inhabitants of Yemaumah, whom he instructed to arm their women with helmets and coats of mail, and to distribute them, thus disguised, with swords drawn, round the different towers of the place.

Perceiving the ramparts of the town thus glittering with arms, the resolution of Khâled appears for once to have forsaken him. He probably began to imagine, that the assault of a place so numerously defended, and by a description of men, of whose valor he had recently experienced such convincing proofs, might become an enterprise of some hazard; and

A. H. XII. A. D. 633. Rouzut ussuffa.

he therefore conceived the recommendation of the artful Mûjaïa, at least worth the experiment. He, accordingly, authorized him to propose to the garrison, the terms on which they might be allowed to capitulate. Upon this, Mûjaïa announced, that he was already sufficiently apprized of the state and determination of the town, to declare on what grounds those proposals would be accepted of; he would, therefore, undertake to say, that the citizens of Yemaumah were ready to place at his disposal, on condition of further indemnity, one third of their cattle; one half of their slaves; and the whole of their gold and silver.

Khâled having signified his assent to these preliminaries, Mûjaïa approached that part of the town where the walls appeared loftiest; and observing one of the women, in loud and bitter terms deploring her losses in the late fatal battle, he made himself known; and having first cautioned her to suppress her lamentations, he desired that they would keep up as imposing an appearance as possible, until the treaty was concluded, which, in their favor, he was mediating with their enemies. He then returned to Khâled, and acquainted him, as the result of his communication with the town, that excepting in one article, to which they demurred, the inhabitants were willing to accede to his terms; that if, instead of one half, he would be satisfied with one fourth of the slaves, they were ready to close with him: otherwise the treaty was to be considered at an end. With an unaccountable credulity, Khâled was prevailed upon to sanction the treaty with these terms; and when the gates were thrown open to him, he had no difficulty in discerning the grossness of the deception, which had been thus put in practice upon him; but, with a generosity, of which, he was not frequently guilty, he suffered his resentment to be appeased, when Mûjaïa pleaded in apology, that finding himself bereft of so great a majority of his hapless countrymen, he had recourse to this piece of deceit, as the only expedient which he could contrive, to rescue the remainder from the remorseless fury of the sword.

In the calm which immediately succeeded to the surrender of Yemaumah, Khâled, without appearing at all to be affected by the scenes of blood which presented themselves on every side, recurred to the indulgence of his appetites; and with as little ceremony, as feeling, or reflection, demanded of Mûjaïa, that he should give him his daughter in marriage. The Yemaumite endeavoured at first to elude the reques-

by delineating the extreme indecency of insulting the memory of so many slaughtered victims to the demon of fanaticism and revenge, by introducing the sounds of festivity and mirth, before the bodies were yet cold. But this was an argument which bore but little weight with the iron hearted Khâled; any more than the sum of one million of dirhems* then considered an enormous dower, which was fixed by Mûjaia, as the price of his daughter's hand, and which was paid on the spot, and the marriage consummated without further delay. A. H. XII. A. D. 633. Rouzut ussuffâ.

This disregard of appearances, together with some instances of preference to the relatives of his bride, with which Khaled, in the delirium of nuptial festivity, dared to mortify the haughty spirit of the coexiles and auxilaries of the prophet, who composed the flower of his army, determined the latter to make his conduct, once more, the subject of a complaint to Abû Bukker. In the letter, which Hussaun the son of Thaubut, was chosen to dictate in their behalf on this occasion, he is made to demand of the Khalif, whether, as the successor of their prophet, he could, under any circumstances, undertake to warrant that total disregard of decency, with which they were perpetually insulted, in the demeanor of the man whom he had chosen to command them; of that Khâled, who, whilst the earth was still reeking with the blood of so many martyrs to the cause of truth, while the scattered limbs of his gallant associates lay yet unburied over the adjoining plains, was not ashamed to revel on the silken couch of luxury and wedlock; of that Khâled, whom, of all others, it behoved to remember, that, though the blood of but a single individual of the worshippers of the true God had been shed by the Benni Haneifah, it should have operated as an insurmountable bar to his forming any sort of connection, much less that of marriage with them. This was, however, not all: in the preference with which he thought proper to distinguish the relatives of his wife, it appeared a matter of constraint, if, at any time, he condescended to notice the salute of those who had fully participated with him in the

* At five-pence half-penny the dirhem, equivalent to about £23,000. According to Mr. Richardson, twenty to twenty-five dirhems, have, at different periods, been reckoned to a dinaur, according to him, equal to about nine shillings. The precise relative value of this species of money, I have not, however, been able to ascertain with any exactness. The dirhem, or dirrem, may be considered the drachma, as the dinaur was probably the denarius of the ancients, with some variation in the relative value.

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dangers and glory of the field of battle. 'However, if he, whom they had been ever taught to distinguish by the name of most faithful, thought fit to sanction such proceedings, they had no alternative but submission; his will should ever be theirs. And they should with the respect which became them, expect his orders. But it was full time to awaken Khâled from that dream of indifference, and neglect of all propriety, into which he fallen.

These breaches of decorum on the part of Khâled occasioned no small disquietude in the mind of Abû Bukker, who did not fail to communicate the displeasure he felt on the occasion, to his friend Omar, by whom he was again urged with renewed importunity, to depose him from his command. But the value of Khâled's services was too generally acknowledged, to admit of his being discarded upon a mere question of disgust. And he, therefore, determined to proceed no further, than to signify by letter, the indignation which he was constrained to feel at these repeated instances of misgoverned passion, by which he was perpetually giving offence to his associates. That the indulgence of his sensual propensities, seemed to have completely cast a veil betwixt him and every sentiment of discretion and decorum; which could alone account for the inconsistency of his behaviour, at a period when the whole Mahommedan community, himself excepted, were absorbed in grief and sorrow, for the loss of so many of its bravest supporters, in the late battle. And that, for his own part, he should not forbear pronouncing his bitter execrations upon him, for these odious and disgraceful proceedings; by which, in addition to the foul stain incurred by the unsanctioned murder of the son of Nowairah, he had accumulated such a load of shame and dishonor upon his tribe.

Nevertheless, when the letter reached Khâled, and the contents were unfolded to him, he affected to treat it with extreme derision, declaring, that Abû Bukker had neither knowledge nor concern in the matter, and that it was the entire effusion of Omar's malice. In the mean time, the trophies of his victory were transmitted to Medeinah; and among others, a female captive, of the name of Haneifah, whom the Khalif consigned to the share of Ally; but whose name would have been scarcely worth the record, had she not subsequently become the mother of Mahommed Haneifah, the founder of that, which is, by many, reputed the most orthodox of the four great sects of the Mahommedan profession of faith.

A short time subsequent to the reduction of Yemaumah, Khâled was directed to conduct the troops of his command into Arabian Irâk, and the territory stretching towards the lower tigris. And in that quarter he was, accordingly, employed in extending the dominion of the Korân, by the most rapid and splendid successes, when suddenly recalled by another mandate from Abû Bukker, to take charge of the expedition which was proceeding towards Damascus. Extremely mortified at an arrangement, which seemed designed for the sole purpose of checking him in his career of glory, Khâled ascribed this also, to the ever wakeful jealousy of Omar, who could not, as he said, brook the idea, that the metropolis of the Persian monarchy should be subjugated by his means. Yet, he determined to make a merit of his obedience to the orders of his sovereign, and though the inestimable spoils of Medâein* had been already devoured in his imagination, he consented to consign them to the fortunes of another, and bent his march for Syria; where his victories contributed to render him as memorable, as his attention to the welfare of the just and good, appears to have entitled him in this place to the favorable record of history.

A. H. XII. A. D. 633. Rouzut ussuffâ.

After slightly touching on subordinate events, the narrative conveys us at length to the termination of this reign. In the fourth month of the third year of his government, the meek and virtuous Abu Bukker, was seized with a fit of illness; in the progress of which, perceiving that recovery was hopeless, he undertook to exercise a prerogative, of which, with all the advantages to be derived from a character so sacred, his prophetic master, scrupled to avail himself; that of appointing a successor. However, in tracing the steps which the dying Khâlif pursued in the accomplishment of this object, we shall perhaps be excused, if, from the historian's usual exuberant variety, we endeavour to select that statement, which in his own opinion, appears to bear the fairest marks of authenticity.

A. H. XIII. Jummaudi the 2d, or Rudjeb. A. D. 634. July or August.

Having, in the first place, pretty clearly indicated the person on whom his choice would fall, by directing Omar to discharge the duties of the Imaumut,† he sent, when his disorder had reached its crisis, for Othman the son of Ouffan, to whom, in the form of a will, he proceeded to dictate as follows; "*Khaleifah after Abû Bukker,*" but here either fainting away, or his resolution failing him, Othman, of himself, after a considerable pause, inserted the words, "*shall be Omar.*" Abû Bukker, recovering himself, asked for

* Ctesiphon. † The Sacerdotal duties.

A. H. XIII. A. D. 634. Rouzut ussuffâ.

the paper, and observing the name which had been inserted, he demanded by whom, and Othman acknowledging what he had done, the Khalif testified his approbation; adding, that, for his part, he should have been equally satisfied, if, instead of Omar's name, he had even substituted his own. *Ally*, who, with many more of the chiefs of his court, was present on the occasion, here interposed, affirming, that he should acknowledge no other Khalif than Omar. On which, Abû Bukker, apparently surprised at this fresh instance of self denial in the son of Abûtauleb, lavished upon him, every expression of applause and benediction; confessing that he was indeed a prince in the most exalted sense of the word, whilst they were the mere agents of his power. And, in the high flown strain of the orientals, that, as far as the twinkling lustre of the stars in the firmament was eclipsed by the transcending radiance of the full moon, so far were their feeble pretensions obscured by the brighter splendor of his virtues. After all this, he proceeded, notwithstanding, to declare that he had appointed Omar to be the prophet's successor, and their sovereign, from a sincere conviction of the advantages, both civil and religious, to be derived to the state, from the eminent skill and ability with which he was so peculiarly qualified to govern.

Previous to this public promulgation of his will, the chiefs who were assembled round his pillow, had most of them entertained an opinion, that Abû Bukker was disposed to bequeath the succession in favor of Telhah, from a consideration of consanguinity, although to the prejudice and exclusion of his own sons. And Telhah is, himself, said to have indulged such an expectation. Under this impression of disappointment, it is not to be wondered at, that he should have united with those who now strenuously disapproved of the nomination of Omar, and in the most forcible language, called upon Abû Bukker, as he held himself responsible to that being who is above all sovereigns, for the condition in which he left the people entrusted to his government, to reconsider his arrangement.

Here again, we find Ally interposing for a second time, and declaring to Telhah, his fixed determination to submit to none but Omar, than whom, at the present crisis, he considered no other competent to the arduous task of government. He further assured Abû Bukker, that his arrangement of the succession was perfectly satisfactory; that he should ever bear witness to the benevolent solicitude evinced in his whole conduct,

for the welfare of his subjects; and he trusted, he should finally receive from the justice of a righteous creator, the glorious reward of his virtues. Thus did Ally, by a virtual abdication of his claims, and an express acknowledgement of those of his rival, furnish a sufficient refutation to any arguments, which at a future period might be resorted to, in support of his pretensions; at least so far as they could be urged in prejudice to the succession of Omar. A. H. XIII. A. D. 634. Rouzut ussuffâ.

The chiefs had now retired, and Ayaishah, the prophet's widow, entering from behind the hangings which separated the apartment, had composed her father to rest, when he was again disturbed by the violent clamor at his door. One of her brothers was desired to acquaint himself with the cause, and the dying prince was informed, that the friends and companions of Mahommed requested an interview. On their admission, they assigned as a reason for this intrusion, the intelligence which was gone abroad, of his having made a disposition of the government in favor of Omar; a man whom they ventured to pronounce, from the austerity of his temper, and the harshness of his manners, totally unfit for the charge. They, therefore, demanded of Abû Bukker, with this conviction on his mind, what sort of reply he could presume to make, when the supreme judge of the universe should require his reasons for this last act of his life.

Ayaishah, from whose relation these facts were derived, proceeds to state, that her father, upon a remonstrance so little ceremonious, could not contain himself from exhibiting the strongest marks of indignation; but when his anger had been in some measure appeased, he observed to his visitors, that since they had thought fit to threaten him with the strictness of that account, which he would be called upon to render to his creator, he could venture to assure them, that he was not unprepared to meet the inquiry; for he could, with a peaceful conscience aver, that the person whom he had chosen to guard the welfare of his people, when he was no more, was a man, in whose breast the will of his maker would ever prevail over the capricious fancies of mortality; and in whose mind the meaner gratifications of self, would always give way to the interests and happiness of those consigned to his care. In short, Abû Bukker expatiated so persuasively, and in the sequel, with a conviction so irresistible, on the numerous excellencies of Omar's character, that he finally extorted from the intruders, the warmest expressions of veneration and gratitude, for his

A. H. XIII. A. D. 634. Rouzut ussuffâ.

unceasing attention to their welfare; for that discernment, which to the last, he had displayed, in consigning them to the governance of such transcendent merit; and expressing, as they took their leave, their intire assent to the choice which he had made of a successor. From all which, we might be disposed to conceive that the eloquence of Abû Bukker was of a nature so powerful, as to extinguish the most fiery resolutions and animosities; and to transfuse into the hearts of his auditors in their stead, the most favorable impressions of that measure, which he was determined to prefer.

Having dismissed his visitors, Abû Bukker now sent for Omar, and apprized him of the disposition which he had made in his favor. It should have been previously noticed, that when the matter was first proposed to him, Omar had affected a total indifference for sovereign power, professing that the Khelaufut never was within the scope of his wishes: but Abû Bukker, insisting that there needed the superintendance of his firm and inflexible spirit, to give stability and lustre to the throne, he pretended to yield a reluctant assent. And his friend proceeding to furnish him with such instructions, as he conceived best calculated for the regulation of his conduct, with an assurance, that according to the degree of fidelity, with which he adhered to them, would be the fortitude with which he would be able to encounter the terrors of death and dissolution, he formally accepted of the solemn trust; and promised, by the most scrupulous observance to attest his faithful regard for the precepts of his venerable admonitor, which should, as he said, be forever engraven on his heart.

After thus providing to the best of his judgment, for the prosperity and repose of his government, Abû Bukker devoted the fleeting remains of life, to considerations of a more domestic nature. Meek and modest, pious and humble beyond his contemporaries, the first of the successors of Mahommed, in his vest of woollen, a pattern of simplicity and frugality to the people whom he governed, had but few private arrangements to embarrass his last moments. He only requested, that his daughter Ayaishah, would be responsible for the payment of the very trifling debt of a few dirhems, which he expressed his anxiety to discharge. He then desired, that when the awful event should have taken place, from which no created being was exempted, his body should be conveyed to the entrance of the prophet's sepulchre, where it should be announced that Abû Bukker was at the gate,

and besought permission to be laid by the side of his master; he added at the same time, that if the request was favorably received, the gates of the sepulchre would be thrown spontaneously open. A. H. XIII. A. D. 634.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

He expired shortly afterwards, amidst the tears and lamentations of a sorrowing family, and to the sincere and lasting regret of all the inhabitants of Medeinah, by whom, in common with his other subjects, he appears to have been deservedly respected and beloved. He was buried, in concurrence with his dying instructions, by the side of the prophet; that circumstance having exactly taken place, to denote permission, of which he had forewarned his family, and which it could not be attended with any considerable difficulty to provide for. This event took place when he had attained the age of sixty-three, and in the fourth month of the third year of his government.*

Bearing originally the name of Abdulkaabah, this was on his conversion changed by the prophet into Abdullah, the servant of God, instead of the servant of the Kaabah. His more general appellation of Abû Bukker, or parent of the virgin, he obtained, it is almost unnecessary to repeat, because he was the father of Ayaishah, whom we shall have frequent occasion to mention. That of Seddeik, or faithful, perhaps credulous, because he was the first to attest his belief in the prophet's miraculous journey to heaven; and occasionally that of Atteik, or liberated, because the prophet pronounced him, from his integrity and blameless life, absolved from the guilt of sin. His father Othman, surnamed Abi Kohaufah, survived to the succeeding reign of Omar, when he died at the advanced age of ninety-nine.

He left several sons and daughters, particularly Ayaishah, the most turbulent and ambitious of the prophet's wives, and Abdurraihman, her brother, by the same mother; Abdullah, by a former marriage, and Mahommed, by one which he contracted subsequent to his conversion. On the education of this latter, he bestowed particular attention, and he became at a future period celebrated beyond his brothers, by his devoted attachment to the cause of Ally.

* This would fall on one of the days between the 12th of Jummaudy, the 2nd and the 11th of Rudjub. Corresponding with the 12th of August and 9th of September, A. D. 634.

A. H. XIII. A. D. 634. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Without descending to a particular enumeration of that catalogue of virtues, which are recorded to have adorned the character of this prince, and which, in a species of funeral oration, addressed to the assembled chiefs of Medeinah, by the illustrious Ally, he sealed by an affirmation, that after the death of their legislator, the community of Isslám would perhaps, never have occasion to deplore a greater calamity, than the loss of that man, of whose mild and pacific virtues, the hand of death had then deprived them. It will be sufficient further to observe, that, however in points of doctrine otherwise hostile, all nations and sects of Mahommedans, in this respect, appear to have discarded all difference of opinion; and to have united, in consecrating the memory of Abû Bukker, in the general esteem and perpetual veneration of his country.

We shall, with the author, close the compendium of this reign, with a list of those persons, who principally enjoyed the confidence of Abû Bukker, and whose talents he employed to defend the interests, and promote the agrandizement of that unsettled system of policy and legislation, which had devolved to his charge. His Kauzy, minister of law, or civil judge, was Omar; and his amanuenses or secretaries, were Othman afterwards Khalif, and Zeid the son of Thaubut. Aittaub the son of Asseid, who had been placed in that dignity by the prophet, was continued in the government of Mekkah; he died, however, the same day with Abû Bukker. Othman the son of Abi ul Auss, presided as lieutenant of Tayef; and Mahaujer the son of Ommeyah, as that of Sâna. Zeiaud the son of Waleid, held the government of Hazermowut; of Bahareyne, Ullaï Hozermi; and of Nedjeraun, Jerreir the son of Abdullah. The territory of Arabian Irâk, as far as it was brought under subjection, was entrusted to the management of Mossenny or Mothenna the son of Hâretha, the Sheibanian, of whom, more hereafter. And lastly in Syriah, Abû Obaidah the son of Jerrauh, Sherjeil the son of Hassenah, and Yezeid the son of Abû Soffeyan, exercised a separate authority, subject, however, to the superintending controul of the warlike and invincible Khâled.

CHAP. III.

OMAR, the son of Ul Khettaub, did not embrace Isslâm, until Mahommed was in the sixth year of his mission. During the period of his infidelity, he had held a rank and consideration among the most eminent of the Koraish; and his distinguished abilities and discernment had, on many occasions, obtained for him the selection, when the difficulty or delicacy of arrangement might have presented the prospect of of miscarriage, to inferior qualifications. He now also succeeded without further question or opposition, to the supreme authority vested in the first Khalifs, assuming the title of Ameir ul moumenein, commander of the faithful; to obviate, as he told his courtiers, the inconvenient circumlocution of calling him the Khaleifah of the Khaleifah, the *vicar of the vicar*, of the prophet of God. You are, said he, the only faithful, and I am your chief.

A. H. XIII. A. D. 634.

Rouzut ussuffâ, and Habeibus-seyr.

The first act of his government, was the removal of Khâled from the command in Syria, which was transferred to the veteran Abû Obaidah ul Jerrauh, whose tempered valor, and modesty of disposition, would in other circumstances, have amply justified the preference.

The progress of Mahommedan fanaticism, and Arabian ferocity, was now diverging in a settled course, towards two grand and important objects; the subjugation of those provinces which embrace the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, and of the rich and fertile territory on the banks of the Euphrates. To avoid interruption and confusion of detail, the author, whom we shall follow, has thought proper, at the present stage, to direct the views of his reader, solely to the transactions in Syria; but the narrative will revert, at the proper period, to the record of those events, which led to the final subversion of the proud and splendid fabric of the Persian monarchy.

A. H. XIII. A. D. 634.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

When the letters, which announced the elevation of Omar, and his orders for the supersession of Khâled, were delivered to Abû Obaidah, the Mosslems had already formed the siege of Damascus. But from a degree of modesty inherent in his disposition, and a repugnance to be the instrument of mortifying the pride of his associate, the contents of these letters, were, for some time, concealed by Abû Obaidah; and the intrepid Khâled, unconscious of the degradation, was suffered to exercise the functions of command without interruption. The circumstance became, notwithstanding, at last, unavoidably known to the army; and the troops, in the hurry and inadvertence of the field of battle, addressing to Abû Obaidah the title of general, it ultimately attracted the attention of Khâled, who was at no great loss to form a conjectnre of the situation into which he was thrown. His expressions of regret were, however, confined to the misfortune which he had sustained, and which he now bewailed, in the death of Abû Bukker, to which alone he ascribed any circumstance of humiliation, which, at this moment, he might be destined to experience.

Kholausset ul akhbaar.

We are, at the same time, informed by another writer, that, in the heat of action with a very superior force of the enemy, a messenger from Medeinah privately announced to Khâled that Abû Bukker was no more. With that presence of mind, which, in the crisis of danger, never forsook this daring and intrepid chief, he seized the opportunity of deriving from the incident, the only advantage, of which it was capable. He proclaimed to his followers, that the messenger announced the approach of a powerful reinforcement of twelve thousand of their gallant brethren. And whilst the intelligence was left to circulate, and inspire fresh confidence through the army, he secretly demanded from the messenger, who it was that had succeeded to the sovereignty of the Mussulmans, and was now told that *Omar was Khâlif*. "Then am I superseded," observed Khâled; to which the messenger replied, that he was not mistaken, and that the command of his army was devolved to Abû Obaidah. With these unfavorable impressions on his mind, notwithstanding, Khâled urged his troops with fresh ardour, against the Greeks, now separated from him by a river, and succeeded in obtaining a complete victory; after which, he repaired to Abû Obaidah, apprized him of the accession of Omar, of his own degradation, and quietly resigned his authority.

At any rate, it appears not improbable, that Abû Obiadah should in the first instance, from whatever motive, have been induced to suppress the dispatches, which degraded from his command a general, whose skill and intrepidity had rendered him equally the terror of the enemy, and the pride and admiration of his followers; and it is further said, that the matter continued a secret, until the arrival of a second express from Medeinah; by which Abû Obaidah was directed to retain a certain proportion only of the troops for the seige of Damascus, and to detach the remainder towards Hamess:* but among those whom he was strictly charged to detain under his own immediate observation, the obnoxious Khâled was more particularly mentioned. The Kaussid, or messenger, who bore the second dispatch, delivered it through mistake to Khâled himself, thus disclosing to him, that his authority was at an end. In this delicate situation, he demeaned himself with exemplary moderation and temper; he upraided Abû Obaidah for his want of confidence in so long withholding from him the secret of his disgrace; and the latter, with a corresponding spirit of moderation, was heard to declare, that had it rested with him, the disclosure would never have been made; as he did not consider a question of power, of sufficient importance to occasion any kind of difference between brothers. In the mean time, since the pleasure of their ruler could be no longer postponed, he intreated him to accept of the command of the cavalry; and in that station, to continue the exertion of the same zeal, activity, and courage, by which he had already contributed so conspicuously, to the advancement of the cause in which they were engaged. To this proposal, Khâled thought it adviseable to accede.

A. H. XIII. A. D. 634. Rouzut ussuffâ.

The point of command being thus admirably adjusted, the siege of Damascus was resumed with additional vigor, and the garrison driven to the utmost extremity. In this crisis of their affairs, it was determined, on consultation, to make a grand and decisive effort to dislodge the besiegers; and for this purpose, the governor marched out of the town with his collected force, to give battle to the Mosslems. Affecting to be struck with a sudden panic, the latter immediately fled, with every appearance of precipitation and disorder; and the garrison, elate with the prospect of victory and relief, and resigning themselves to an inconsiderate pursuit,

* Emesa.

A. H. XIII. A. D. 634. Rouzut ussuffâ.

were completely drawn into the snare; the Mosslems having led them to a convenient distance from the town, suddenly returned upon their pursuers, and assailed them from every side, with all the advantage of surprise, and opposition unexpected. In the course of the action, Seffwaun the Salmian observing one of the chiefs of the enemy, conspicuously distinguished by the richness of his armour and attire, had with his mace brought him to the ground, and dispatched him; when he found himself suddenly assailed by the wife of the fallen chief, whom she had accompanied to the field of battle, and whose death she now prepared to avenge. Recoiling from the dishonor of embruing his hands in the blood of a female, the hardy mussulman, by a dexterous management of his sword, continued, without injuring the person of his frail antagonist, to awaken in her heart the sense of danger, and compelled her to retire for safety within the lances and javelins of her party; while he proceeded to strip the slain of his gorgeous armor and habiliments. Animated by the example of Seffwaun, the Mosslems redoubled their exertions; and the garrison, in no small degree discouraged, were ultimately driven back to their walls, which, however, they were not fated to reenter without infinite difficulty and loss. More closely reinvested than ever, the approaches of famine and hunger, united with the sword of the enemy to complete the measure of their misfortunes; and their last resource was to implore the assistance of their emperor, who kept his court at this period at Antakhiah,* on the Orontes, the capital of the Syrian province.

They stated to Heraclius, that the siege had now continued for nearly twelve months; during which, they had endeavoured, by successive sallies, to repulse the Arabs from before their walls; but all attempts had terminated to their own discomfiture and loss. In the pressure of distress and danger, by which they were menaced on every side, they had now turned their views to those succors, which, if he was any way desirous of preserving the country, they anxiously implored he would hasten to their relief; otherwise, they were become so intirely exhausted by fatigue and famine, that they must be reduced to the only alternative which remained; a capitulation with their besiegers, from whom they did not despair of obtaining reasonable terms of surrender. In reply to their intreaties,

* Antioch.

Heraclius urged them by every argument of fear and hope, to continue the defence, in which they had hitherto so bravely exerted themselves, without relaxing in their efforts; and that he should hasten to their assistance, the moment his preparations were completed. But he cautioned them, by no consideration whatever to be persuaded to place any reliance on the faith of treaties with the Mosslems; by whom, so surely as they put them in possession of the city, their property would be given up to pillage, and their wives and families to the most cruel and disgraceful captivity. Relying on these assurances of relief, the people of Damascus persisted in defending their works for some time longer; but perceiving that the army of the besiegers was becoming, by continual reinforcements, daily more numerous and formidable, while the promised aid appeared as distant as ever, they could at last be no further withheld from sending out to Abû Obaidah, propositions for the surrender of the town. The Mahommedan general, anxious to be put in possession of this important place before the the troops of Heraclius should be in a condition to attempt its relief, very readily consented to give them terms; and a capitulation was immediately agreed upon, confirmed by the signature of most of his officers; by which, on the payment of one hundred thousand dinaurs,* the lives and properties of the inhabitants were secured to them, as far as that security could depend upon such an engagement; and the ransom having been accordingly paid, the keys of the city were delivered to Abû Obaidah.

A. H. XIII. A. D. 634. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Unhappily, the fierce and inexorable Khâled, whose quarters were established on an opposite side of the town, either regardless of the treaty, or unapprized of its conclusion, which is most unlikely, during the night, with a ladder of ropes, and some chosen companions, scaled the walls; and finding the posts unguarded, hastened to one of the adjoining gates, which he threw open to the troops, who were in readiness to enter from without, and led them, to the fearful clamor of Allahû Akbar† into the heart of the city: plundering and slaughtering all that fell in his way. In this state of horror and uncertainty, the defenceless inhabitants looked with impatience for the break of day; when the governor, with the principal citizens, fled for sanctuary to Abû Obaidah, whom they besought to enforce the terms

Habeibusseyr.

* At twenty dirrems, of about five-pence half-penny each to the dinaur, this would be about equivalent to 45,833*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; at twenty-five dirrems to the dinaur, it would be about 57,291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

† God is greatest!

A.H. XIV. Rudjeb, A. D. 635. August.

of the treaty, by which he was engaged to protect them. Khâled was, at last, prevailed upon to put a stop to the cruel outrages into which the city had been so basely betrayed: and the gallant Yezeid, the son of Abû Sefeyan, to whom it had been long since promised, was now placed in the government of Damascus; which, under this family, and the Benni Ommeyah, in the lapse of a few years, attained to a pre-eminent degree of prosperity and splendor. If we are to place any reliance on the manuscript dates of the Orientals, the capture of Damascus took place in the month of Rudjeb, of the fourteenth year of the Hidjera.*

Habeibus-seyr.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

Having secured this important acquisition, and protected the inhabitants from further outrage, Abu Obaidah was at leisure, in pursuance of the Khalif's instruction, to detach Amrû Auss towards Palestine, and the territory contiguous to the river Jordan: with orders to obtain a peaceable submission, if he found the people disposed to listen to his terms; but if his overtures were rejected, to carry pillage and devastation through the country. The approach of Amrû was preceded by the usual circumstances of alarm; and the terrified inhabitants, by an early and seasonable application, amidst the embarrassments which now seemed to multiply upon him, succeeded in procuring from Heraclius, a reinforcement of twenty thousand horse. This, together with the intelligence which reached him about the same period, of another body of similar strength collecting in the vicinity of Baalbec, for the present gave a check to the progress of Amrû; and he found it prudent to remain stationary, until he should have apprized Abû Obaidah, of the unexpected and powerful opposition, which had arisen against the projects of aggression and rapine in that quarter.

Aware that the force under Amrû was inadequate to a contest with such accumulating superiority, Abû Obaidah sought the advice of Khâled, as to the best means of disconcerting the measures of the enemy. With his usual promptitude of decision, Khâled suggested that Amrû, with the troops most exposed to the attacks of the christians, and the Arabs their confederates, should, for the present, remain on the defensive. In the mean time, he would himself undertake the dispersion of that part of the enemy's force which appeared to embarrass them on the side of Baalbec;

* According to Ockley, the capture of Damascus took place on the day of Abû Bukker's death, on Friday the 23rd of August, A. D. 634. Twelve months earlier than is here recorded.

after which it would be his further object to hasten to the support of Amrû, in conjunction with whom, there would be ample means of prosecuting the designs upon Palestine, with every prospect of success. A. H. XIV. A. D. 635.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

In concurrence with his own proposal, Khâled, with five thousand horse, was accordingly detached towards Baalbec; which, by the way, from its position on the map, would seem rather to indicate that, on this occasion, Amrû was proceeding towards the northern extremity of the coast of Phœnicia, rather than the river Jordan; unless, indeed, the apprehension originated with Abû Obaidah; in which case it was extremely natural to delay the march of Amrû, until the danger which menaced in front, was removed. But it is to be understood once for all, that he who travels through the mazes of oriental history with a map in his hand, must expect to find his progress retarded at every stage, by those difficulties and incongruities which unavoidably occur, from the very vague and imperfect notions, in point of geography, by which it is in general pervaded.

On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Baalbec, Khâled found that the enemy were by no means disposed to decline an action. He attacked and defeated them, however, after an obstinate resistance; compelling those who escaped the fury of the sword, either to screen themselves within the walls of the town, or to urge their flight to a greater distance from the field of battle. Having apprized Abû Obaidah of his success, he was by that general called upon to fulfil that part of his engagement which it yet remained to execute; and he accordingly proceeded, without further delay, to join the camp of Amrû; while the officers of Heraelius, alarmed at this augmentation of strength on the part of the Mosslems, thought it advisable to remove to some more advantageous position, covered by the fortifications of Kehel or Kohel, near which they now encamped. Soon afterwards, Abû Obaidah repaired to join the troops now united under Khâled and Amrû.

The Greeks of Palestine receiving information of the presence of Abû Obaidah, undertook to advise him by letter, if he had any regard for the preservation of his troops, to withdraw before it was too late; and before that force was finally put in motion, which was destined to act against him. If this was intended to intimidate, the attempt appears to have recoiled

A. H. XIV. A. D. 635.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

upon themselves, The answer which they drew from the firm and resolute spirit of Abû Obaidah, awakened less arrogant conceptions; and the next message they transmitted to the Mahommedan chief, was accompanied with a request, that he would depute some one of his officers to explain to them the object of those hostilities, by which, in different directions, they had been so repeatedly assailed.

In compliance with this request, Meyauz the son of Jebbel was selected to explain to the christians, the terms on which they might purchase forbearance on the part of their invaders. In order to convey the more formidable impression of those whom he was deputed to represent, this person armed himself in a suit of mail of extraordinary dimensions; and throwing over it a vest of yellow silk, with a crimson turban on his head, he departed, thus equipped, on horseback, alone and unattended, for the encampment of the enemy. On reaching the place of conference, he dismounted, and taking his horse by the bridle, directed his steps towards the Batarkas,* or principal officers of the Greeks, whom he saw assembled for his reception: one of the attendants was ordered to take charge of his horse, a service which he thought proper to decline, dryly observing, that no one was better qualified to take care of *his* horse than himself. When he drew near to the assembly, his attention was attracted by the magnificence with which the persons who composed it were apparelled; and no less by the beauty of the couches and cushions on which they reclined, which were covered with the richest stuffs, of the most delicate variety of colours. An interpreter explained to him, that the assembly consisted of the most eminent men of the country, many of them members of the court of Heraclius, and that he was expected to take his seat among them. They now offered, once more, to take charge of his horse, but this he persisted in declining; at the same time expressing a repugnance to seat himself in the midst of a circle so brilliantly arrayed, as the affair in which he was employed, could be dispatched as well standing as siting. It being however further explained to him, that there would be the most flagrant breach of decorum, if he proceeded to discuss the business of the conference in the way he proposed, he pretended on a sudden to recollect, that his prophet had, indeed, forbidden his followers to hold converse standing with any mortal, neither should he degrade himself by neglecting to observe the rule on the present occasion. But continuing to feel the same

* Patriarchs,

aversion towards seating himself on the gorgeous carpet, on which they had placed themselves, he lifted up the corner of it, and seated himself on the bare floor. The interpreter again proceeded to explain to him, that the assembly, already apprized of the rigid scruples on which he regulated his plan of life, were disposed to make him every concession on these points; and to treat him, at the same time, with every mark of respect in their power: yet, they could not forbear to recommend, that, for the present, he would consent to discard the rustic habits to which he had been accustomed in the camp of Abû Obaidah, where the posture which he seemed to prefer, was perhaps conformable to the general usage. To this, Meyauz replied, that as a slave of the most high, he should never allow himself to consider it any sort of degradation, to make use of that carpet which *his* hand had spread for all creatures.

A.H. XIV. A. D. 635. Rouzut ussuffâ.

In short, after refusing to subscribe to any of those compliments with which they attempted to flatter him; and insisting that, so far from being what they chose to consider him, the noblest, he was the meanest of his countrymen, the business of the conference was at last entered upon; and they proceeded to demand from him the nature of those proposals, which he was authorized to communicate. Without much preface or ceremony, he announced, that they were in the first place summoned to embrace the tenets of the Korân; to believe in the divine mission of the prophet of Isslâm; to observe his precepts with respect to prayer and fasting; and to abstain from the use of pork and wine, and other articles interdicted to the disciples of Mahommed. If they declined Isslâm, and chose to abide in the errors of their ancestors, the payment of a stipulated tribute would secure to them that indulgence; but if they acceded to neither of these conditions, the *sword* must decide all differences between them.

Finding that little was to be expected from the moderation of the Arabs, the officers of Heraclius confessed, that, as far as they could at present perceive, the terms on which they were authorized to treat, and what he had just explained, would never be brought to coincide; and yet they alleged there was one expedient still left to reconcile their differences; which, if he was in a disposition to attend to, they would state for his consideration. The district of Balka, they proceeded to remark, was, as he knew,

A.H. XIV. A. D. 635. already subdued by the Mahommedan armies; and of this, with all its dependencies, they signified they were prepared to make a formal cession in perpetuity; provided the Mosslems would engage to withdraw from the remainder of the Syrian territory. If these stipulations were agreed to, they were, moreover, prepared to enter into an immediate engagement, to unite with the Mosslems in a war against the Persian monarchy. On this Meyauz observed, that the district of which they spoke, being, with many more which they did not seem disposed to mention, *already passed, irrevocably*, into the hands of the Arabs, was, therefore, intirely out of the question. But to cut short the discussion, he could further inform them, that so far from receding a single step, it was the resolution of his countrymen never to lay down their arms, while a single town or district in Syria continued to acknowledge the authority of their enemies. This brought the conference to a termination; and the parties separating with expressions of mutual disgust and hostility, Meyauz returned to Abû Obaidah, and reported the result of this fruitless attempt to accommodate a dispute, which ferocious ambition and rapacity on one side, and obvious imbecility on the other rendered, perhaps, impossible to reconcile.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

The failure of another attempt to negociate with Abû Obaidah, was nevertheless experienced by the generals of Heraclius, before they felt themselves constrained to resign their cause to the decision of the sword. But having formed this resolution, they advanced, and boldly attacked the Mosslems on the right, left, and centre, commanded by Yezeid, Sherjebeil, and Khâled, respectively, and were, with their usual adverse fortune, repulsed on every side. They returned to the charge, notwithstanding, with additional resolution and fury; but meeting with a resistance equally firm and impenetrable, they were now assailed in turn by Khâled and Haushem the son of Autbah, the nephew of Saud-e-Wekkauss, by whom they were compelled to resume their line of battle. However, the fortune of the day was not yet determined. A third time the Greeks, having poisoned their arrows, advanced with deliberate and silent steps, to make their last effort to disorder the ranks of the Mosslems; but the invincible Khâled again interposed his presence and example to elude the threatened blow. After a short exhortation to animate them in the performance of their duty, he called upon his soldiers to fix their attention intirely upon his person; and when they should hear him utter the

tekbeir,* it was the signal to follow him, and urge their united course against the enemy's legions. He then paused in silence to watch the decisive opportunity; after which, advancing bare headed in front of his troops, he cried, with a loud voice, Allah hû akbar, *God he is great*, and rushed immediately forward, followed by his whole division, uttering a shout so tremendous, that the affrighted Greeks were thrown into instant confusion; from which, the Mosslems breaking in among them at the same time, it became impossible to recover. The defeat was attended with considerable slaughter. They left eleven thousand dead on the field of battle. The rest fled in part towards Antioch, or at any rate into those districts of the Syrian territory, not yet occupied by the Arabs; and others of the fugitives threw themselves into the fortress of Kohel, which lay somewhere in the vicinity. On this occasion, from the acknowledgement of their own writers, the disparity, on the side of the Mosslems was not so considerable, as that with which they are generally represented to have contended with their adversaries; the force of the latter, being in this battle limited to sixty thousand, and that of the Mosslems consisting of not less than seven and thirty thousand men. It is, however, not to escape our recollection, whether in this, or any other occasion, that, with respect to numbers on either side, the calculations of the orientals are not to be admitted without ample allowance for exaggeration. But it may be safely allowed, that the victory of Kohel, although there may be some difficulty in ascertaining the spot on which it was achieved, contributed to extend, in a very alarming degree, the terror already excited by the uninterrupted career of success, with which it appears the Mahommedan armies were at this period, pressing onwards in every direction, from their native deserts.

A. H. XIV. A. D. 635. Rouzut ussuffâ.

The inhabitants of Hamess,† in addition to the dangers with which they were more immediately threatened, had been most seriously alarmed by the reduction of Medâein,‡ the metropolis of the Khossrous, which had been taken possession of by Saud-e-Wekkauss, some time previous to the period under consideration. They were, therefore, aroused to the necessity of making the most speedy and active preparations for defence; and for further security, solicited and obtained from Heraclius, if that had been of

* Alla hû akbar. † Emesa.

‡ Ctesiphon, generally so called by the Persians; sometimes Kteisfûn.

A. H. XIV. A. D. 635. Rouzut ussuffâ.

any avail, the assistance of a very powerful reinforcement; although, as may have been not unfrequently observed, where providence has already determined the fall of empires, these very measures of precaution appear to have accelerated the decision of their fate. Abû Obaidah, with his usual circumspection, had conveyed to his sovereign early intelligence of the force which was collecting for the defence of Hamess; and he received in consequence orders from Omar, to proceed without delay, and form the siege of that place. He accordingly marched directly to Hamess, and invested it so closely on every side, as to cut off from it every possibility of further supply; not improbably, before the means of subsisting its numerous garrison had been sufficiently provided. The apprehensions of immediate scarcity and famine, rendered an effort to open a communication with the country indispensable; and a vigorous sally was accordingly determined on, and carried into immediate execution. But the vigilance of Abû Obaidah, and the courage of Khâled, ever foremost to the call of danger, and not unworthily supported by the gallant Yezeid, presented every where an insurmountable barrier to their exertions. The troops of the garrison were repulsed with slaughter, and driven back into the town, to encounter, under all the discouragements of defeat, the distresses of hunger and deprivation in every shape. It would, however, appear, that before these distresses could have made any considerable progress in the town, the inhabitants became so dismayed by surrounding dangers, that the honors of a protracted defence were foregone, to secure the probable attainment of favorable terms, by an early submission. With this object, they sent out proposals to Abû Obaidah, who readily admitted them to a capitulation, on the payment of a stipulated ransom; and the place was accordingly surrendered to him, without further resistance: the fifth part of the ransom, being on this and every other occasion, remitted to the treasury of the Khalifs at Medeinah, and the residue distributed on the spot among the captors.

The troops of Abû Obaidah were at this period dispersed over the country, to expedite the schemes of conversion, or of devastation and death; and he was, from a prudent precaution, directed, on the reduction and of Hamess, to concentrate his force as much as possible at that place, and there to remain for further instructions. He accordingly established his quarters within the walls of the town, while his scattered detachments repaired to join him from all parts of Syria.

On the apparently premature capture of Hamess, the emperor Heraclius began to feel himself straitened, even within the extensive ramparts of Antioch. And on this occasion, the Arabian writers have undertaken to furnish posterity with a report of the bitter expostulations with his courtiers, to which, in the mingled emotions of grief, disappointment, and rage, he now gave a loose. He demanded of his Batarkas,* if the Arabs were not men like themselves, with the difference only, that in number and personal strength they were greatly inferior? to what fatality was he then to ascribe the disgraceful issue of every combat in which his troops had been opposed to them; and the strange apathy with which his officers seemed disposed to abandon to them, those fair domains which, by every motive of interest and honor, they were engaged to defend. One of the courtiers, equally repectable by his advanced age and superior wisdom, ventured to tell his sovereign, that, if indulged with permission, he could easily trace the source of all the misfortunes, by which the empire had been recently assailed. The victories of the Arabs were to be ascribed, solely, to the perfection of those institutes, and of that religion, by which they were equally restrained from evil, and stimulated to the performance of every virtue; from which alone, and from no other circumstance, they derived those irresistible energies, which, as men and as soldiers, gave them hitherto, a decided superiority over all that had been employed against them. A superiority, which they would assuredly retain so long as the contamination of vice and luxury continued to debase the morals, and debilitate the exertions of their adversaries.

A.H. XIV. A.D. 635.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

This plain language of his venerable admonitor seems to have made a sensible impression on the mind of the emperor; he confessed with sorrow, that of all his numerous advisers, this old man alone had retained sufficient integrity to disclose the sentiments of truth; of which he felt so powerful a conviction, that he could no longer hesitate in what manner he was to dispose of himself; neither should he furnish such an example of folly and imbecility, as to expose his person any longer amongst a people so degenerate. His resolution. therefore, was to remove to that part of his remaining dominions, where the progress of vice and corruption had not yet

*It is scarcely necessary to repeat, that Batarka and Essakefa, patriarchs and bishops, were the usual appellations by which the orientals chose to designate the principal officers and courtiers of the Greek empire.

A. H. XIV. A. D. 635. totally destroyed the foundations of private and public virtue. The same sage admonitor here again interposed, to observe, that partial discomfitures, however disastrous, ought not yet, to compel him, to abandon forever a province so glorious as that of Syria, at least without trying the result of another conflict. He should, therefore, propose a nobler alternative; which was, that those numerous legions who had so long subsisted on his bounty, and who were now scattered in idle parade over the surface of his extensive dominions, should be assembled without loss of time, to oppose the further progress of these formidable invaders. If the result was fortunate, all comment was unnecessary: and if the reverse, he would then be justified before the world, in making a sacrifice of the country to the cruel vicissitudes of war. This more generous resolution prevailed with Cæsar; at any rate in concurrence with such a plan, dispatches were transmitted in all directions, to summon the troops of the empire to join the standard of Heraclius; and it would appear that such a multitude of armed men were accordingly brought together under the walls of Antioch, as were sufficient in point of number at least, to have expiated the atrocities of the Mosslems in their own blood, if, by the decrees of an inscrutable providence, it had not been otherwise ordained.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

For the chief command of this assembled force, Heraclius selected from among his generals, Bahan, (into which the orientals have probably converted the name of Manuel) to whose reputed superior courage and skill, he conceived he might now venture to confide his interests in Syria. Three separate bodies, each one hundred thousand strong, were, at the same time, held in readiness to advance to his support; comprising altogether, if these writers are entitled to belief, with those already under the immediate command of this general, the formidable total of four hundred thousand men.

Such preparations could not, however, escape the knowledge of Abû Obaidah, in whom they might be reasonably expected to excite some degree of anxiety. It became therefore the subject of an early deliberation with his principal officers, whether it would be advisable to expect the approaching storm at Hamess; or to retire without further delay towards Damascus. On this occasion, Yezeid the son of Abû Soffeyan, whose character, amidst the rage of party, appears to have acquired universal respect, proposed, that after securing their families and

property within the town of Hamess, they should encamp with all their fighting men in some convenient position without the walls, until the arrival of the several detachments, which were hastening to join them from all parts of the country, should enable them to proceed and give battle to the enemy, with every reasonable prospect of success. To this plan, so prudently conceived, and in appearance so peculiarly applicable to their situation, Sherjabeil the son of Hassanah particularly objected, on the score that it would be equally imprudent and unsafe, to confide their families to the disposal of the christians, by whom, on the smallest reverse of fortune, it was most probable, they would be betrayed or delivered over to the enemy. This difficulty, however, Abû Obaidah proposed to remove by compelling the christians in the first place, to quit the town. But to this, Sherjabeil expressed still stronger objections; as a measure pregnant with dishonour, and breach of faith towards the inhabitants, whom they were solemnly engaged not to expel from their habitations. What, on the other hand, he should recommend as the most advisable plan, was to remain as at present, within the walls, until means had been taken to apprize Omar of their danger; and such reinforcements should be dispatched to their assistance, as in the exigencies of the moment he should be able to spare. Abû Obaidah again observed, that before any messenger from him could possibly reach Medeinah, the enemy would be before the gates of Hamess, within which, they must already have felt themselves too closely straitened. At this stage of the debate, Hobairah the son of Mofrûk interposed, objecting altogether to the idea of remaining cooped up within the walls of any place; as being totally repugnant to the constitution and habits of the natives of Arabia, accustomed through life to breathe the free air, and wander unrestrained in the boundless tracts of the desert. For his part, he thought it the wisest plan, to evacuate Hamess intirely, and withdraw towards Damascus; while messengers should be dispatched with the utmost speed to announce to Omar the situation of affairs; who, if he found it convenient or proper to send them reinforcements, would not fail to act as best became him. But, at all events, they should be equally prepared to repel the attempts of the enemy, whenever he was found disposed to interrupt their progress, with a full reliance on the protection

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. Rouzut ussuffâr.

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. of that providence, which had hitherto so conspicuously promoted their success.

Rouzut ussuffâ. This last proposal appearing to concur with the general opinion, it was acceded to by Abû Obaidah who determined to carry it into immediate execution. Having, therefore, previously dispatched to Medeinah, to announce to the Khalif his intended departure, and the necessity of immediate support, he, accordingly, evacuated Hamess, and proceeded on his retreat to Damascus. By the return of his messenger, he had, however, the mortification to learn that Omar disapproved of this retreat; although, as it appeared to be the result of a deliberate discussion with his officers, in circumstances of which, on the spot they were best qualified to judge, he still expressed his confidence, that the event might yet prove favorable. In the mean time, he was exhorted not to suffer himself to be intimidated by the enormous and unwieldy multitudes of the enemy, as his experience must have taught him to recollect, that victory did not always attach itself to superior numbers; and he was further assured, that under providence, he might expect to receive reinforcements, peradventure, as soon as the letter which conveyed this reply. It was no difficult matter to convince Abû Obaidah, that he had been premature in abandoning to the enemy without a contest, the fruit of his victories; and he now publicly acknowledged the superior rectitude of conception, and clearer judgment of his master.

On the retreat of the Mosslems, Bahan, with that body of the troops of Heraclius assigned to his immediate command, advanced, and took possession of Hamess; for the surrender of which, to the Mosslems, the inhabitants appear to have accounted to his satisfaction. From thence he conducted his troops to the Yermûk, and having fixed upon a position of strength and advantage, he encamped, on the banks of that river; in which, allowing for a convenient abridgment of names, may be recognized the Hieromax,* or Hieromaces, a stream formed by an union of the torrents of Mount Hermon, and which runs into the lake of Tiberias. On this spot, at all events, the Greek general conceived he might venture the fate of Syria upon the decision of a battle; and he was, in the course of a very few days, successively reinforced by those powerful divisions, formerly stated to have been held in readiness to march to his support.

* Mr. Gibbon's Roman empire.

The Mosslems, on the other hand, whose progress for the present appears to have been completely held in check, expected the bursting of the storm, with considerable anxiety and apprehension; fresh advices were sent to Medeinah, to remind the Khalif of the magnitude of the danger, and of the urgent necessity of immediate aid. Again Omar sought to dispel the alarms of Abû Obaidah; to revive his courage, and to prepare him for a conflict with the enemy, which, he exhorted him, not by any means to decline. The messenger was further instructed to acquaint his general, that, heaven permitting, he might still look to receive considerable reinforcements, before the enemy would venture to bring him to a battle. And in order that his performance might keep pace with his promises, a detachment of three thousand horse under Soweyd the son of Saumut the Ansaur, quitted Medeinah, in order to join the Mosslems, immediately on the departure of the messenger; Abû Soffeyan, and Saud the son of Aumar, following shortly afterwards with a smaller division of one thousand men for the same destination. The detachment under Soweyd is even said to have proceeded with so much celerity as to have joined Abû Obaidah, before the messenger who had been dispatched to announce its approach. But at all events, the arrival of these succors at a period so seasonable, diffused a degree of confidence and animation through the army of Abû Obaidah, far beyond what might be conceived from an accession of number, on these statements, apparently so inconsiderable.

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While affairs continued in this posture, instead of an attack before the arrival of further reinforcements should have rendered the issue more doubtful, Abû Obaidah received a message from the general of the Greeks proposing to try the result of another conference; at the same time, intimating, what, in ages more refined, would probably have excited some jealousy, that the character of his *predecessor* in the command of the Mosslems, had raised him so high, in the estimation of the whole world, that it became extremely desirable he should be the person selected, through whom, to convey the mutual disclosure of those means, which might be resorted to, in order to bring to a termination the deplorable calamities by which the country had been so long desolated. To this, there was not much difficulty in obtaining the consent of Abû Obaidah;

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. and Khâled was accordingly directed, either next day, or very shortly upon this application, to proceed to the camp of the enemy, in order to afford an opportunity for the proposed communications. Among the articles of his equipment on this occasion, was a splendid crimson pavilion, for which Khâled, with his usual profusion, had paid the then considerable sum of three hundred dinaurs* of gold; this, on his arrival, he caused to be pitched close beside the head quarters of the Grecian commander; who immediately hastened to visit the celebrated stranger, with the beauty of whose equipage he either was, or affected to be, prodigiously stricken; and by an apparent frankness of demeanor, to conciliate the good opinion of his guest, signified, that if, on any consideration, he could be induced to part with this beautiful tent, there was scarcely any thing which he would not freely give in exchange. Khâled, without hesitation, made him a present of what appeared to excite so great a degree of admiration; but declined accepting of any return, observing, that a diversity of manners would render any thing that was Greek, but an useless appendage to him. Bahan accepted of the proffered gift; but it was not, until afterwards, either understood or suspected, that it was the direful pledge of blood and slaughter.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

Having, by every possible demonstration of respect towards Khâled, prepared him, as he thought, for a favorable consideration of the terms which he was authorized to offer, Bahan entered more explicitly upon the business for which this interview had been solicited; and proceeded accordingly to state that, if, as he had reason to suspect, the object of these cruel hostilities was the accumulation of wealth and plunder, he would undertake, provided the Mosslems on their part, would engage to withdraw from the countries which they had invaded, to secure the payment of a sum of money, according to the following proportions; namely, to Omar, as their sovereign, ten thousand dinaurs;† to Abû Obaidah one half that sum; to one hundred of his principal officers, each one thousand dinaurs;

* From 137*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* to about 171*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

† As this species of coin was valued from twenty to five and twenty dirhems, of five-pence half-penny each, the shares might be estimated as follows, viz. Omar's, from 4,583*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to 5,729*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Abû Obaidah's, one half. Each principal officer's, from 458*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to 572*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* Each horseman, 45*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* to 57*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* Each footman, 22*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* to 28*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* When gold was probably of ten times the value of the present day.

to every horseman one hundred; and to every foot soldier in the army, fifty dinaurs. A. H. XV. A. D. 636.

These proposals, which at best could only tend to a temporary compromise, do not, however, appear to have experienced from Khâled any degree of serious consideration; on the contrary, he proceeded to describe what, if the Greeks were truly disposed to put a period to these animosities, and the evils of which they were the source, he conceived the most obvious plan to ensure peace and safety upon the strongest foundations. That which he should recommend as the best and the most effectual, was immediately to receive into their habitations, the lamp of eternal truth, and to embrace with their lips the language of salvation, as exhibited in the sacred pages of the Korân. If, however, an adverse destiny should lead them to reject this first of blessings, there still remained one further condition, on which they might be yet permitted to enjoy their property and families in security; that, by which they should bind themselves to the payment of a permanent tribute: but if, from a blind fatality, neither of these conditions were acceded to, there was only one further instrument by which the differences between them could be finally and effectually determined:—*the sword.* In other words, he offered to their choice, either *Isslâm*, *tribute*, or *the sword;* the terms with which these ferocious reformers had now, for some time, been accustomed to practice upon the ignorance, fears, and imbecility of the surrounding nations. Rouzut ussuffâ.

With an expression of scorn and indignation, which he no longer endeavoured to conceal, each of these conditions was rejected by *Manuel*; who sternly assured Khâled, that the descendants of the *Romans* were not yet so debased as to relinquish the faith of their ancestors, for the religion of Mahommed; neither were they yet sufficiently humbled to become a tributary nation. But with respect to the implied menaces with which he thought fit to sum up his proposals, and the arrogance with which in other points, he chose to demean himself; he should recommend to his consideration, an attentive perusal of those embattled multitudes, who now panted to avenge the slaughter of their fellow subjects; and who were assembled, in truth, for purposes very different from those which led to peace with their atrocious invaders. He then informed Khâled, that his presence in the camp of the Greeks was no longer necessary; that it behoved him to withdraw and prepare his friends for immediate and unre-

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. lenting hostility; which, for his own part, he had no further motive for delaying, as his arrangements had been long since completed. Upon which, Khâled rose from the conference shaking the train of his vest, and departed without molestation, to communicate to Abû Obaidah the result of his mission.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

The negociation, whatever might have been the object of it, thus failing in every respect, but that of a mutual aggravation of the parties, it next became the subject of discussion among the generals of Heraclius, in what manner to direct the operations of the mighty force entrusted to their management; so as to ensure those advantages which were possible to be drawn from a prodigious superiority of numbers. The plan which appears to have been first suggested, was to separate into several distinct corps, each in itself sufficiently strong to engage the enemy, with every reasonable prospect of success, while the remaining divisions were held in reserve to attack in rotation; and thus, by a series of alternate assaults in close succession, continue to harrass and exhaust the strength of the Mosslems, until, by repeated action, fatigue and loss, they should be so intirely reduced, as to become at last an easy conquest. This, however, not according with the general opinion, another plan was adopted, by which it was finally determined to assail the enemy at once with their whole force, and put all to the hazard of a single conflict: of which determination, together with the result of the recent conference with Khâled, the commanding general immediately dispatched to apprize Heraclius; as also to announce the day on which he proposed to lead the troops into action. Nevertheless, having experienced considerable disquietude from a dream, in which he had been solemnly warned not to give battle to the Arabs, on pain of inevitable defeat, he could not forbear intimating to his sovereign, that it would be prudent to provide in some degree against such a disaster, and for this purpose he recommended, that all the females, together with the treasure and valuables, should be conveyed without delay, towards Constantinople. After which, he might himself, with less anxiety, continue at Antioch, to expect the issue of the impending conflict.

While his mind was engaged in these anxious preparations to meet the enemy, one of his principal officers requested, that Bahan would give him permission to relate the circumstances of a fearful dream, with which *he* also had been recently visited. In this, he described, that he saw, as he

thought, a number of men in white vestments and green turbans, descend from the sky, and having bound him, and his companions, proceed to drive them off in all directions, crying out at the same time in accents, which still sounded in his ears, *fly, fly, or you perish!* That while they were accordingly endeavouring to escape from unknown danger, some of his companions seemed to fall to the earth; others appeared to cleave to it, without the power of motion in any shape; and that while, in this situation, he turned his attention towards those numerous bands which had once acknowledged their authority, he thought they followed, division after division, and suddenly disappeared in succession, until not a vestige of the whole was to be seen; and with these dreadful impressions on his imagination, he awoke. With considerable displeasure at the uneasiness, which this relation had added to his former disquietude, Bahan proceeded to explain, what he conceived this vision appeared to forebode; and particularly that those whom he observed to fall, and to be deprived of motion, indicated all that were destined to meet death in the approaching battle: amongst whom, as some compensation for the additional discomfort of which he was now the occasion, he very devoutly wished, the dreamer might prove the first. On the other hand, Abû Obaidah has also his dreams assigned him; not such, however, as to awaken those sentiments of dismay and despondence, by which the defeat of the Greeks was already half accomplished; but such as were calculated to inspire himself and his followers, with the most animating confidence of success and victory.

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Of the dreadful battle which ensued, and by which the fate of Syria and Palestine was ultimately decided, it will be sufficient, without entering into detail, to describe some of the principal features. As far as our information enables us to state, it would appear that the multitudinous legions which composed the christian army, on this occasion, were, by their general, disposed into twenty separate divisions; each consisting of twenty thousand men, under the distinct management of an experienced Batarka, from some known proof of superior ability selected for the charge. These were, at the same time, to be considered as acting in subordination to the more general arrangement, of two wings and a centre; the right being consigned to the discretion of Boknautrah,* and Jorjeis; the left to

* Pogonatus perhaps, and George.

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Serjius and Reyhaun; and Bahan,* mounted on a black charger, clad in gorgeous armour, conducted the movements of the centre in person. On the other hand, Abû Obaidah, in his order of battle, seems to have adhered to the usual arrangement of right, left and centre; placing Amrû and Yezeid at the head of the former; Meyauz the son of Jebbel, and Soweyd the son of Saumut, of the left; and reserving to himself the command of the centre. He stationed, however, a body of four thousand horse in ambuscade, under Sâeid the son of Zeid; and the general direction of the cavalry was, as usual, vested in Khâled; while that of the infantry was entrusted to Haushem the son of Auttebah, the nephew of the conqueror of Medâein. And in this array, both armies, respectively, advanced to the field of battle; the Mosslems, as we are given to understand, in profound and aweful silence; but in the Christian lines, such is represented to have been the noise occasioned by the mingled clamours of the priests chanting their gospels, and the motions of their beads and chaplets, as to have been compared to the distant roll of thunder; while the glittering of their arms produced the more intelligible comparison of flashes of lightning gleaming in every direction.

The efforts of the enemy were at first directed against the centre of Abû Obaidah, which, by a violent onset, they endeavoured to penetrate; but a body of ten thousand horse being brought to act upon them, by the genius of Khâled, the whole of the division employed in this attempt, was annihilated. Another, and equally unsuccessful attempt was, to bring down their archers, in hopes, by repeated vollies of arrows, to create disorder among the ranks of the Mosslems. By one of these, Malek the son of Hâreth, the Nedjefite, received a wound in the eyebrow, whence he ever afterwards, obtained the name of Malek Ashtur, not less distinguished by his dauntless valor, than by his faithful and unshaken attachment to the cause of Ally. Among those also, who found a distinguished record in the events of this memorable day, it will not be surprising to observe the illustrious names of Amrû and Yezeid: both already sufficiently renowned by former exploits, and on this occasion conspicuously engaged at the head of the right wing. Animated by such examples, the Mosslems might be overwhelmed, but they were not to be conquered. The enemy recoiling from their onset, were thrown into

* This latter is a corruption of Manuel, as was observed formerly.

disorder, and endeavouring to retreat across the Yermûk, here stated to be a great river, and probably, in the confusion, missing the proper ford, they perished in great numbers. There remained, however, still unsubdued, a considerable body of the Christian army, under Bahan their general in chief, who continued to exert himself under every reverse, with a persevering gallantry worthy of a better fate. Calling upon his surviving principal officers severally by name, and imploring them to second him in one more glorious effort to retrieve the day, the sense of dishonor, and the influence of a generous example prevailed. They again advanced in three massive squadrons or divisions, and with a shock, at once so impetuous and irresistible, that the Mosslems, in their turn, are acknowledged to have given ground to a considerable distance; until arrested by the terrific voice of Khâled, sternly reminding them, that the bravest of Bahan's troops had already perished on the field of battle, or had found a miserable grave in the torrent of the Yermûk; that it would be their eternal disgrace to suffer the victory to be torn from them by this contemptible remnant, urged on by the mere impulse of a blind despair; one bold and decisive charge, he said, would put a period to the conflict, and to that, in the tone of confidence and authority, he commanded them to follow him. The voice of Khâled was seldom exerted in vain. Rallying at the call of this intrepid soldier, and inspired with a portion of his undaunted valour, they rushed at once upon the enemy, and bore down all further opposition. The prowess of the Mosslems was every where irresistible, and the victory remained no longer doubtful. The fugitives, who escaped the carnage of the field of battle, perished in the confusion of the night, either in the river, in the ravines, or in the precipitous water courses of the adjoining hilly region. Seventy thousand of the best troops of Heraclius, with their general and a multitude of his principal officers, fell on this disastrous day; and it is added, as a remarkable occurrence, that upon examination, not the trace of a wound could be discovered on the body of the general; but whether this was meant to imply that he died from the impulse of terror, or by some supernatural agency, is not explained: it is, however, not improbable, that he might have been suffocated in the shell of his own armour. The booty which became the reward of the victors was prodigious; and the vanquished now learnt from the event, that the crimson tent

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Rouzut ussuffâ.

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. Rouzut nssuffâ.

of Khâled was intended as a presage to the direful effusion of blood, which they were destined to witness on the banks of the Yermûk. The intelligence of this victory, which, together with the appropriate fifth of spoil, was immediately conveyed to the seat of the Khelaufut, by Abû Obaidah; was received by Omar and the chiefs of the nation with the most lively sensations of joy; and with those testimonies of exultation, which a triumph so signal and decisive over the most formidable opponents of their ambitious projects, was calculated to inspire.

Far different were the emotions which Heraclius was destined to experience from the issue of this most sanguinary conflict. The fugitives who dropped in gradually at Antioch, appeared so completely exhausted with fatigue, and scared in their intellects, as to be totally incapable of giving any distinct account of what had passed: all that could, for some time, be collected, was, that they had witnessed some tremendous catastrophe, from the fearful impressions of which, they were not sufficiently recovered to afford any rational or coherent information. At last Khozzeimah, an Arab chief of some distinction in his service, who had been present in the battle, was brought before Heraclius, and from him was derived a sufficient knowledge of particulars, to estimate the extent of his misfortune; not one of those generals, and nobles of his court, regarding whom he severally inquired, having escaped the dreadful carnage. The horrible report might, perhaps, be well supposed for the moment, sufficient to stagger his belief, or disturb his reason; but without attaching much importance to the fact, coming as it does on authority, by principle and inclination, decidedly hostile to the memory of a christian monarch, Heraclius must have been, at this period of his life, possessed of no small portion of the inhuman and bloody spirit of the vilest of his predecessors in the Roman purple, if, with an impulse not unusual in the breast of tyrants, he condemned the unfortunate reporter on the spot, to lose his head; not professedly indeed, because he happened to be the messenger of evil tidings; but because it was unfortunately recollected, that some eight years before, with the integrity of an honest man, he had been most urgent to dissuade his sovereign from abandoning the religion of Christ, for the doctrines of Mahommed; when, in the sixth or seventh of the Hidjera, in common with other princes of the east, the letters of that bold reformer were communicated to Heraclius. At any rate, although, to all obvious appearance at

least, the position of Antioch was pretty well removed from any danger of immediate attack, Heraclius was so terrified by the intelligence, aggravated not improbably, by apprehensions of domestic treason, that he conceived a longer residence in that city would be attended with extreme hazard to his personal safety: and he therefore determined to quit the banks of the Orontes without further delay. He accordingly withdrew from Antioch, accompanied by his whole court; and on his departure, ascending a hill in the neighbourhood of that city, took a last view of the Syrian territory; and, expressing his equal regret and conviction that he should never again behold it as his own, he bid a long and affecting adieu to this favorite and interesting domain.

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. Rouzut ussuffâ.

On the other hand, after securing the fruits of his victory, and probably encouraged by the precipitate retreat of the emperor of the east, Abû Obaidah marched with his army and immediately invested Halleb.* The inhabitants were, perhaps, neither from habit nor disposition, prepared to encounter the hazards and extremities of a siege; and they accordingly proposed, without much deliberation, to become tributary to the government of the Mosslems; and the Arabian general, very cheerfully agreeing to their proposal, thus obtained possession of a place of much reputed strength and importance, without experiencing either difficulty or resistance. It must be confessed, that this is not reconcileable with the circumstances of the defence of the castle of Aleppo, and the means by which, through the daring intrepidity of an individual, it was ultimately captured, as described by Mr. Gibbon, on the authority of Ockley; *which are intirely* omitted by the historian, whom, in this place, we profess *to follow; although* in other occurrences frequently of inferior interest, *we shall* rather have occasion to complain of redundancy than omission. And if, in other respects, these pages shall be found to depart from the order of events as described by the same eloquent writer, with whom the capture of Jerusalem precedes that of Aleppo, we have no apology to offer, but that of being compelled to adhere to our original.

Having taken possession of Aleppo, a body of two thousand horse, under Malek Ashtur, and Hobairah the son of Mefrouk, was detached by Abû Obaidah towards Derbund of Rûme; some place of that name probably on

* Aleppo.

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. Rouzut ussuffâ.

the frontiers of Anatolia. This detachment was, however, recalled shortly afterwards; but not before Malek Ashtur had found an opportunity of exhibiting the most conspicuous proofs of singular prowess and personal strength, in a desperate action with a superior force of the enemy. Abû Obaidah then conducted the army back to Damascus, leaving Habeib the son of Selmah, in charge of Aleppo and Kunserein,* and the recent acquisitions in that quarter. On his return to Damascus, he dispatched to acquaint Omar with the steps he had last adopted; by whom he was directed for the present to suspend the operations of the war, and to allow his soldiers a short period of repose; before he proceeded to the final reduction of those numerous places of strength, which still continued to resist the yoke of the Mosslems in different parts of Syria. In the letter transmitted by the Khalif on this occasion, he announces the progress of Saud-e-Wekauss in the war against the Persians, whom he now describes as reassembling, after their calamitous defeats, under the passes of Hulwaun.

A. H. XVI. A. D. 637.

When the army had accordingly enjoyed a period of repose at Damascus, sufficient to recover them from the fatigues of an arduous campaign, Abû Obaidah received the orders of Omar to proceed to the reduction of Ailiah, or Jerusalem,† so called, from the emperor Adrian. On this service, Amrû was sent before him with a competent force, to commence the siege of that city, which was for some time defended by the garrison, or inhabitants, with considerable bravery and resolution. To the governor who conducted the defence of Jerusalem on this occasion, the orientals have assigned the name of Artiûn; but to which of the generals of Heraclius, or of the fugitives who escaped the carnage of the Yermûk, this name applies, it is in vain to conjecture. Be it however as it may, when Amrû had been for some time engaged in the siege of the place, he received from one of the inhabitants a message, apprizing him, that it would be as well to suspend his labour; because, in addition to the most conspicuous character for integrity and justice, with which he would be adorned, the name of the distinguished person, to whom Jerusalem was destined to fall, was composed of three letters, and his, it was unnecessary to remind him, consisted of four. At the same time, the manner in which Amru possessed himself of this important secret, has by other authors been

* Chalcis of Syria.

† It is however more generally known in the East by the name of Beit ul mukdess. The residence of holiness.

differently stated.* By such we are given to understand, that Artiûn, the governor of the place, equally distinguished among the Christians for wisdom and valour, found means to announce to Amrû, that the prosecution of the siege on his part was labour intirely lost; because there existed a well known prediction, that the sacred city was destined to yield to a person distinguished by certain marks, of which not one was to be recognized, either in the person of Amrû, or in any part of his character. And he therefore recommended to him, to spare himself much fruitless fatigue and loss, by raising the siege. Under pretence of conveying an answer to this communication, Amrû sent into Jerusalem a person whom he selected for his knowledge of the language of the Christians: which knowledge, he was, however, instructed carefully to conceal, and to pay the strictest attention to the conversation which should occur at the conference, to which he was to be admitted: so as to preserve a perfect recollection of all that passed. When the messenger was permitted to deliver his letter to Artiûn, the latter repeated the circumstance of the prediction; and, with a remissness, not very creditable to his prudence, (to gratify the curiosity of some of his officers) proceeded to describe the marks, by which the destined conqueror of Jerusalem, was to be recognized; among others, that his name was composed of three letters, whereas, he remarked, that of Amrû contained four; all which the messenger carefully noted, and as punctually reported on his return to Amrû. In Arabic, it is almost unnecessary to add, that though the name of Amrû consists of four, that of Omar contains no more than three letters, and this, with some other apparent coincidences, enabled Amrû to trace the resemblance to the reigning sovereign of the Mosslems.

A. H. XVI. A. D. 637. Rouzut ussuffâ.

In the mean time, Abû Obaidah, with the main body of the Syrian army, advanced from Damascus, and encamped somewhere on the river Jordan; from whence he transmitted to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, a summons to become tributary without further resistance; otherwise he should be constrained to employ against them, a description of men, who, in the advancement of their faith, loved death, better than the Christians loved hog's flesh and wine. But finding that this insulting message produced no effect in relaxing the defence of the besieged, he proceeded in a few days

* Habeib-usseyr.

A. H. XVI. A. D. 637. Rouzut ussuffâ.

and joined Amrû. To convince him that they were not yet discouraged by the accumulation of force which now beleaguered them, the garrison of Jerusalem sallied from the town, and resolutely attacked their besiegers; they were, however, repulsed with loss, and compelled for the future to confine themselves to the defence of their walls. Perceiving at length, that the perseverance and ardour of the Arabs must ultimately prevail; and that the feeble barrier by which they were yet separated would shortly give way to their efforts, it was announced to Abû Obaidah, that they were ready to treat for a surrender; but that they were deterred from coming to a conclusion on the subject by a distrust, of which they acknowledged they were not able to divest themselves, in his observance of the faith of treaties; they therefore proposed that Omar should be on the spot to ratify the treaty in person, and that they should then feel no difficulty in submitting to his authority.

This proposal on the part of the besieged, Abû Obaidah found it advisable to communicate to the chief of the believers at Medeinah: by whom it was made the subject of immediate deliberation with those whose opinion he was accustomed to consult. Of these, Othman declared himself against the Khalif's removing from the seat of government on any consideration. But Ally was decidedly in favor of the journey; from a conviction, that, exclusive of the surrender of Jerusalem, there were other considerations which at this crisis rendered the presence of Omar with the army extremely desirable. This opinion prevailed, and Abbas was accordingly directed to form an encampment without the town, in order to escort the Khalif, who shortly afterwards set out for Palestine, leaving Ally to superintend the government of Medeinah, during his absence.

On information of his approach, Abû Obaidah, accompanied by several of his principal officers, among others, Khâled and Yezeid, proceeded to Jabbia,* five stages from Jerusalem, to meet the Khalif; whose simple and unostentatious equipment, seemed to excite an apprehension, among those who had been now long habituated to more polished observances, lest it should expose their sovereign to the contempt of a luxurious nation. They found him, when they met, clad in his ordinary woollen garment, seated on a camel, with a scimitar suspended from one shoulder, and a bow on the other. According to some writers, he was leading his camel by the bridle, while his slave was mounted; and when they inquired why he chose

* Joppa.

to walk, while his attendant rode, he replied, that the camel happened to be their common property, and that it was now the attendant's turn to ride. But in order that his appearance might, as they said, in some degree, correspond with the majesty of the Khelaufut, he was prevailed upon to attire himself in a suit of white apparel, and to mount the horse which they had provided for his introduction among his newly conquered subjects. To all this, he quietly submitted: but before he had long endured the constraint of this novel equipment, he found himself so extremely embarrassed, that he conceived it folly to persevere; and therefore disengaged himself from such appendages; he betook himself, without further ceremony, to what he was better accustomed to, exclaiming against the absurdity of forsaking established habits and usages, for the mere gratification of an idle and ridiculous caprice. And in this guise he entered the camp before Jerusalem; his mode of life, in other respects, corresponding, no doubt, with the same patriarchal and primitive simplicity uniformly exhibited in the manners of the Arab chiefs of that, and every other age.

A. H. XVI. A. D. 637. Rouzut ussuffâ.

On the arrival of Omar, Artiûn, the governor on the part of Heraclius, is said to have withdrawn himself from Jerusalem, and to have fled into Egypt; and the Khalif, after reposing from the fatigues of his journey, received, from the ecclesiastics, and other inhabitants, through a certain Arabian of the name of Abi ul Jeiaud, proposals to surrender the town; provided, on their becoming tributary, he would engage on his part, to secure them against expulsion from their habitations. To which Omar consented with little hesitation; and the articles having been committed to writing, and properly executed, the treaty was by him ratified, and delivered over for the security of the inhabitants. The Christians then opened their gates, and the Mosslems, with Omar and all his principal officers at their head, entered Jerusalem. There, in the midst of the sacred city, Bellaul, the prophet's herald of prayer, who had never performed the office since the death of his master, and who had resided in Syria since the demise of Abû Bukker, was now called upon by the Khalif to exalt his voice once more in the service of his religion; the herald, though he confessed it was contrary to a solemn resolution, to evince, however, his sacred regard to the commands of the prophet's successor, immediately placed his fingers to his ears; and by his well known accents, brought to the recol-

A. H. XVI. A. D. 637. lection of his countrymen the blessings they had shared in the society of their lamented legislator; a recollection, which, in the midst of triumph, was immediately attended by a loud and universal burst of sorrow. This did not, however, prevent Omar from proceeding to discharge the functions of the Imaumut with the usual forms; and as if the triumph of the Korân was now complete, to offer praise to that eternal being, by whose inscrutable designs, it was permitted to repeat the formula of the Mosslems,* the supposed proof of established sovereignty, on that favored spot, the equal veneration of Jew, of Christian, and Mahommedan.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

Having made an equitable arrangement of the affairs of the province, Omar appears to have remained there no longer than was absolutely necessary, before he returned to Medeinah; after confirming the government of Syria, and of all his other conquests in this quarter, to the prudent and experienced Abû Obaidah, with whom it continued to the day of his death, in the eighteenth of the Hidjera; about three years subsequent to this period, when both he, and his successor, Meyauz the son of Jebbel, with five and twenty thousand of the Mosslems, many of them, the most distinguished of the prophet's companions, were swept off by a dreadful pestilence or contagious disorder, which is said to have overspread Syria with calamities, and then, for the first time, to have afflicted Isslâm.† The disorder was called the plague of Emwauss,‡ from a place of that name, between Ramla and Jerusalem, where it broke out on this occasion.

However unrewarded by the favor of the Khalif, the merit of the conquests in Syria and Palestine was, by the voice of the public, generally ascribed to the superior skill, and singular prowess of Khâled; the fame of whose exploits had long rendered him the theme of praise and admiration throughout Arabia. Among others, Assauth the son of Keyss Kaundi, one of the poets of the day, undertook to perpetuate his glory, in the language of immortal verse. The following is the sense of four of his lines, from which some judgment may be formed of the strain of the whole. "Thy irresistible valour hath hushed the raging tempest; in battle thou "hast been armed with the tusks of the elephant, and the jaws of the "alligator; thy mace hath hurled the terrors of the day of judgment "through the Roman provinces; and the lightning of thy scimitar hath

* *There is no God but God; and Mahommed is the prophet of God.*

† Habeib-usseyr. ‡ Emaus, perhaps.

"spread wretchedness and mourning among the cities of the franks." For this effusion of his muse, the poet received from Khâled, equally liberal as he was brave, a donation of ten thousand dirhems;* an act of liberality which did not fail to awaken the observation and aspersions of envy; from the envenomed influence of which, says our author,† the hand of death alone relieves us. Suggestions and insinuations were conveyed to Omar, that considering the exactions, and the embezzlements from the property of the public, of which Khâled was guilty, it was not surprising that he should now be able to lavish ten thousand Dirhems on his panegyrist; any more than that on a former occasion, he could discover resources to advance one hundred thousand, as the dower of his wife. Such animadversions, together with many more of a similar tendency, did not fail to awaken in the breast of Omar, those smothered sentiments of displeasure, with which it had been exasperated, by the death of Malek the son of Nowairah, and the premature espousal of his widow; and he was, therefore, the more easily impelled to convey his immediate instructions to Abû Obaidah, requiring him, should Khâled be found to have had the audacity to appropriate the effects, or in any other respect to have set at nought the rights of the faithful, to take from him the one half of what he was worth, and send him to Medeinah.

A. H. XVI. A. D. 637. Rouzut ussuffâ.

In concurrence with the Khalif's instructions, Abû Obaidah, in the inquiry which it was thought necessary to institute on the occasion, proceeded with circumstances so ignominious and degrading to Khâled, that, considering the fierce and intractable disposition of the man, his endurance under such treatment appears something extraordinary; if, according to some accounts,‡ we are to believe, that he was compelled to reply to the interrogatories, with which he was importuned on the subject, with his turban tied about his neck, and held by one end by the common cryer. To this treatment, however, and to the fine of one half of his effects, which was immediately levied upon him, Khâled submitted with exemplary moderation;§ alleging, that the dictates of resentment, however just, should not prevail with him to resist the will of his superiors. He

* About 229*l.* sterling. Equivalent to, perhaps, ten times as much at the present day.

† Rouzut ussuffâ. ‡ Habeib-usseyr. § Rouzut ussuffâ.

A. H. XVI. A. D. 637. Rouzut ussuffâ.

then repaired to Medeinah, where, on his arrival, he was subjected to a second personal examination from the Khalif; by whom he was condemned to the further payment of forty thousand dirhems, being the moiety of all he had been suffered to retain by the previous award of Abû Obaidah. Whence it may be estimated, that the whole of the property which he appears to have amassed, deducting what had been disbursed in expensive largesses, may be calculated at one hundred and sixty thousand dirhems; which, at the rate of five-pence half-penny to the dirhem, would amount to about three thousand six hundred and sixty seven pounds sterling; and allowing for the fallen value of the precious metals since that period, may be rated as equal perhaps to ten times the sum at the present day. No exorbitant accumulation after all, when the numerous expeditions in which he was engaged, are taken into the account. And yet, if the scruples of Khâled were so little burdensome to him, as the character for strict and rigid justice universally ascribed to Omar, may lead us to suspect, the incumbrance of a private treasury could be easily dispensed with, when that of the public afforded such convenient resources. Such, however, were the multiplied and humiliating mortifications, to which, after the many and important services which he had rendered to Isslâm, the undaunted Khâled was destined to submit; neither do we find that he was ever afterwards called into employment.

At the death of this able and intrepid soldier, which is here stated to have taken place in the fifth of Omar, about the nineteenth year of the Hidjera, he lamented, that, after having sought the glory of martyrdom in so many sanguinary conflicts, and felt the weapons of the enemy in every limb, he should at last be compelled to quit the world an ordinary and ignoble carcase. He directed, his horse and arms, and the only solitary slave in his possession, to be disposed of, for the relief of the companions of his expeditions; professing, that in all his actions, the object which he had ever most ardently pursued, was the advancement of the law of God, as communicated through his prophet. It was now discovered, that the same horse and arms, and slave, above alluded to, comprized the whole of his property; a circumstance, by which Omar was constrained to acknowledge that his suspicions had been unjust; he even condescended to weep for the departed warrior, contrary to his avowed principle, that the tears of the afflicted were unbecoming the condition of humanity; and derogatory to that spirit of resignation, which, under every trial, it behoved the brave

and good to exhibit towards the dispensations of Omnipotence. And when he had occasion to notice the unbounded affliction, into which the sister of this celebrated chieftain appeared to be thrown, by the loss of her brother, he sympathized with her; observing, that so long as she restrained herself from tearing her clothes and cheeks, and from other violent demonstrations, she must be permitted to indulge her sorrows. It is added, as a further proof of his posthumous esteem and unavailing regret, for one whom the hand of death had now removed beyond the reach of envy and revenge, that, happening to pass, while the mother of Khâled was repeating with tears of anguish, some of those numerous strains of panegyric, which had been drawn forth by the exploits of her intrepid son, he could not be withheld from the confession, that, so far as experience enabled him to judge, *never mother had produced a son like Khâled.* A.H.XVI. A.D. 637. Rouzut ussuffâ.

In another place, the death of Khâled is recorded among the events of the twenty-first of the Hidjera, at Hamess, or Hems, when he had attained the age of sixty; which, if entitled to credit, would argue, that he must have been forty-nine, at the period of the reduction of Mekkah; it becomes therefore, difficult to explain how, or why, the contemptuous remark of Abû Soffeyan, touching the stripling who commanded the prophet's advanced guard on that occasion, as adverted to in a former page, could be applied to him. It is further asserted, that his mother Lebauba, was the sister of Ayaishah, the prophet's imperious wife, the mother of the faithful. If so, Khâled must have been, what does not otherwise appear, the grandson of the Khalif Abû Bukker; unless indeed, we could suppose, that his mother was the daughter of one of that prince's wives, by a former husband. Habeib usseyr.

Before we proceed with the operations of the Persian war, it may be proper to close our account of Affairs in Syria, with a cursory and transient view of the progress of the Mosslems in that quarter, between the sixteenth of the Hidjera and the death of Omar; which took place in the twenty-third year of that æra.

A short time subsequent to the capture of Aleppo, we find that the city of Antioch submitted to Abû Obaidah; receiving from him, as it is further stated, a numerous colony of Mahommedans. And much about the same period, by particular instructions from Omar, Mauweiah was detached by that general, with five thousand horse, against Keyfar, who presided over

A. H. XVI. A. D. 637. Habeib usseyr. Kaisareia,* on the part of Heraclius. This detachment was opposed by Keyfar, at the head of fifty thousand men, but he was, notwithstanding his tenfold superiority, totally defeated, and Cæsarea submitted to the conquerors, Mauweiah remaining in the government of that city.

As soon as he became master of Jerusalem, Omar authorized Amrû to undertake the conquest of Egypt, into which, the latter immediately conducted his followers: and Artiûn, who had so lately escaped from before them at Jerusalem, abandoned Messer, at the approach of the invaders; so that Amrû took possession of the capital of his government without opposition, although the remainder of the province is said, by other historians, and very properly, not to have been completely subjugated until the twentieth of the Hidjera.†

On the death of Abû Obaidah at Hems, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-first of his profession of Mahommedanism, he was succeeded, according to his dying instructions, by Meyauz the son of Jebbel, who survived his predecessor but a very short time; sharing the fate of a multitude of others who fell a sacrifice to the plague, which, during the eighteenth year of the Hidjera, spread its ravages through Syria, and the adjoining territory. On intelligence of the direful effects of this desolating scourge, Omar hastened, by his presence, to repair, as far as possible, the distracted state of that afflicted country; and during his residence at Rama in Palestine, while he filled the numerous vacancies occasioned by the pestilence, he established for the soldiery, a stipulated quantum of provisions; from which it might be inferred, that they were previously subsisted at random. He also assigned to the heirs of deceased Mosslems, all estates to which they could produce just and equitable claims; the property to which no such claims could be established, he ordained to revert to the state; and after a prudent regulation of these and other matters, the Khalif returned to Medeinah.

A.H.XVIII. A. D. 639.

In the mean time, Ayauz the son of Ghaunem, at the head of five thousand men selected from among the troops of Syria, proceeded by orders from Omar, to extend the usurpations of Mahommedanism into Jezzeirah and Diaurbekir; the peninsula between the Tigris and Euphrates upwards. The operations of the invaders were first directed against Rakkah, one of the towns on the latter river, which was defended for some time, with considerable resolution, by Neitesh, one of the captains of Hera-

* Cæsarea. † A. D. 641.

clius; driven, however, to extremity, and hopeless of relief, the place was surrendered to the besiegers; and the inhabitants, by an immediate payment of twenty thousand dinaurs, and an engagement for the future, to remit to the treasury at Medeinah, a capitation of four dinaurs a man, with the tithe of all their cattle, were received into the protection of Isslâm, and permitted to follow the religion of their ancestors. It may be once for all observed, that in the early stage of their progress towards foreign dominion, the disciples of Mahommed were seldom, if ever, known to be extremely urgent for a change in point of faith; being in general easily prevailed upon to accept of a reasonable compromise, where the defence was not particularly aggravating; on a probable presumption, that if their conquests proved permanent, such a change would be the natural result; in which, in a very great measure, they appear to have been justified by the event. A.H.XVIII. A. D. 639. Habeib usseyr.

Upon the reduction of this place, Ayauz advanced to Roha, better known to western nations by the name of Edessa; which city also submitted on composition. The surrender of Harran and Aynulaswad, in the same quarter, followed on similar terms. He next invested Nessebein, the ancient Nisibis, which sustained a siege of several months. One of the expedients to which the Arabian chief had recourse, for the speedier reduction of this town, is so singular, that it appears worth the recollection. Having caused a great number of scorpions* to be collected, and inclosed in jars, he directed them to be thrown at night by his balistæ, or projectile machines, into the works of the besieged; and the jars being shattered to pieces by the concussion of their fall, the noxious and disgustful reptiles occasioned such horror and annoyance among the garrison, many of whom being stung to death, that a deputation was immediately sent out to Ayauz, to treat for a capitulation; but reasonable terms being denied them, hostilities were resumed, and the same curious and extraordinary expedient again put in practice; and the Mussulmans soon afterwards attacking the town by assault, it was carried with considerable slaughter, although a ransom of forty thousand dinaurs,† and an engagement for annual tribute, is stated to have redeemed the inhabitants from the horrors of massacre and a general pillage.

* The translator is at the same time, not at all assured, that his author has not here mistaken a well known military machine of the ancients, for the venomous reptile of this name.

† From 18,000*l.* to 23,000*l.*

A.H.XVIII. A. D. 639. Habeib usseyr.

The conquest of Jezzeirah and Diaurbekir appears to have been completed by the capture of Nissebeîn; and Ayauz consigning the government of those territories to Autba the son of Ferkud, the Selmian, was directed by Omar to return into Syria, where, soon after his arrival, he died at Emesa or Hems, at the age of sixty, a favorite period of dissolution with our author; but it is scarcely necessary to repeat, that in numerical calculations, it is not always either safe or necessary to place implicit reliance on the transcript of an oriental.

A. H. XX. A. D. 641.

Among the events of the twentieth of the Hidjera, we find included the death of the emperor Heraclius, in the thirty-first year and fifth month of a reign almost as fortunate in the commencement, as it was disastrous in the conclusion. We have already had occasion to notice an absurd belief disseminated by oriental historians, that so far back as the ninth year of the Hidjera, while the Arabian prophet was encamped at Tabouc, this prince had secretly professed himself a convert to their faith; for which there appears to exist no reasonable foundation whatever. He was, however, succeeded in the throne of the Cæsars by his son Constantine.

A. H. XXI. A. D. 642.

In the course of the ensuing year, the twenty-first of the Hidjera, Amrû Auss the governor of Egypt extended his conquests westward of the Nile to Nubia, Barca, and Tripoly, and other provinces of Africa, on the coast of the Mediterranean; which were now successively subjugated, by the enterprising spirit of the Mosslems. The same year, is, according to some accounts, fixed for the death of Khâled at Hems.

A.H.XXIII. A. D. 644.

In the twenty-third of the Hidjera, Mauweiah the son of Abû Soffeyan, on the death of his brother, the gallant Yezzeid, succeeded to the government of Damascus; reduced the cities of Asclani, or Ascalon, and Amûriah, in Palestine; and laid the foundation of that power, which ultimately enabled him to aspire to the throne of the Khalifs. In the succeeding chapter the attention of the reader will be directed to the operations of the Persian war; from which it will probably appear, that there required as much time and exertion, to achieve the conquest of that single slip of territory, extending from Jerusalem to Antioch, and for the most part included between the course of the Orontes and the Mediterranean, as was adequate to the subjugation of those extensive and opulent regions which fill the space between the Euphrates and the distant Oxus. A reflection, peradventure, not much to the advantage of the disciples of Zeratûsht.

CHAP. IV.

ON the death of the Khalif Abû Bukker, the Persian government, encouraged, probably, by the prospect of a contest for the succession among the Arabian chiefs, appears to have manifested an early disposition to embrace the opportunity of opposing a more effectual resistance, to the incroachments of the Mahommedans, and of expelling them from their usurpations in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates. For this purpose, preparations unusually formidable were made, in order to attack the force under Mûthanna the son of Hârethah, the Sheibanian, who had, for some time past, presided over the interests of the new religion in Arabian Irâk: and as Mûthanna could not long remain a stranger to such preparations, he took, with the concurrence of his associates, the resolution of repairing, without delay, to the residence of the Khalifs, to solicit reinforcements.

A. H. XIII. A. D. 634.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

To serve, perhaps, as some kind of prelude, to the splendid and portentous events, which were to follow, we are told; that under the illusion of a dream, an unknown person appeared to this commander; and presenting him with a standard, announced the approaching dissolution of the empire of the Persians; to accelerate which, he now required him to proceed immediately to Medeinah, to demand the assistance of Omar. And, as a proof that his fortunes were become the peculiar care of providence, we are further informed, that, while on his journey through the desert, on this occasion, he and the followers who accompanied him, lost their way; but in the midst of the perplexity and alarm which seized them under such circumstances, they were suddenly and miraculously relieved by the voice of an invisible guide, which, chanting, in melodious measure, the triumph of Isslâm, and the prostration of the standard of infidelity, reconducted them to their proper road. All which, if not precisely true, it was not very difficult to invent, in order to promote the designs of inordinate ambition and rapacity, against the possessions and opulence of a declining empire.

A. H. XIII. A. D. 634. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Be this, however, as it may, about the commencement of the reign of Omar, the person already mentioned came to Medeinah, and awakened the attention of that prince to the present necessity and incalculable future advantage, of furnishing powerful reinforcements; as well to secure the acquisitions already established in Irâk, as enable him to take possession of the rich and splendid metropolis of the Persian monarchs. As an argument to prevail upon the Khalif, the more cheerfully to second his views on the occasion, he did not fail to represent the golden soil of the Chaldeans, if indeed it were not a disparagement, to call that golden, which bore a higher value than all the precious metals; that soil so celebrated for its unparalleled felicity, for the perfection of its agriculture, the magnificence of its structures, the multitude of its flocks and herds, and the beauty and variety of its manufactures; as inhabited by a race of men not less remarkable for the noble and commanding stature of their persons, than for the extreme timidity to which it was united.

Convinced by this latter circumstance, that the splendid plans of spoliation now exhibited to his view, were within the scope of a very moderate share of enterprise and resolution, Omar embraced the very next occasion of public prayer, to call upon the congregation of the faithful not to omit such a glorious opportunity of fulfilling the predictions of their prophet; who had long since promised them the empire of the east, and the exhaustless treasures of the Cæsars and the successors of Cyrus. But it would appear, that the Mussulman chiefs were not yet prepared to divest themselves of those vast conceptions, which they had ever been accustomed to entertain, of the power and resources of the Persian empire. However, the sense of danger receding, at last, before the dazzling splendor of the enterprise, and the prospect of that prodigious booty, which must be the reward of successful exertion; Abû Obaidah the son of Mûssaoud, of the tribe of Thâkef, and father of the celebrated Mokhtaur, broke silence, and professed his readiness to carry the orders of his sovereign into execution, at the head of the whole of his dependents.

Selleit the son of Keyss, the Ansaur, expressing an equal inclination to second the views of the Khalif, the example of these respectable personages, was sufficient to excite the emulation of a multitude of others, who now contended for a share in the glorious enterprise; only stipulating, that in his selection of a general to command them, Omar would confine

himself to the two most distinguished orders of the Mahommedan community, the Mohaujer and Ansaur, or coexiles and auxiliaries of the prophet. Nevertheless, declaring that the man who had stood forward to evince his zeal and duty on the occasion, was alone justly entitled to such a preference, Omar conferred the command upon Abû Obaidah, though not included in either of those highly favored orders; being a pupil only of the companions of the prophet, to whom he had become a convert, probably, at a more recent period. A. H. XIII. A. D. 634. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Before he dismissed him to take charge of the expedition, Omar thought fit to acquaint Abû Obaidah, that, although from an apprehension that his army might be led into unforeseen and unnecessary dangers, by the ardent and impetuous spirit of Selleit, the chief command had therefore been withheld from him notwithstanding his otherwise superior claims; he must, nevertheless, enjoin him to conduct himself towards that person with the most respectful demeanor, and that he was to be governed in every undertaking by the suggestions of *his* riper experience. These admonitions, like many others, we cannot forbear thinking to have been suggested, notwithstanding, after the event; because, to his obstinate disregard of the counsels of Selleit, have been ascribed the subsequent destruction of Abû Obaidah and the greater part of his army, as will presently appear.

Be this, however, as it may, having joined the troops already employed in Irâk, Abû Obaidah, accompanied by the other chiefs, including Mûthanna, who, though the original prompter, appears yet to have borne but a very inferior authority in the enterprise, advanced to attack a body of the enemy stationed on the frontiers, under Jâban, a Persian commander of some distinction detached to this quarter by Rûstum Furrukh zaud, by others called Rûstum the son of Hormûz, ameir ul omra or lieutenant general of the empire: the throne of the Sassanides being, at this period, filled by a princess of the name of Tûrandokht. In a battle which soon afterwards ensued, this commander made himself conspicuous, by the most gallant personal exertions, and by killing with his own hand several of the bravest of the Mosslems who ventured to assail him. But being himself at last unhorsed and brought to the earth, by one of the Arabian warriors of the order of the Ansaur, the latter bestrode his bosom, and was about A. H. XIV. A. D. 635.

A. H. XIV. A. D. 635. to sever his head from the body, when the fatal blow was suspended by the cry of La illauh, &c. *there is no God but God*, from the lips of his prostrate adversary; who seized the aweful pause to tell him, that if he spared his life, he would make him the possessor of a male and female slave, of such surpassing excellence as should challenge the surprise and envy of all his associates. The Arab gave his assent; and returning to join his fellows in arms, accompanied by the Persian chief, they demanded if he was aware of the rank and importance of his captive; adding, that instead of two, if he had required two hundred slaves as his ransom, he would not have been refused; the soldier observed, that the information was now not very material, because he was determined to be faithful to his engagement. As some compensation, however, for this unexpected instance of generosity, the Persian doubled his ransom, with the addition of two thousand dirhems; and becoming an immediate convert to Isslâm, arose, at a subsequent period, to distinguished eminence among the proselytes of Mahommedanism. The victory remained, it may be necessary to observe, with Abû Obaidah.

Rouzut ussuffâ.*

Before he could well proceed to divide the spoils of his victory, a report was made to Abû Obaidah, that Nersy the queen of Persia's cousin german, with a very considerable force, was encamped under the walls of Sekâtiah; and that Jaleinûs, another Persian commander, with a body of twenty thousand men, was on his march to join him; on which the Arabian general judiciously determined to attack these troops before they could form a junction. He accordingly led his army first against the division of Nersy, whom he succeeded in defeating; and shortly afterwards, falling in with that which was marching against him under Jaleinûs, he attacked him with equal good fortune, and compelled him in disgraceful plight, to announce his discomfiture to the general of the empire, at this period employed in assembling the whole force of his country in the neighbourhood of the Persian metropolis.

To retrieve these accumulated discomfitures, and, if possible, arrest the successful progress of the Mosslems, the choice of Rûstum, was now, by the opinion of his council, bespoken for Bohmun Jaudû; whose courage and experience seem to have been sufficiently signalized, to mark him for the post of danger on this occasion. He was accordingly dispatched at the head of a numerous army, of eighty thousand men, according to some

* Bohmun the magician.

writers, to give battle to the enemy; with instructions to place the dishonored Jaleinûs with the advanced division, and to put him to death, if he gave any further proof of pusillanimous behaviour. The Persian general then led his troops, without obstacle, to the Euphrates; on the banks of which river, at a station called Æssenautek, and opposite, it is said, to a position occupied by the Mosslems on the other side, he pitched his camp. A. H. XIV. A. D. 635. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Elated by the presumption of recent success, Abû Obaidah, in spite of the remonstrances of Selleit the son of Keyss, and notwithstanding the vast inferiority of his force, determined to cross the river, and attack the Persians; and for this purpose, one of his captains was immediately directed to construct a bridge, of such materials as could be most expeditiously got together for the occasion. He was suffered to complete the passage of the Euphrates, as it would appear, without molestation from the Persian general; who, though considerably surprised at the audacity of the movement, prepared without further delay, to give battle to the Arabs, whose utmost strength, if their writers are entitled to credit, did not exceed nine thousand men. In the conflict which ensued, the Mosslems appear at an early period to have been thrown into confusion, by the elephants disposed along the front of the Persian line, and particularly by one, which, for its singular whiteness and enormous bulk, was conspicuous beyond the others. This, Abû Obaidah, after making himself acquainted with the part in which it was most vulnerable, and again setting at nought the expostulations of the son of Keyss, resolved to assail. On the back of the animal, in a rich and splendid amhaurah, sat Sheheryaur a noble Persian of great distinction, accompanied by several attendants, from whom, however, the intrepid Mussulman met with no obstacle in his approach. His first object was to cut the ropes that secured the amhârah, which brought the riders headlong to the earth; and the animal now directing its fury against the daring assailant, the latter, with a dextrous sweep of his scimitar, struck off the proboscis or trunk of the elephant; but while he was endeavouring to withdraw, the foot of Abû Obaidah slipping, he came to the ground; and the animal thus mortally wounded falling on the same spot, crushed him to death with the weight of its enormous carcase.

Selleit the son of Keyss, and several more who successively assumed the command in the course of the action, having shared the fate of their

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general, the hopeless charge devolved at length on Mûthanna; for the consternation of the Arabs, on the loss of so many leaders, was now too widely spread to admit of remedy. They were giving way on all sides, and his most anxious concern was to secure their retreat. For this purpose he dispatched one of his followers, to prevent, if possible, the fugitives from breaking down the bridge of the Euphrates in their confusion; while, with a chosen few, he remained to cover the rear against the efforts of their pursuers. On this occasion, it is in general affirmed, that one of those stationed for the protection of the bridge, perceiving the disorderly flight of the Arabs, determined to destroy it; in the idea, that the fugitives, finding themselves cut off from all hope of safety by a continuance of their flight, would be induced to rally and meet the enemy. But in this he was deceived. Rather than encounter the swords of their pursuers, the Arabs chose the hazard of perishing in the Euphrates; and without further deliberation, plunging into the stream, were the greater part of them drowned, before they could succeed in gaining the opposite bank: while Mûthanna and his gallant associates, by a generous and resolute exertion, checking the pursuit of the Persians, made good their retreat at a more distant part of the river, and took post at at place called Thaulebiah, in which they immediately prepared to resist the further attempts of the enemy. In this action, which took place in the fourteenth of the Hidjera, and in the disorderly flight across the Euphrates which succeeded to it, there is acknowledged to have fallen four thousand Mussulmans. Two thousand escaped to Medeinah, and three thousand, or according to others, not more than one thousand, remained with Mûthanna.

When intelligence of this disaster, the most severe that had befallen the Mahommedans since the death of their prophet, was conveyed to Omar, he directed the messenger to return, without delay, with orders to Mûthanna, to remain in his post, until such time as he should be joined by the reinforcements which were preparing for his relief. And as soon as they could be drawn together from their several tribes, a considerable body of troops, under Jerreir the son of Abdullah, proceeded accordingly, with the necessary expedition to the station at Thâlebiah, where Mûthanna had been suffered to remain, fortunately, without molestation from the enemy.

Having joined the troops of Mûthanna, Jerreir advanced into the territory of Heirah, and encamped at Deir-e-hind, from whence he sent detach-

ments, in various directions, to plunder and lay waste the country; but the approach of another Persian army, under Mehran the son of Bâdan, or as he is otherwise denominated, Mehran Mahrûiah, soon afterwards compelled him to reassemble his force. A.H. XIV. A.D. 635. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Another battle became unavoidable; in which the Persians probably flushed with their former victory, were prevailing against the right wing of the Mussulmans commanded by Mûthanna, when Jerreir, and Auddi the son of Hautem, bringing the left and centre into action, enabled him to rally his division. The battle became then general, and obstinately disputed on all sides, until Mehran the Persian chief, being dismounted by one of the Arabs, his head was struck off by Jerreir; although, according to others, the death of this general has been ascribed to Mûthanna. However that may be, the Persians, intimidated by the fall of their commander, were thrown into confusion, and fled in all directions, pursued with dreadful execution by the now once more victorious Mussulmans; whose vengeance was so sanguinary and successful on the occasion, that this day has been by historians denominated the day of decimation, *Yûm ul ashaur:* every individual in the Mahommedan army being stated to have killed ten of his adversaries, and the slaughter on the side of the Persians is therefore estimated at one hundred thousand men.

The Mussulmans having thus reestablished their superiority in the field of battle, some of the inhabitants of Heirah made it known to Mûthanna, that there was in their neighbourhood, a village called Baghdâd; at which was held a noted monthly fair, celebrated for the numerous resort of merchants, who assembled there from all parts of the country for the disposal of every species of the most valuable commodities; and which, if he could succeed in surprising at the proper period, he might ensure to himself and his companions, ever after, a life of enjoyment in the midst of opulence. In consequence of this information, Mûthanna proceeded into the district dependant on Anbaur, and although the natives disappeared into their hiding places on his approach, he prevailed on their chief, by a promise of confirming him in the government of the district, to repair to his camp. From him, after communicating his design, he demanded guides to conduct him, at the proper season, to Baghdâd; and that a bridge should be thrown over the Euphrates, in order to afford his troops a passage into the peninsula. All this he obtained without much difficulty; and having crossed the

A. H. XIV. A. D. 635. Euphrates, and conveyed his followers to a convenient distance for his purpose without alarming the vicinity, he came so suddenly and opportunely upon the then defenceless village, that a prodigious booty, the property of the merchants collected for the fair, was taken possession of by these fortunate plunderers.

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Stripped of their property, the merchants fled to Medâein, and laying their grievances before the throne, besought their queen to avenge their injuries on the ruthless depredators: and intelligence of the multiplied aggressions and violence of the Arabs coming in, at the same time, from various other quarters of Irâk, Tûrandokht became at last very urgent with the lieutenant general of the empire, to proceed in person, to vindicate the honor of her government, and chastize the insolent invaders. Instead however of evincing his obedience to the orders of his sovereign, the son of Furrukhzaud entered into a conspiracy with the nobles of her court, for the immediate subversion of her authority; alleging, that the calamities which afflicted the empire were to be ascribed alone to the imbecility inseparable from female administration. Having subscribed to this opinion, a resolution was adopted to set on foot an inquiry, in order to discover some descendant of the illustrious Noushirvaun, whom they might establish on the throne of his ancestors. This inquiry led them to the knowledge of Yezdejird the son of Sheheryaur, at this period residing in humble obscurity at Istakhar of Farss, the ancient Persepolis. And him, they accordingly conducted without obstacle, to Medâein; where, about the commencement of the fifteenth year of the Hidjera, on the deposition of the princess Tûrandokht, he received the sceptre of the Persian monarchy; the extinction of which, in his own person, he, peradventure, little suspected to be so near at hand.

On the accession of Yezdejird, the preparations already set on foot, in order to chastise and repel the progressive incroachments of the Mûssulmans, received additional vigor from the fresh and active zeal of the new monarch; neither was the whole force of the empire under its chief general, deemed now more than adequate to defend it against the insatiate rapacity and boundless ambition of those half civilized and sanguinary barbarians. In the mean time, letters were distributed throughout the Chaldean territory, to excite the inhabitants to rise upon their invaders, and to cut them off wherever it was practicable; in consequence of which,

such formidable insurrections broke out in different parts of their recent acquisitions in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, that the Arabs were massacred in considerable numbers; and their affairs in this quarter appeared, therefore, to experience a temporary decline; while those of the Persians, on the other hand, assumed, in some degree, a triumphant aspect. This proved, however, like the brighter gleam of an expiring taper, the sad prelude of defeat and dissolution.

A. H. XIV. A. D. 635. Rouzut ussuffâ.

When he received intelligence of this unfavorable posture of affairs in Irak, Omar was about to leave Medeinah, on the usual pilgrimage to Mekkah; and he, therefore, for the present, contented himself by charging the messenger to return without delay, and assure both Jerreir and Mûthanna, that the moment he was at leisure from the performance of the sacred and indispensable duties of their common faith, in which he was then engaged, his first and utmost exertions would be employed to send them speedy and effectual relief. Accordingly, when he had dispatched the ceremonies of the visitation, which are well known to close with the Eid-e-korbaun, or festival of sacrifice, on the tenth of Zilhudje, Omar's first concern, on returning to Medeinah, was to assemble his council, in order to deliberate on what was best calculated to frustrate the designs of the enemy; in particular, whether it was not advisable to head his troops in person, in a bold and decisive attempt against the Persian metropolis; or whether it would be more discreet, to confide the execution of such an undertaking, to some one of the gallant chiefs at his command, whose character and skill in martial affairs were sufficiently distinguished, to ensure the probability of bringing it to a successful termination. To those, who, with Abbas, and Ally, and Telhah the son of Obaidullah, governed their opinions by a provident calculation of future results, the latter medium seemed most conformable to the dictates of sound policy; although the pacific Othman is said to have urged the expediency of the former. But as the opinion which bore the sanction of Ally and his respectable relative, probably, squared best with his own sentiments, Omar subscribed to it with a good grace; as well as to the nomination of Saud the son of Abi Wekauss, the destined subverter of the Persian monarchy, whom they further recommended to the distinguished command of the whole force to be employed in the expedition.

A. H. XV. A. D. 637. Rouzut ussuffâ.

On his departure from Medeinah, among other instructions which he received from Omar, Saud was desired to be particularly punctual in transmitting a report of his proceedings, not only at the close, but at the commencement of every stage, most probably during the whole war; and he was further expressly enjoined, when he reached Kaudsiah, to encamp at that place; as a spot, from its sandy and inaccessible situation, peculiarly well calculated to preserve the health of his troops, and to secure himself from the attempts of the enemy, until the arrival of those reinforcements which would be immediately ordered to join him from all quarters. With a force which is differently estimated from four to six thousand men, Saud proceeded, and according to his instructions, fixed his head quarters as a general rendezvous for the army, at Kaudsiah, or as it is more generally denominated Kadesia, described to be situated on the skirts of the desert, about two stages from Kûfah, and about one hundred and eighty three miles from Baghdâd.

In the mean time, Omar dispatched orders to Abû Mûssa Eshaury, whose government is not immediately specified, to reinforce the army assembling at Kaudsiah with such troops as he could spare: and Moghairah the son of Shiaubah, with one thousand horse, was accordingly detached by that chieftain to join Saud. Similar orders were sent to other quarters; and particularly to Abû Obaidah the lieutenant of Syria, by whom a respectable detachment was immediately forwarded on its way towards Irâk, under Keyss the son of Hobairah; who was accompanied by Haushem the son of Auttebah, the nephew of Saude Wekauss, with Æshauth the son of Keyss, and Malek Ashtur the intrepid Nudjefite. In short, it is affirmed, that exclusive of many thousand others of inferior description, Saud numbered, ultimately, beneath his standard, of the veterans of the field of Beider, twenty warriors; of those who served at the reduction of Mekkah, three hundred; and of the sons of Mahommed's faithful associates, not less than nine hundred. And lastly, though of no material importance to the narrative, we are informed that Mûthanna, the strenuous promoter of the war against the Persians, died, sometime previous to the arrival of Saud; when his widow, at the expiration of the proper interval, became the wife of that celebrated commander.

* Mr. Gibbon, p. 366. octavo edition, vol. 9.

When apprized that the Mussulman force was encamped at Kaudsiah, the Persian monarch transmitted to Saud a request, that he would send to Medâein a deputation properly qualified to receive from him certain propositions, which he was disposed to communicate. This, the Arabian commander very readily complied with; and a selection from among his subordinate chiefs, to whom Moghairah the son of Shiaubah became the spokesman or orator, proceeded accordingly to the Persian metropolis, where they were admitted to an interview with Yezdejird in his palace; the particulars of which as they afford some curious recollections, it may be not improper to describe.

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. Rouzut ussuffâ.

The Arabian deputies presented themselves before Yezdejird in the ordinary two coloured striped camelots of their country, with small whips in their hands, and rustic sandals on their feet, the circumstances which appear to have first attracted the notice of the polished and luxurious Persian; and he accordingly demanded of Moghairah, through his interpreter, by what name they distinguished this uncouth species of apparel. The reply was, that they called it *bûrrid*, which term in Persian, occasionally signifies, to *carry captive;* on which the Prince emphatically observed, that they would indeed capture the world; an observation which he repeated so often, that his courtiers changed colour. He next demanded what name they applied to the article which they carried in their hands, and being informed that they called it *Sûte*, which, in the Persian idiom, was at some period used for heat or burning, he exclaimed, that they had consumed, or blasted, the fair possessions of the Persian empire; he only trusted that an avenging deity would consume them in return. He lastly required to be informed, by what appellation he was to bring to mind, the, to him strange and barbarous appendages, which they exhibited on their feet, and was told, that the same term was applied to them, as in Persian denotes lamentation; to this he added, that they had too truly introduced into his once flourishing dominions, too many occasions of lamentation and woe. He then proceeded to address the deputies at some length; telling them, that an all bounteous providence, in selecting him to rule over widely extended nations, had brought within the circle of his authority, the proudest and most powerful princes of the earth; an authority, from

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. Rouzut ussuffâ.

which none had hitherto shewn a disposition to withdraw. This was reserved for the Arabs, whom, of all mankind, he esteemed the basest and most contemptible. After obtaining access to the favored regions of the Persian empire, partly on pretences of trade and travel, and partly impelled by the poverty and wretchedness of their native deserts; after tasting the difference between the delicious repasts and refined living, to which they were here introduced, and the odious lizards' flesh, and other disgusting and loathsome aliments, to which at home they had been accustomed; these barbarians, clad in the soft apparel of an improved and polished people, returned to describe to their ferocious countrymen, the blessings and enjoyments of a more fortunate soil. That, with their savage appetites thus whetted to a pitch of insatiate rapacity, they now obtruded themselves in multitudes, sword in hand, to inculcate forsooth the doctrines of a new religion; under which insidious mask, to bring, in reality, the opulent possessions bestowed upon him by the supreme dispenser of benefits, within the scope of their destroying ravages.

After compelling them to listen for some time to these and similar observations, equally just and severe upon their national character, Yezdejird related to them the following fable, the application of which, they could be at no great loss to discover. "A fox having stolen into a vine-"yard, at a time when it abounded with the most luxuriant crop of grapes, "fell to, and regaled himself without restraint upon the delicious repast "thus laid out for him by the bounteous hand of nature; and the master "of the vineyard, instead of punishing him on the spot to secure himself "against future depredations, suffered the spoiler to depart unmolested; "alleging, that the tresspass of a single animal, could occasion but little "injury to the abundant crop with which his vines were loaded. The fox, "however, rejoining his comrades, did not fail to give them a becoming "report of the voluptuous banquet, to which his good fortune had just "conducted him; and offering to be their guide to the scene of enjoyment, "they accompanied him with eager appetites to the vineyard; where, in "the midst of the devastation which they were committing upon his "property, they were observed by the owner; it needed no further proof "to convince him of his error, and, immediately securing the passage by "which the marauders had entered, as a just punishment for the injury, "he put them all to death." To this, the Persian monarch further added,

(after once more repeating, that he considered them as vicious in disposition, and as unprincipled in morals, as they were contemptible in point of number) that were he inclined to take advantage of them, he was not without the means of treating them in the same manner as the master of the vineyard had ultimately treated the invaders of his property; but from this, he said, he was withheld, from a consideration that they had been impelled to all their rash proceedings, by that state of wretchedness and want, which they were condemned to experience in their native land. And it was from a sentiment of compassion, arising from such consideration, that he was now induced to propose to them to withdraw from his dominions; pledging himself in such a case, to furnish them, with such an abundant supply of every article of which they stood in need, as would be amply sufficient to load themselves and all their cattle: to which, from mere spontaneous charity, he should moreover add, complete suits of apparel for all their chieftains. In short, he would engage, that not an individual amongst them should return to his country with *a dry tongue*. If, on the contrary, the spirit of rapacity, or misguided ambition, should mislead them to reject this fair and liberal proposal, the ministers of his vengeance should overtake them with such dreadful retribution, that not one of them should escape alive to relate the story.

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. Rouzut ussuffa.

When Yezdejird had brought his address to a conclusion, Moghairah who had undertaken to speak for his colleagues, began to reply, by acknowledging, with a solemn asseveration, the truth of what had been alleged with respect to the wretched and scanty resources, possessed by his countrymen, the Arabs, for the sustenance of life. That the devouring of lizards flesh was indeed an extenuation of those extremities to which they were often reduced; because it not unfrequently happened, that they were driven to the cruel alternative of burying their daughters alive, to rescue them from the horrors of famine. To subsist on the flesh of carrion, and on blood, under such circumstances, would, perhaps, be considered by no means extraordinary; any more than that the ties of consanguinity possessed such little influence on their minds, that the murder of their nearest relatives was with such men of little importance, when put in competition with the attainment of their property; and that the attainment of property

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. Rouzut ussuffâ.

by means so sanguinary, was with them not unusually, its greatest recommendation. Such then, as his Persian majesty had most truly represented, being the nature of their food, perhaps his countrymen could boast of not greater advantages in point of dress, which was, in general, made up of the skins of their sheep and camels; and when to this catalogue of miseries, was added the deplorable defect of intellect, which rendered them incapable of discriminating between the most obvious questions of right and wrong, or of truth and falsehood, there could be little dispute in placing them in the lowest rank of human beings. Yet to a people thus degraded, did it please Omnipotence, from a stock remotely illustrious, to send his prophet, charged with that sacred code of revelations, so justly entitled to their utmost respect and lasting veneration. By some, however, he was branded with the name of impostor; while, by others, he was zealously received as the apostle of truth: whence originated a tedious and sanguinary civil war between the parties, in which those whom a happier destiny had led to embrace the righteous cause of the prophet, were ultimately triumphant over its opponents. He then concluded, by declaring that their prophet had bequeathed to his followers a positive command, which, delivered as it was under divine inspiration, they were bound to obey; to make war against all the enemies of his faith, on the promise of a mansion in everlasting bliss to such as perished in the cause; and the treasures of the earth to those who survived. To avert the evils to which he was otherwise exposed, he, therefore, now solemnly invited Yezdejird to embrace the doctrines of that pure law; by which he would shield his subjects against all intrusion, and against every species of exaction; excepting a moderate contribution in proportion to their means, for the purposes of charity; and the ordinary aid of one tenth, as it is called, which they would be required to subscribe towards the expences of the state. If an auspicious providence did not lead him to embrace this happier destiny, the next alternative submitted to his choice, was that of becoming tributary: but if he acceded to neither of these proposals, he must prepare for war. On this subject, one of the historians, a native of Kûfah, has assured us, that Moghairah, when he mentioned the alternative of tribute, as if of itself the proposal was not sufficiently humiliating, accompanied it with conditions so degrading, that it is scarcely possible to determine, which was most extraordinary, the insolence which conveyed, or the forbearance

which could overlook them, without inflicting immediate vengeance. The haughty descendant of Noushirvaun, was informed in the presence of his whole court, that he must deal out this disgraceful, but sometimes unavoidable acknowledgement of inferiority, standing on his feet, with a whip suspended over his head. A. H. XV. A. D. 636. Rouzut ussuffâ.

On receiving this insolent and audacious proposal, the Persian monarch appears to have experienced the full measure of indignation, which it was calculated to awaken; but he contented himself with a confession, that he never supposed it possible that he could have lived to witness such atrocious presumption from any human beings, much less from *such* as he had already declared he conceived them to be; that whatever marks of courtesy and indulgence he had been otherwise previously disposed to shew them, were now intirely precluded by the unparalleled audacity with which they had dared to insult his presence; and that from him, therefore, they had nothing to expect but the dust of the earth. One of the attendants having, accordingly, brought in a basket of earth, the deputies were directed to take charge of it, and to cast it on the head of that person who held the most distinguished and honorable place in their nation; with his possitive assurance, that sooner than he was aware of, the Persian army would be at hand, to bury both him and his followers in the ditch of Kaudsiah. With this message, the Arabian deputies were permitted to leave the palace of Yezdejird; and having rejoined the encampment of their countrymen, they made a faithful disclosure to their general of all the circumstances of their interview with the Persian monarch; the ceremony of the basket of earth not forgotten. At the same time, it is to be observed, that other authors are cited, as representing the circumstances above described, to have taken place at a conference, not with Yezdejird, but with his minister Rûstum the son of Furrûkh zaud, when the Persian army had advanced to the neighbourhood of Kaudsiah.

Having discarded from his thoughts all further attempts at negociation, Yezdejird resolved at length, in order to defeat the ambitious designs of the enemy, to employ the more powerful and decisive argument of the sword. For this purpose, Rûstum the Ameir ul Omra of the empire, with an army, the numbers of which may possibly be exaggerated at one hundred and twenty thousand men, proceeded towards Kaudsiah, at some distance from which, at a place called Deir-e-Oghûr, he encamped;

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. according to others, he pitched his camp at Sabaut, Unfortunately, perhaps, for the cause in which he was engaged, the Persian general was an adept in judicial astrology; and had discovered from certain unfavorable indications in the heavenly bodies, that the period was arrived, when the imperial power was to be transferred from the Persians to the Arabians. In consequence of this discovery, during an interval of four months which he consumed in his encampment, his attention appears to have been principally engaged in fruitless negociations, and in devising expedients to protract hostilities, without the hazard of a battle; but, finding at last that it could be no longer avoided, he prepared for the conflict: in which, notwithstanding the aweful prepossessions which preyed upon his mind, he appears to have acquitted himself with considerable firmness and intrepidity.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

Without fatiguing the attention of the reader, by entering into a circumstantial detail of the events of the fatal battle of Kaudsiah, as given at large by the author of the Rouzut ussuffâ, the object of these pages will be, perhaps, better fulfilled by confining the relation to a few of the leading particulars, reduced to a reasonable compass from the Habeib usseyr; a work built upon the foundation of, and more accurately digested than the former; to which, from the enormous mass of materials with which it is loaded, the life of its author was probably too short, to give that perspicuous arrangement, the defect of which, together perhaps with its painful prolixity, is at present felt and complained of, as its greatest blemish.

Habeib usseyr.

Informed that the Persians were approaching to attack him, Saude Wekauss disposed of his army now gradually augmented to thirty thousand men, as it is represented, in order of battle in three lines, giving charge of the right wing to Sherjabeil the son of Simmet; of the left, to Ibrauhim the son of Haureth, the brother of Mûthanna; and of the centre to Keyss the son of Hobairah; and as he was himself disabled from mounting his horse, by an attack of the Sciatica, he delegated the general charge of the whole to Khâled the son of Orrifah; taking his station in person, on one of the terraces of the palace, or castle of Kaudsiah, from whence he possessed a commanding view of the field of battle. His captains were finally directed to consider the first *tekbeir*, which they should hear him utter from his post, as the signal to adjust their ranks; the second, to fix their

arrows in the level, to couch their lances, and draw their swords; and the third, to rush upon their adversaries. A. H. XV. A. D. 636.

The Persian general, on the other hand, after making a general arrangement of his troops into thirteen lines, assigned the command of an advanced corps of forty thousand men, notwithstanding his former discomfiture, to Jaleinûs. The right wing of his main body was conducted by Hormûzan; the left, by Mehran the son of Behraum Rauzy; and the centre, by himself in person. Immediately in front of the centre, he stationed eighteen of the six and thirty elephants, which accompanied his army, each carrying from twenty to four and twenty archers; and the remaining eighteen, he divided equally in front of the right and left wings. And in this array, soon after the sun had gilded the eastern horizon, Rûstum, in armour glittering with gold and gems, presented his troops for battle; while the Mussulmans, confidant in former victory, and in the support of Omnipotence, unsheathed their swords of tempered steel, and bid defiance to their opponents. Habeib usseyr.

The usual prelude to the general conflict was now exhibited, in a variety of single combats which took place in the interval by which the contending armies were yet separated. Among others, Hormûzan was encountered, overthrown, and taken prisoner, by Ghauleb the son of Abdullah, of the tribe of Assud, by whom he was immediately conducted to the presence of Saud. When, however, their rage had been sufficiently stimulated by these exhibitions of individual prowess, the armies could be no longer prevented from closing. The Arabs, though they suffered considerable annoyance from the onset of the elephants, were at first successful in bearing down the right and left wings of the enemy; but meeting with a firm and resolute resistance from the troops of the centre, where Rûstum commanded in person, they were repulsed in turn, and thrown into disorder; from which, according to some authorities, they were only recovered by the unlooked for, and extraordinary exertions of Abû Mohudjen disguised in the armour of Saud. But the setting sun soon afterwards putting an end to the contest, both parties withdrew to their encampments, neither claiming the advantage on this day; which, in succeeding times, obtained the designation of Rouz-e-Ermauth, the day of weariness, or perhaps, *of concussion.*

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Habeib usseyr.

On the morning of the ensuing day, afterwards distinguished by the appellation of Rouz-e-Eghwauth, the day of succours, when the sun in radiant majesty had displayed his crimson banners, the conflict was renewed: and while the armies were thus engaging with equal fury and obstinacy, the advanced guard of the Syrian reinforcements, dispatched by Abû Obaidah to the support of his countrymen, suddenly made its appearance under Kaukia the son of Amrû; and in three fierce and successful charges, greatly contributed to damp the ardour of the Persians. To this chieftain indeed, by the author of the Rouzut ussuffâ, are ascribed the most distinguished achievements of the second day. By the death of Bohmun Jaudû, who now fell by his hand, he avenged the disastrous fate of Abû Obaidah Mûssaoud, and the numerous victims of his rashness, who perished in the disgraceful discomfiture of the bridge; and by the slaughter of no less than thirty of the most eminent Persians, the last of whom was Bûzûrjemeher the Hamadanian, whom he successively fought and killed with his own hand in the course of the action, he seems for a time to have acquired a decided superiority for the Mosslems.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

But among the incidents of this day, which in our author's idea, seems entitled to a particular relation, it may not be improper to select an instance of ardent courage in a Mahommedan warrior, of the name of Abû Mohudjen; which from its singularity, and the example which it affords of the enthusiastic spirit by which the early votaries of Isslâm were animated, we may be pardoned for including in our narrative. While his associates were engaged in the conflicts of the field of battle, this chieftain was under confinement, with fetters on his legs, in one of the chambers of the palace of Kaudsiah; to which he had been condemned by his general, for transgressing in the article of wine. But when he had continued for some time to view the exertions of the combatants, from an angle of the terrace on which he was seated, his ardour to participate in their achievements could be restrained no longer; and he addressed his intreaties to one of the females of the family of Saud, to prevail upon Selma to procure for him the pye-bald mare and armour of her husband; solemnly engaging, if he lived till the evening, to resume his fetters and his place in confinement. Relying on the faith of his assurances, this female obtained for him the object of his entreaties, and enlarging him from his fetters, he was permitted to arm himself, and join his compatriots. His singular valour and impetuous

and irresistible career in different directions, soon attracted the admiration and astonishment of all parties, though none could yet identify the individual in whom they shone so conspicuous. The extraordinary prowess of the unknown could not long escape the observation of Saud, who inquired of his attendants if they were acquainted with the person of this stranger; and being unable to gratify his curiosity, he exclaimed in admiration, that if he could suppose it possible that the immortal Khezzer* was ever present on such occasions, he should have no hesitation in announcing his belief, that he had assumed the form of the unknown warrior. But the reaction of the two armies bringing Abû Mohudjen at length nearer to the gates of the castle, Saud obtained an opportunity of observing him with closer attention; and he desired his attendants to note, that the horse and armour were certainly his, while the action of the stranger greatly resembled that of Abû Mohudjen, whom he should have pronounced him to be, were he not assured that he was in confinement. At the close of day, Abû Mohudjen, faithful to his engagement, returned to the palace, and having gained admission from one who expected his approach, he disarmed himself and resumed his fetters. In the evening, the female who had interested herself in his favor, and who appears to have been nearly related to Saud, repaired to that general to discourse upon the events of the day; which he told her had been on the point of terminating fatally to the Mahommedans, but for the seasonable interposition of an intrepid stranger, whom the Almighty had most providentially conveyed to their assistance, and of whom he had not yet been able to convince himself, whether he belonged to the race of men or angels. She then ventured to disclose to him the whole of the mystery, from first to last; on which Saud, hastening to the apartment of Abû Mohudjen, embraced him with great affection; and having loaded him with caresses, and made him a present of the mare and armour with which he had so gloriously distinguished himself, he declared, that for the future, he was to consider himself released from every restriction with regard to his favorite indulgence. Of this, however, Abû Mohudjen was so far from availing himself, that he ever afterwards most scrupulously abjured the use of wine; alleging, that so long as he was suffered to consider the slight censure of an earthly magistrate a sufficient absolution for his.

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Rouzut ussuffâ.

* Enoch or Elias, St. John the Evangelist, or St. George.

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. excesses, he conceived there might be no deadly mischief in indulging himself; but now, that he was consigned to the judgment of an eternal tribunal, the impression upon his conscience was too aweful to hazard the experiment. In the mean time, when the action of the second day had been protracted for some hours after night fall, the contending armies were once more reluctantly constrained to leave the victory undecided; with the loss on the part of the Mussulmans of two thousand, and on that of the Persians of ten thousand men.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

Habeib usseyr.

On the morning of the third day, by historians designated Rouz-e-Ghummaussein,* the day of cormorants, the armies renewed the contest; and soon after the battle had again commenced, the remainder of the Syrian reinforcements under Haushem the son of Auttebah, entered the field, and immediately assailed the right wing of the Persians with the utmost impetuosity. But as it would be tedious and irksome to enumerate the different exploits ascribed to the warlike disciples of the Korân on this eventful day, it will be sufficient to notice that which is said to have principally contributed to the superiority, which began at last to appear on the side of the Mussulmans. This was a single combat, in which, though far advanced in years, and contrary to the remonstrances of his friends, Amrû the son of Moaudy Kerreb engaged with a Persian warrior of very superior strength, who, like Goliah, had repeatedly defied the armies of Isslâm, and had already killed four of their bravest champions. The Persian having fallen, notwithstanding, by the hand of his aged antagonist, and the successful issue of the unequal contest exciting an universal *tekbeir* from the Arabian army, the dreadful shout occasioned a dismay among the ranks of the enemy, from which it is possible they found it difficult to recover themselves. And yet, such was the desperate and pertinacious obstinacy with which the conflict continued to be maintained on both sides, that when the ministers of destiny, to adopt the language of our original, had conducted the chariot of the sun to the obscure chambers of the west, the battle still raged with unabated fury, by the light of their flambeaus, for the whole of the succeeding night; called therefore, in after times, *leylut-ul-harreir*, the night of snarling; during which, the cupbearers of death continued to pervade the bloody field with remorseless assiduity, administering to the unfortu-

* Perhaps Gheyaussein; in which case it would signify, the day of reinforcements or succours.

nate the bitter draught of dissolution, whilst the stars in the enamelled vault of heaven continued to witness the sanguinary tumult, until the harbingers of the morning announced the return of day. A. H. XV. A. D. 636. Habeib usseyr.

The battle had thus continued, with a fury and animosity which neither want of rest nor the fatigue of unremitting exertion, seemed sufficient to abate, during the whole forenoon; when, about the hour of meridian prayer on the fourth day, an impetuous whirlwind having borne away the pavilion, or canopy, under which Rûstum, on a throne or bed of state, was viewing the progress of the action; and the sand and dust being driven at the same time in clouds through the air, the Persian general not able to endure the heat of the sun, withdrew among the mules of his baggage assembled near him, and seated himself on the ground for shelter behind one of the animals. At this moment Kaukia the son of Amru, after breaking through the now disordered ranks of the Persians, at the head of some of the Arabian troops drew near the spot, where the empty throne, abandoned by its master, could not fail to arrest his attention. One of his followers, Hullaul the son of Ulkamah, approached the mule, on the opposite side of which, the Persian general had screened himself; and cutting the fastenings which secured the load, one of the bags of treasure fell upon the loins of the illfated Rûstum, who was compelled by the sense of pain and the imminence of danger, to throw himself into the rivulet which ran hard by. Attracted by the beauty of the tiara which adorned his brows, and the surpassing richness of his girdle and coat of mail, Hullaul was at no loss to discern the value of the prize which fortune had thus cast in his way; and instantly dismounting from his horse, he plunged without hesitation after him into the stream; from which, seizing him by the heels, he drew him out, and having struck off his head, and fixed it on the point of his lance, he stood on the throne, and from thence proclaimed that the Persian general was killed, and that the lord of the Kaaubah was victorious.

Such, as related by many historians, was the fate of Rûstum, it being in general agreed, that he fell by the hand of Hullaul, although with some variation of circumstances. It is however stated by others, that he was found among the slain on the field of battle, with no less than one hundred wounds on the different parts of his body, but that the person by

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whom he was killed was never discovered. By others again it is said, that he was simply drowned in the rivulet or canal of Kaudsiah. And by such as were, perhaps, disposed to assign to the Persian chief a catastrophe more worthy of his distinguished and illustrious rank, the death of Rûstum has been described with the following circumstances. Finding himself hard pressed in the pursuit by Hullaul, he suddenly drew an arrow, and dispatched it with such unerring aim, as to pierce the leg of his pursuer, and fix it to the stirrup. But the intrepid Arab, rather stimulated than disheartened by the smart of his wound, urging on his horse with greater fury, and coming up at last with his distinguished victim, struck off his head at a blow. Having stripped him of the spoil, he is further stated to have composed on the spot some verses, of which the following may explain the substance. "Brave companions of my glory, saw ye not how "the fame of our ancestors was revived by the achievements of this match-"less arm, when Rûstum withdrew himself in ignominous flight; when he "displayed on his trembling cheek the pallid livery of malignance; when "his pain inflicting arrow had pierced my leg; at that moment, nerved by "the hand of Omnipotence, how I smote his breast to pieces; how I felled "him from his steed, and grovelling in the dust, dispatched his soul to "endless misery; and to the skies exalted the signal, that *Adjem was subdued.*

Jaleinûs or Galen, the general of the advanced division, experienced a similar fate, being overtaken in his flight, and killed by Zoherah the son of Jûiah, of the tribe of Beni Temeim; for whom was reserved the additional good fortune of seizing the celebrated standard of the Persian empire, which from the original dimensions and shape of a blacksmith's apron, had been by this time enlarged to the length of two and twenty feet, by about fifteen feet in breadth, enriched with jewels of great value.

But whatever might have been the circumstances of the battle of Kaudsiah, of which the report has reached us only through a partial and exaggerated medium, the result was doubtless eminently fatal to the Persians; whose loss in the battle and pursuit, has been estimated at one hundred thousand men, that of the Mussulmans being acknowledged on their part, at between seven and eight thousand. At all events, when fortune appeared to have declared decisively for the standard of Mahommedism, Saud-e-Wekauss, after addressing himself in grateful praise to the Almighty disposer of victory, a duty which these people seldom omitted to

discharge, descended from the castle of Kaudsiah; and having bestowed ample commendations on those through whose exertions it had been immediately achieved, he proceeded to inspect and appropriate the spoil; which, though far surpassed by what, at a subsequent period, became the lot of these successful invaders, was of a magnitude and description well to excite their admiration and astonishment. To Hullaul, as the just reward of successful valour, he assigned the costly habiliments of Rûstum, whose tiara alone was estimated at one hundred thousand dinaurs,* and his girdle at seventy thousand.† On the same principle, the armour and attire of Jaleinûs, valued at seventy thousand dirhems,‡ was adjudged to Zoherah, together with thirty thousand dinaurs,§ in exchange for the imperial standard of Gaou, which was reserved for the general mass. These however, comprized but a small proportion of the sumptuous booty, which became the reward of the victors on this memorable occasion. Among other articles are particularly noticed, two shields or targets, each estimated at the value of one million and one hundred dirhems,‖ though sold through ignorance, by the person into whose hands they had fallen, for the comparatively paltry sum of thirty thousand dirhems. From a similar, but grosser ignorance, it probably arose, that some of the Arabs were known to offer gold in exchange for silver; and camphor, to which they appear to have been entire strangers, for its weight in salt, the substance for which it was at first mistaken.

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In short, the fifth of the booty, consisting of treasure beyond computation, of jewels inestimable, of furniture of silver and gold, of cloth of silk and brocades; of embroidered caparisons, of horses, camels, mules, and of arms of every description, offensive and defensive, having been as usual set apart from the general mass, was conveyed to Medeinah; and applied by Omar, with the scrupulous integrity which distinguished his character, to the purposes prescribed by the law. Such is represented at the same time to have been the anxiety with which that prince looked for the issue of the arduous contest, in which his troops were engaged on this occasion, that he proceeded for several leagues every day, alone and on foot, on the road towards Arabian Irâk; to collect from such travellers as

* If taken at the highest computation, this may be equivalent to about 57,300*l.*

† About 40,104*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* ‡ 1,604*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* § 17,187*l.* 10*s.* ‖ 22,919*l.*

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he should fall in with, the intelligence which they had been able to learn with respect to the situation of the armies. It was on one of those days, while he was taking this his usual solitary walk, that he cast his eyes on a person on a camel, riding with extraordinary expedition towards Medeinah; and calling to this person from afar, he had the satisfaction of hearing in reply, that the believers were triumphant, and their adversaries in the dust. He then accompanied the messenger, who had been dispatched by Saud to announce his victory, and running by the side of his camel continued in the exultation of his heart, to importune him with inquiries as to the particulars of the action, until he entered the town; when discovering the quality of his inquisitive fellow traveller, till now unknown to him, the messenger delivered to him the letters of Saud, which he immediately recited aloud to the assembled people, to their infinite gratification and joy.

The Persian monarch, on his part, in order to secure the speediest communication with his armies, is said to have established, from the gates of his palace to the field of battle, a chain of messengers side by side, or at any rate so far contiguous, as to be capable of conveying from one to the other, such information as they received, with surprising rapidity and dispatch. And by such means he became acquainted with the fate of his generals, and the destruction and dispersion of his troops, in a very short time after the contest had been decided. He had, moreover, according to some authorities, before he was aware of the disastrous reverse, equipped and sent forward another considerable force, in order to support the army of Rûstum, under a soldier of some reputation, of the name of Tekharjan. But when this person had proceeded as far as a station called Deir-e-kaaub, he received, from such as were on their flight from Kaudsiah in that direction, intelligence too well substantiated, of the total defeat of his countrymen; he therefore conceived it prudent to encamp upon the spot, in order, as far as possible, to rally and collect the fugitives.

It would, however, appear, that a considerable interval was suffered to elapse, before the Mussulmans were in a condition to follow up their success, because we do not find that they entered the territory to the left of the Euphrates, until the month of Shavaul;* and there is reason to think, although it is not sufficiently clear, that the battle of Kaudsiah was fought while the summer heats were in their violence, the latest days of which might fall in with the month of August, of the year of Christ, 636.

* Corresponding with November, A. D. 636.

Be this as it may, during the month before alluded to, the victorious Saud-e-Wekauss passed over into the peninsula of the two rivers, and having reduced, without much opposition, the towns of Babil, Subter and Sabaut, presented himself in great force before the camp of Tekharjan; who drew out his troops to give him battle, with a forwardness, which, considering the impression of recent defeat, may have been sufficient to rescue his name from oblivion. He even defied the bravest of the invaders to a personal conflict with himself, and Zeheir the son of Seleim, of the tribe of Æzd, accepting the challenge, the Persian dismounted from his horse, in which his adversary very readily followed his example. Instead, however, of assailing each other, as might have been expected, with their swords, the combatants closed like wrestlers, and after a considerable struggle, in which the superior strength and agility of the Persian at last prevailing, the latter succeeded in throwing his antagonist to the earth; and planting himself on his bosom, had already drawn his khunjer to give the fatal blow, when chance brought his hand in contact with the mouth of the Arab: who immediately seized his fingers betwixt his teeth, and bit them with such convulsive force, that the Persian overcome with pain, lost all power of exertion, and his adversary springing from the earth, and possessing himself of the knife, instantly dispatched him. Zeheir then taking possession of the horse and armour, tunic and girdle of his antagonist, repaired with them to the presence of Saud, by whom he was directed to attire himself on the spot, in the trophies of his victory, and to mount the horse, which fortune, by a reverse so strange and unexpected, had thrown into his hands. But when our author is made to affirm, that the same Zeheir was the first of the Arabs who made himself master of the person of any of the Persian generals, either the sense is not clear, or it will be found difficult to reconcile the assertion with a variety of previous facts recorded in his history. In fine, the commander of their right wing having soon afterwards experienced a similar fate, the Persians were again defeated with great slaughter, and fled this time, without halting, until they found themselves under the walls of Medâein.

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Apprized of these accumulating discomfitures, Yezdejird adopted the sudden resolution of abandoning his capital; and having lodged a considerable part of his treasures in boats on the Tigris to be removed to the mountains, he took with him all the specie and valuable effects, for

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which he had the means of conveyance, and withdrew accordingly towards Jalûla: a circumstance, of which the Mahommedan general no sooner became informed, than he appeared on the right or western bank of the Tigris, with an army, if oriental writers are entitled to credit, now augmented to sixty thousand horse.* While endeavouring to explore a passage to the other side, all the boats on the river having been previously destroyed or removed, some of those who aspired to the distinction of having once enjoyed the society of the prophet, observed, that animated, as they were, with no other ambition than that of exalting the law, and carrying into execution the designs of the most high, there was no reason to apprehend that the waters of the Tigris, equally subject to the power of heaven with all other elements, would be suffered to produce any material loss among them; and another of them boldly spurring his horse into the deep and rapid stream, and passing in safety to the opposite bank, he was immediately followed by the whole army, with no other loss than that of one man who perished through the diminutive size of his horse. But least the passage of the Tigris, in this manner, should not appear otherwise sufficiently remarkable, we are further assured, that not a single article of their baggage† was missed on the occasion, excepting a bowl or platter belonging to Malek the son of Aumer, and even this was cast ashore by the billows, and afterwards restored to its owner. A circumstance probably recorded to attest the particular providence which appeared to watch over and attend the Mahommedans of that age in all their enterprizes. Such indeed was the surprise and astonishment of the Persians, at the boldness and success of the undertaking, that they could not forbear from exclaiming, that an army of demons was coming upon them.

Under these circumstances of discouragement and dismay, Khûrzaud, a brother of the unfortunate Rûstum's, to whom Yezdejird, on his retreat, had consigned the defence of Medâein, determined, nevertheless, to make one brave and generous effort more, to impede the progress of the enemy, and protract the fate of the capital. But spirit broken by so many disastrous defeats, the Persians were perhaps no longer capable of serious and resolute resistance; the fortune of the Arabs was again triumphant; and the Persian general having sought for a temporary shelter within the walls of the city, but perceiving on reflection, that an immediate retreat was

* Habeib usseyr. † Ibidem.

unavoidable, he withdrew from the place in the dead of the night by the eastern gate, accompanied by the whole of his followers, taking the direction of Jalûla, in order to join his sovereign. Of this, the Mussulmans did not remain long unacquainted; a force was dispatched without delay to pursue the fugitives, and the victorious Saud, without further obstacle, took possession of Medâein. A. H. XV. A. D. 636. Rouzut ussuffâ.

In the splendid metropolis of the Benni Sassan, when they surveyed the miracles of architecture and art, the gilded palaces, the strong and stately porticos, with that abundant display of victuals, in the most exquisite variety and profusion which feasted their senses, and courted their observation on every side, it is perhaps easier to conceive than describe the mingled sensations of surprise admiration and delight, which filled the bosoms of Saud, and his yet rude and unpolished barbarians. In the vaulted palace of the just Noushirvaun, the Mahommedan general proceeded by a solemn thanksgiving of eight prostrations to express his gratitude to the most high, for those signal successes which had conducted the standard of the true faith to these magnificent abodes. Indeed, such must have been the astonishment which struck the senses of a people like the Arabs, then just emerging from simple barbarism, on the contemplation of the various wonders, which, like the effect of magic, rose before them in all directions, that the extravagant representations of the orientals on the subject, may perhaps be entitled to some indulgence. Neither should it excite our surprise, when they affirm, what is very possible, that the valuable articles of merchandize, the rich and beautiful pieces of manufacture, which fell into the hands of the conquerors on the occasion, were in such incalculable abundance, that the thirtieth part of their estimate was more than the imagination could embrace. Nor is it improbable that the circumstance once already noticed, prematurely perhaps, after the battle of Kaudsiah, of several ass loads of camphor, being mistaken by the Arabian soldiery for salt, should have really occurred; although that of their exchanging sheets of gold for sheets of silver of equal weight, may admit of some qualification.

But, that from which all other articles in this prodigious booty, seemed to recede in the comparison, was the superb and celebrated carpet of cloth

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. Habeib usseyr.

of gold, of sixty cubits square, which they found in the treasury of the Khossrous, each separate compartment of which of ten cubits, most curiously wrought, in jewels of every species, and of the highest value; the ruby, the emerald, the saphire, the beryl, topaz and pearl, being arranged with such inimitable and consummate skill, to form the representations of trees, fruits and flowers, of rivulets and fountains, so truly admirable, as to surpass all description and belief. To this superb and exquisite piece of workmanship, the most beautiful and expensive performance in mosaic that perhaps was ever exhibited, in which, blended with the thornless rose, every tree plant and flowering shrub, seemed to combine its foliage to fascinate the eye of the beholder with the most charming illusions, the Persian monarchs had given the name of the Bahauristaun, as if it were, the mansion of perennial spring; and on this, with a magnificence which the sovereigns of the east alone, perhaps, possessed the means of displaying, they were accustomed to entertain and regale the nobles of their court; when, during the gloom of winter, they chose to retrace in the most brilliant imitation, the beauties of nature in her loveliest forms.

At any rate, it appeared of such transcendant value, that no one presumed to set an estimate upon it; and it was therefore superadded to the fifth of the spoil, which, as soon as it could be arranged and set apart by Amru the son of Mukrân, to whom the task had been assigned, was as usual, by Saud conveyed to Medeinah, loaded on nine hundred camels, in charge of Besheir the son of Hozzauthia. The residue of the booty was then divided into sixty thousand shares, in such a proportion, that twelve thousand dinaurs, fell to the lot of every horseman in the army; giving to each, at the lowest computation, five thousand five hundred pounds; and if it be also true, that this army consisted of sixty thousand horse, the whole would amount altogether to the incredible sum of three hundred and thirty millions sterling.

To the ambitious Omar, when he received together with his proportion of the splendid spoils of Medâein, the grateful inteiligence of those transcendent successes, which had crowned the operations of the Persian campaign, will not, of course, be denied the full measure of joy and exultation, which it was calculated to renew. With the impartiality, from which he never deviated, the booty was distributed among the principal members of the Mahommedan common wealth: the superb and magni-

ficent carpet, which had unfolded delight and fascination to every eye, he caused to be cut up into small pieces; one of which, of the size only of the palm of a man's hand, falling to the share of Ally, was afterwards sold by that heroic chief, for the sum of twenty thousand dirhems, or according to others, for as many dinaurs.* A. H. XV. A. D. 636. Habeib usseyr.

In the mean time, with a view of intercepting the communication, between the Persian monarchy and the shores of Hindostaun, Auttebah the son of Ghûzwaun, on of the prophet's companions, was directed by Omar before the conclusion of the year XV, to proceed with a body of troops towards Eblah, on the lower Tigris; where on the western bank of that river, in conformity to his instructions he laid the foundation of a new city; to which, in allusion to the rocky situation, on which it was erected, he gave the name of Bassorah, the term by which such situation is distinguished in the ancient dialect of the Arabs. A description, which, however, corresponds but little with the site of the modern city of that name so well known to Europeans. In the space of about three years, it became a respectable and extensive town, when, having furnished it with a competent stock of inhabitants, and established Jashia the son of Mûssaoud in the government, Auttebah returned to Medeinah.

It was in the course of the same year that Omar proceeded to form an arrangement of the members of his court, assigning to each in regular gradation, from the individuals of the prophet's family to the lowest of his companions, an established pension from the public treasury, recording them by name in an authentic register preserved for the purpose. To Abbas who stood at the head of the list, was assigned the sum of twelve thousand dirhems;† next in precedence, and above all his other nobles, were placed the Seyuds, or race of Mahommed; to each of the mothers of the faithful, the widows of the prophet so distinguished, he assigned ten thousand dirhems;‡ although, with an extraordinary deference to the imperious Ayaishah, he presumed not to limit her claims to any particular sum. To the associates of the battle of Beider, to the Imaums Hussun

* The one would be equivalent to about 458*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The other about 9,116*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The same sample is, however, rated by others, as low as 8,000 dirhems, or about 183*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

† About 275*l.* ‡ About 229*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

A. H. XV. A. D. 636. and Hûsseyne, to Abû Zerr Ghoffaury, and to the prophet's favorite proselyte Sûliman the Persian, each respectively, five thousand dirhems.* Below these, the remainder of the companions were severally rated from four thousand† downwards, to two hundred dirhems‡ per annum.

Habeib usseyr.

After the fall of his capital, the unfortunate Yezdejird was too much under the influence of his fears to remain long at Jalûla; leaving the troops assembling about that place in great force to their destiny, he continued his retreat towards Hulwaun, in readiness to secure himself in the passes behind that town. The troops at Jalûla, having, in the mean time, put themselves under the orders of Mehran Rauzy, or according to others, under Khûrzaud, the brother of Rûstum, whom Yezdejird had left to superintend their exertions, drew a formidable intrenchment round their camp, and prepared to make the most vigorous resistance to the further progress of the Mussulmans. However strange, it would still appear, that the province of Yemen had not yet been intirely subjugated, since a Persian chief, of the name of Beimian, is noticed to have been appointed at this period to the government of it, on the part of Yezdejird. A division of the fugitives of Kaudsiah, and the remnant of other discomfitures, who had taken the direction of Mossûle, were also reported to be collecting in considerable numbers in the territory of Tekreit.

A. H. XVI. A. D. 637.

In order to dislodge the enemy from Jalûla, a body of twelve thousand men was detached from the army of Medâein by Saud, under his nephew Haushem the son of Auttebah; though the command of these troops is, by others, assigned to Amrû the son of Malek, of the race of Abdummenauf. And to prevent the designs which might be forming on the side of Tekreit, another detachment of six thousand men, under Abdullah the son of Meiatemmer, proceeded at the same time towards that quarter. On the arrival of Haushem in the neighbourhood of Jalûla, we are on the one hand informed, that finding it impossible to draw the enemy from their intrenchments, he was compelled to the alternative of attacking them within their works; but at the expiration of six months, during which they appear to have baffled all his efforts, he at last succeeded in carrying those works by assault, with a dreadful carnage of the Persians. On the other hand, the latter are by some authors represented to have bravely opposed their ene-

* About 114*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* † About 91*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

‡ 4*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* At five-pence half-penny to the dirhem.

mies in the field of battle, though ultimately defeated with the loss of one hundred thousand men in the conflict; the scene of which was in consequence ever afterwards distinguished by the conquerors, by the name of Jalûla-ul-kuttely, Jalûla of slaughter. Here again an immense booty became the reward of successful enterprise; and one article particularly described, was a golden camel enriched with all sorts of jewels, surmounted by the figure of a man also of gold, which was found in one of the tents by an Arab soldier, and by him faithfully delivered to the person whose charge it was to collect the spoil. A. H. XVI. A. D. 637. Habeib usseyr and Rouzut ussuffâ.

On intelligence of this fresh disaster, the unhappy Yezdejird quitted Hulwaun in a state of despair, and retired further off towards the ancient city of Râi; and Hulwaun was soon afterwards compelled to submit to Haushem. The operations of Abdullah Meiatemmer, were attended with similar success in the territories of Mossûle and Tekreit; both of which submitted to the prevailing fortune of the Mûssùlmans, now about to unite their conquests with those of their associates from the province of Syria. These events are stated to have taken place towards the close of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth of the Hidjera; the latter year being rendered further memorable by the reduction of Shirvaun and Baspendaun, accomplished by Zerraur the brother of Omar. A.H.XVII. A. D. 638.

These conquests were followed in the course of the same year by the submission of all the towns of Ahûauz, a division of Khûzistaun the ancient Susiana, according to some authorities seventy-seven in number, which were now compelled to receive the yoke of the Mosslems. The cities of Dûmhurhaur and Suttur, in the same territory, were in particular, surrendered to Abû Seiurah, by their governor Hormûzan, who, on repairing to Medeinah, became shortly afterward, either by force or persuasion, a convert to Isslâm. The same Abû Seiurah, by whom the troops of Omar were conducted to this quarter, was further successful in making himself master of the ancient city of Sûsse, the capital of Susiana; although this latter capture, and indeed that of the whole province, is by others ascribed to Abû Mûssa Aishaury.

The air, and possibly the luxuries of Medâein, having been found on experience to disagree with the constitution of the Arabs, Saud-e-Wekauss solicited, and with some difficulty obtained the permission of Omar to withdraw to the western side of the Euphrates; where on the confines of their native deserts,

A.H.XVII. A. D. 638. Habeib usseyr.

he lodged his followers in a cantonment of mats and reeds; and a residence constructed of such materials, being in the language of Arabia, denominated Kûfah, the place, at a subsequent period, after it had been consumed by fire, and had risen from its ashes in materials more durable, became equally celebrated under that name, as the temporary seat of the Khelaufat, and for the turbulent and refractory spirit of its inhabitants. From this period, the city of cities, the proud metropolis of the Sassanides, gradually declined; so that, with the exception of one noble arch, the Tauk-e-Kessra, some leagues below Baghdâd, supposed to have been the entrance to the palace of the great king, not a vestige remains at this day to indicate the spot whereon it stood.

In this place we are referred, by our author, to the relation of a certain writer of Isfahaun of the name of Hamzah, for the circumstances which suggested to Omar, the establishment at this period of the æra of the Hidjera, generally included under the arrangements of the year seventeen. And it is acknowledged on the occasion, that the recent convert Hormûzan, bore a principal concern in the astronomical calculations necessary to form the basis of this new point in chronology. In other respects, a regard for the superstitious prepossessions, and habits of his countrymen, seems to have prevailed with the Khalif, notwithstanding some inconveniences, to select for his system the lunar year of three hundred and fifty-four days and a fraction, in preference to the solar one already in use with most other improved nations.

With respect to the different æras observed by those other nations, previous to the diffusion of the *enlightened system of Mahommedan legislation*, the author has furnished us with the following table, so far as appears to have fallen within the knowledge of his country. *First*, the descent of Adam from paradise; i. e. the fall of our first parents. *Second*, the deluge of Noah. *Third*, the deliverance of the patriarch Abraham, from the fire of Nimrod. *Fourth*, the foundation of the Kaaubah or temple of Mekkah, observed by the descendants of Issmauil, or Ishmaelites. *Fifth*, the mission of Moses, by the Jews. *Sixth*, the æra of Eskunder-zûl-kernein, or Alexander of Macedon, by the Greeks. *Seventh*, the Wakaaut-ul-Pheil, or visitation of the elephant, adopted by the Koraish. *Eighth*, that of the accession of their sovereigns, observed by the Persians, concluding with that of Yezdejird, the last of those sovereigns of the ancient race. The one in use at

the period in which the author of the Habeib usseyr was employed on his history, about the tenth century of the Hidjerah, was the æra of Melek Shah, of the race of Seljûk, established at the commencement of the reign of that illustrious prince, cotemporary with Jengueiz. That he should have excluded from his list the æra of the Christians, is not very singular, as the author, in all probability, conceived it beneath the notice of a pious and orthodox Mussulman; and to an Olympiad, or the foundation of Rome, it is possible that his information never extended. A.H.XVII. A.D. 638. Habeib usseyr.

During the eighteenth of the Hidjerah, the attention of Omar was for some time employed in administering consolation to his people, sinking under the horrors of famine and hunger brought upon the city of Medeinah by a season of excessive drought; and from which, if their historians are entitled to credit, the intervention of a miracle was employed to relieve them. In the height of their sufferings, accompanied by the principal citizens, many of them the associates of the prophet, the Khalif repaired to the adjacent plain, in humble prostration to implore the compassion of heaven; and the aged and respectable Abbas having been chosen, on this occasion, as the organ of their supplications, his prayers are said to have found immediate access to the throne of mercy; as within the compass of the same hour the bounty of heaven, which had been long withheld from them, disclosed itself in abundant rain: which continued without intermission for the whole succeeding week, to the great and seasonable relief of the parched inhabitants; who were not deficient in their expressions of veneration and gratitude to him, whose intercessions with divine goodness, had been so miraculously exerted in their favor. A.H.XVIII. A.D. 639.

The mosque and mausoleum of the prophet at Medeinah, when compared with the increasing magnitude and prosperity of that dominion which was become the lot of his successors, might perhaps be now considered to occupy a space too humble for the author of so splendid a destiny; and it was accordingly thought necessary, during this year, to enlarge that space by the purchase of several adjoining houses, the property of Abbas, which were thus included within the sacred precincts. In the course of the same year, a detachment of the Mahommedan troops in Palestine and in the neighbourhood of Ramlah, while exploring the recesses of mount Libanus, penetrated into a cave in the mountain; where, reclining on a gilded throne, they discovered the body or skeleton of a man, and by the

A. H. XIX. A. D. 640. Habeib usseyr.

side of it, a plate or tablet of solid gold, containing an inscription* in Greek characters, to the following effect. "I am Sâba the son of Noûauss, once distinguished by the friendship of Esau, the son of the patriarch and prophet Isaac. In splendour and prosperity I enjoyed life to an advanced age, during which I witnessed on earth various and surprising visitations; Among other things, destructive storms of hail and snow in the heats of July. Let it not therefore surprise or alarm, if futurity should exhibit the same appearances. But that which impressed me with the greatest degree of astonishment, was the blindness of the descendants of Adam, who, with the graves of their forefathers, their children and friends, continually before their eyes, should yet be so totally unmindful of death, as not to direct one thought towards that strict and rigid account, which will be infallibly required of them on the great and aweful day of universal retribution. I further assuredly know, that at the proper period, the race of men who shall discover the secrets of this cave, are destined by the unalterable decrees of Omnipotence, to possess the surrounding regions. These events, however, will not come to pass until the paths of truth and rectitude shall have been lost to mankind, and the worship of the true God shall have disappeared on earth. After all, the end of the just and pious shall be happy. Farewel!" The above, in the true taste of oriental curiosity, we have been compelled in the dearth of other matter, to introduce on the authority of our original, without claiming from the reader a greater share of his attention than such a circumstance may appear to deserve.

A. H. XX. A. D. 641.

At a very early period of their establishment, the inhabitants of the new city of Kûfah began to exhibit those proofs of the turbulent and refractory spirit, for which they afterwards became so notorious; and we accordingly find them under the twentieth of the Hidjerah, so dissatisfied with the administration of Saud, under whose auspices they had so often fought and conquered, as to transmit to Medeinah, against him, complaints of such a nature, as appeared of sufficient weight with Omar, to remove that warlike and successful commander from his government; which now devolved in rotation to Aumar Yausser, a name of considerable celebrity in the annals of Isslâm. And among the casualties of the year twenty, it

* Why the inscription should be Greek, rather than Hebrew or Syriac, it is not easy to explain; the original is Yûnauny.

may be proper to notice in particular the death of Abû Soffeyan, the father of Yezzeid and Mauweiah, and uncle's son of the prophet. A. H. XXI. A. D. 642.

The removal of the warlike Saud from the government of Kûfah, seems to have hastened the conclusive efforts which Yezdejird was yet preparing, to recover his dominions from the usurpation of these barbarous invaders. And for this purpose, all the troops that could be drawn together from the several provinces of the empire, to which the spoliations of the enemy had not been yet extended, and particularly from those of Khorassaun, Râi and Hamadaun, were now assembled at Nihawend, to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand men; of whom the command was assigned to Feyrouzan, one of his best generals, who still survived to witness the further cruel and sanguinary discomfiture of his countrymen. These formidable preparations being announced at Medeinah by the letters of Aumar Yausser, occasioned considerable alarm lest the mischiefs of invasion should be at last retaliated even at the seat of the Khelaufut; or at any rate lest the rising establishments of Kûfah and Bassorah should be thus exposed to premature destruction. According to the opinion of Othmân, it was a conjuncture which demanded the presence of the Khalif himself at the head of his troops, but the counsels of Ally again prevailed for the adoption of less desperate measures; and in concurrence with his advice, Niauman the son of Mokurren, or Mekrûn, was the person now selected by Omar to oppose the Persians, with an army, which, including the troops drawn from the garrisons of Kûfah and Bassorah, is not said to have amounted altogether to more than thirty thousand men. At the head of these, however, after completing the necessary arrangements, Niauman, accompanied, among other gallant soldiers, by Abdullah the son of Omar, advanced towards Nihawend. In the mean time, the Persian general had employed the utmost of his exertions, by surrounding his camp with a deep ditch and rampart, and by providing every other possible measure of defence, to render that position impregnable, in which he was to play the last stake for the emancipation of his country. Habeib usseyr.

In this situation the Persian army patiently expected the approach of the Mosslems, who shortly afterwards appeared, and pitched their tents within half a league of their intrenchments. A series of partial and ineffectual

A. H. XXI. A. D. 642. hostilities now commenced, and continued for a period of two months; in which, though no decided superiority could be claimed on either, yet in the various skirmishes which took place, the advantage seemed in general, notwithstanding, to incline to the side of the Arabs. This consideration may have prevailed with Feyrouzan, contrary to the experience of former failures in that respect, to desire that a person on the part of the Mahommedan general might be deputed to receive from him such tenders towards an accommodation, as he still felt himself disposed to communicate. To this from a variety of motives Niauman very readily acceded; and the same Moghairah who had signalized himself on former similar occasions, was now again selected alone to confer with the Persian.

Habeib ussyr.

Rouzut ussuffa. On admission to the pavilion of Feyrouzan, perceiving him seated on a throne of gold, a tiara streaming with radiance adorning his brows, and a numerous concourse of his officers standing before him, the Mahommedan announced his presence by the abrupt and insolent declaration, that until they were masters of those proud bulwarks, which had hitherto opposed their valour, and of the throne and diadem which now shed such brilliance before him, his countrymen would never be induced to recede; and without further prelude bounding forwards, he seated himself on the throne by the side of the Persian Satrap. But the assembly preparing to chastize his presumption, he pleaded ignorance of their manners; and with equal effrontery cautioned them to forbear from molesting him, since nothing was more repugnant to the maxims of true royalty, than violence against the sacred person of an embassador; and Feyrouzan also interposing his authority to prevent them, they were constrained to suppress their indignation, while he proceeded to explain the terms on which he was disposed to open a treaty with the Mahommedans. These comprised in truth nothing more than what had been already in repeated instances rejected with scorn and disdain; an offer to clothe them, if they were in search of apparel; to feed them if hungry; and in fine to cede to them an extent of territory, amply sufficient to provide for all their future necessities, if they would engage to withdraw from a country which they had so unjustly invaded.

To this, in a strain which might be now considered from frequent repetition familiar, Moghairah replied, by acknowledging the justice of all that had been again charged against the Arabs, with respect to the poverty, imbecility and even baseness of their former condition. But from this he

could assure those who heard him, they had long emerged, since a gracious God, through the medium of their prophet, and the blessings of a glorious religion, had crowned their destiny with unbounded wealth, power and grandeur. Perhaps it was also necessary to add, that from the moment in which the pride of one of their monarchs had led him *to tear in pieces the letter of God's messenger*, prosperity and dominion had forever forsaken or discarded the race of Sassan. He concluded, by proposing, as usual, that they would either submit to become tributary, or quit their intrenchments, and decide the contest in the field of battle. Upon which, observing to his officers that there was some degree of truth in the Arabs reasoning, Feyrouzan turned to Moghairah, and dismissed him with an assurance, that on the Wednesday following, he should relinquish the advantages of his position, and meet his countrymen in the field of battle. Faithful to his promise, he accordingly appeared on the day appointed, with his whole army before the camp of the Mussulmans, with whom a fierce and obstinate contest immediately ensued; in which, when evening closed the scene, neither party could yet claim the advantage. The conflict was renewed the following day with a termination equally indecisive, night again separating the combatants before success could yet declare itself for either of the parties. But on Friday, the third of the battle, though Niauman fell mortally wounded in the early part of the action, victory, with her zephyr breath, played upon the ensigns of Isslâm; and a dreadful and sanguinary discomfiture irrevocably sealed the destiny of the Persian empire.

A. H. XXI. A. D. 642. Rouzut ussuffâ.

In the relation of Abû Haneifah of Dâinûr, whose residence in the neighbourhood of the fatal spot, may perhaps have afforded him opportunities of more accurate information, the circumstances of this memorable event are, however, represented with some variation from those which have just claimed our notice. According to this writer, when Niauman had conducted his army within three pharsangs of Nihawend, he there encamped; and the Persians under Murdan Shah the son of Hormûz, advancing to oppose him, pitched their camp also, immediately in his vicinity, securing themselves however, with a formidable line of intrenchments; the advantages of which, for the hazardous and uncertain issue of a contest in the open

A. H. XXI. A. D. 642.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

field, no provocation could for some time prevail upon them to forego. In all cases of difficulty, Niauman had received the instructions of Omar, to be governed by the advice of Amrû the son of Meyaudi Kerreb, and *Tulhah the son of Khûeylud;* and perceiving that all his attempts to bring the enemy to action proved ineffectual, he thought the occasion now offered, to bring the experience of those two chieftains to the test. After explaining to them, that although daily strengthened by continual reinforcements, it appeared to be the fixed determination of the Persians to remain on the defensive within their fortifications; and that so long as they adhered to such a resolution, situated as they were, in the midst of the abundant supplies of a friendly territory, it was in their power to protract the war in full security, to any period they chose; while the Mussulmans on their part, at a distance from all supply, and in the heart of a country inveterately hostile, must be inevitably exposed to every species of privation and distress: he therefore requested they would freely suggest such measures as they conceived it most advisable to adopt, in the dilemma to which he found himself reduced.

Without keeping him long in suspense, Amrû proposed, that a report should be circulated in the camp of the enemy, that the Khalif Omar was dead; and, as if in consequence of such an event, that the Mussulman army should immediately retire some marches homewards. In all probability the Persians encouraged by these appearances, would be at last induced to forego the protection of their lines, for the imagined pursuit of a flying enemy; and in such a case it would not be very difficult to give them battle when they least expected it, and to strike for that victory, with which there needed only the opportunity, to crown their ardent expectations.

The scheme was approved of by Niauman, and immediately carried into execution. The Persians, as had been foreseen, on intelligence that their enemies were retreating, fell without suspicion into the snare; and suffering themselves to be carried away by their exultation, and the flattering illusions of hope, were irrecoverably engaged in a distant, and, perhaps, a negligent pursuit. So soon, however, as it was perceived that they had been drawn to such a distance, that it would be impossible to regain their intrenchments without fighting, the Arabs on a sudden ceased to retire; and the Persian generals discovering when too late, that it was no longer

avoidable, drew up for the night in presence of the enemy, and prepared for battle. A. H. XXI. A. D. 642.

The next day, being Wednesday, and the day following, as hath been already noticed, the armies engaged in a furious and ineffectual struggle for victory, which terminated without apparent advantage on either side. But on the Friday, when the sun was just declining from the meridian towards the western horizon, the moment at which, from every mosque and pulpit in Isslâm, the supplications of the faithful were ascending to heaven in aid of their armies throughout the world, and that which, with the prophet, was also the favorite hour of battle, Niauman, robed in white as if prepared for martyrdom, and mounted on a milk white steed, gave the last *tekbeir;* the signal for his troops to fall on, with their spears and lances pointed towards the breasts of the enemy. Soon afterwards, while thus advancing to the charge, one of the Persian arrows transfixed the bosom of the Arabian general, and he immediately fell; but his brother Sowaid, conveying him the same instant from the field to his tent, there clad himself in his armour and vestments, and returning to the battle mounted on his horse, thus concealed from the Mussulmans that their commander was killed. The conflict continued to rage with equal perseverance and inveteracy, until, after exhibiting prodigies of valour, the brave and experienced Amrû the son of Meyaudi, sharing the fate of his general, became also enrolled among the denizens of eternal bliss; when the Arabs appear to have been exasperated to a degree of fury, which nothing could longer resist. The Persians now gave way on every side, the greater number hastening to regain their intrenched camp. Feyrouzan, with about four thousand followers, effected his escape into the neighbouring mountains, but being closely pursued and overtaken by a detachment of the Mahommedans under Kaauka the son of Amrû, he was there put to the sword, with all who attended his flight. Exclusive of thirty thousand men who fell in the action, there perished, it is said, in the ditch of their encampment, into which, in the terror and confusion of their flight, they were probably precipitated by one another, not less than eighty thousand of the Persians: neither, when we reflect on the duration and obstinacy of the conflict, and the acknowledged impression made by the Persian archers, could the loss on the part of the Mussulmans, though not precisely stated, have been inconsiderable. It was however attended with such

Rouzut ussuffa.

A. H. XXI. A. D. 642. Rouztut tssuffâ.

decisive results, that the victory of Nihawend has been ever since denominated the Fattah-hul-Futtûh, or victory of victories; it being the last struggle in which, with any competence of force or number, the Persians appear to have engaged, in defence of the ancient government and institutions of their country.

The booty which fell into the hands of the victorious Mussulmans was again prodigious, though small in comparison with the incalculable wealth of the metropolis. The proportion which fell to the lot of a horseman, amounted, however, on this occasion, to six thousand dirhems;* that of a footman, to two thousand:† exclusive of the lion's share, set apart and, as usual, transmitted to Medeinah, by Khozzeifah ul Yemauny, who had succeeded to the command on the death of Niauman. To this latter share was superadded, the diadem and other jewels bestowed by the bounty and liberality of Khossrou Parveiz on the noble Tokhaurjan, on an occasion, the nature of which, as it affords some degree of relief to the mind amidst these details of butchery and outrage, the author may have considered it in this place not unseasonable to explain.

This nobleman had enjoyed the most distinguished place in the favor and esteem of his sovereign, the monarch just alluded to, who had united him by marriage to a lady from his own haram, one of the most beautiful women of the age. By some means or other, an intercourse continued however to exist between this lady and her former lord, which the husband was not sufficiently passive to subscribe to; and he accordingly thought fit to estrange himself from any conversation with her. Of this circumstance Khossrou became apprized, and he took the first opportunity of breaking the matter to his favorite, by observing, that he understood there was a fountain of delicious water in his possession, of which he never condescended to taste. To this Tokhârjan replied, it was very true that he was the possessor of such a fountain, and had formerly tasted of it; but one day happening to discover the impression of the lion's foot on the precincts, he was so intirely overcome with terror, that he never afterwards presumed to approach it. Pleased and surprised by the ingenuity, delicacy, and readiness of the reply, Khossrou immediately hastened to the palace of his women, not less than three thousand in number, and requiring from each of them the jewels which she possessed for the decoration of her person, he caused

* About 137*l.* 10*s.* † About 45*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

the whole to be presented to the wife of Tokhârjan; together with a diadem or tiara, or coronet of gold, enriched with the most exquisite gems, which he bestowed upon her husband. Many years afterwards, the latter, as we have already seen, perished in one of those ineffectual attempts to oppose the progress of the Mahommedans towards the metropolis, which succeeded to the battle of Kaudsiah; and the precious donative remaining in the hands of his family, was conveyed from the scenes of havoc, slaughter and captivity which ensued, to a village in the neighbourhood of Nihawend; where, secure, as they thought against all danger of discovery, they buried their treasure in a pit. But all hope of deliverance having been forever dissipated by the last fatal discomfiture of the armies of their country, one of the chief men of the village, on a promise of protection to his family and property, betrayed the precious deposit to the person entrusted by the Mussulmans with the collection of the spoil. It was discovered in two hampers, the one containing the rich diadem of Khossrou Parveiz, and the other, the jewels of his sumptuous haram, so liberally transferred to Tokhârjan and his consort. It remains however to mention, that these articles, being, in some way or other, by the statutes of Isslâm, exempted from any claims of the soldiery, Khozzeifah thought fit to forward them untouched, to Medeinah; but Omar, accusing his general of a design to seduce his integrity, or to implicate him in the public mind, directed both the packages to be reconveyed in the same state to Kûfah, there to be immediately disposed of, and the money arising from the sale, after deduction of the fifth part legally reverting to the public treasury, to be impartially distributed to the army. Which was accordingly done. And yet, unless we are to look upon it altogether as an error in the transcript, it will scarcely obtain our belief after all that has preceded, that this boasted concealment, should have been sold and resold for a paltry sum* in the utmost not exceeding one hundred pounds sterling; and our author must have been indeed extremely moderate in his wishes, when he professes that a single acquisition of such a magnitude would have rendered him abundantly easy for life.

A. H. XXI. A. D. 642. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Thunder struck by the dreadful defeat of Nihawend, the unhappy Yezdejird was preparing to abandon Râi, and retire at once into Khorassaun, when the governor of Hyrcania, the modern Tebrestaun, who had lately

* Four thousaud dirhems.

A. H. XXI. A. D. 642. joined him, urged every argument to prevail upon him to proceed rather into that province, as affording the most secure and agreeable retreat. This however he declined, conceiving it more advisable to fix his residence at Neimrouz, where he continued for some time; but being perhaps further terrified by approaching hostilities, he removed from thence to the neighbourhood of Tûsse, in the expectation that he should find an asylum within the fortifications of that city. His misfortunes had, however, determined the governor of that place to shut his gates against him; and the imperial fugitive was now compelled to withdraw with apparent reluctance towards Merû, where his disastrous career was brought to a termination, in the manner which will be noticed in a future page.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

The remaining public events of the reign of Omar, it will not be difficult to comprise in a very few words. The victory of Nihawend was closely followed by the reduction of Hamadaun, the ancient Ecbatana according to some, and of Dainûr, both of which surrendered on capitulation. And the city of Isfahaun, after a brave resistance, was also compelled to submit to the prowess of Abdullah the son of Abbas. In the scanty list of civil occurrences, with which the historian has thought proper to distinguish the year twenty-one, is the coinage of gold and silver money, of dinaurs and dirhems, which, for the first time, it would appear, Omar caused to be struck throughout his dominions about this period. As far as the text enables us to state, they bore in general the name of God, without accompaniment. Some of the dinaurs or pieces of gold, are however said to have exhibited the well known creed of Mahommedism, asserting the unity of the Godhead, and the divine mission of the prophet. Some were also impressed with the words, *Ulhumd-ul-Ullah*, praised be God. And others, with Omar, Ameir ul Moûmenein, Omar, commander of the faithful. But to hazard a conjecture, Ulhumd-ul-Ullah, and Omar Ameir ul Moûmenein, may have been exhibited partly on the one side, and partly on the reverse of the same piece, as Laillauh il Ullah, and Mahommed Urrussûlullah might have been on others. With respect to the relative value of these coins, it is perhaps not easy to determine. That of the dinaur of gold appears to have fluctuated from twenty to five and twenty of the dirhems, or pieces of silver; and as in some copies of Ferishtah, ten millions of the latter are represented equal to two hundred and fifty thousand rupees, or half crowns, we have ventured to estimate the dirhem at about

five-pence half-penny; so that the dinaur, at the highest value, might have been equal to about eleven shillings and five-pence half-penny, and at the lowest, to about nine shillings and two-pence, English currency. The expulsion of the Jews from their ancient establishment of Khaibar, was another event of a more domestic nature, which distinguished the year twenty-one; for having afforded some occasion of displeasure to Omar, that prince did not neglect the opportunity to dispossess them of their patrimony, which was accordingly transferred to the faithful. A. H. XXI. A. D. 642. Habeib ussyr.

The government of Aumar Yausser was not more successful in subduing the changeable and turbulent spirit of the people of Kûfah, than that of his predecessor. His conduct became also obnoxious; and the Khalif, who did not perhaps think it very safe to temporize with the complaints of these haughty swordsmen, was easily prevailed upon to supersede him, by the appointment of Moghairah the son of Shaubiah, whose singular character cannot have escaped the recollection of the reader.

To this chieftain, with the troops of his province, under the events of the year twenty-two, has been ascribed the reduction of Azerbaijaun, corresponding nearly to the ancient Media, and part of Armenia; the natives of which, were permitted to purchase the forbearance of their oppressors for the moderate sum of eight hundred thousand dirhems.* The other conquered countries in the neighbourhood were, however, not yet reconciled to the yoke of their recent and ferocious masters; and it accordingly appears, that about this period an insurrection took place among the inhabitants of Hamadaun, which was, however, speedily suppressed by the sword of Niaum the son of Mekrûn; who embraced the opportunity of signalizing himself further, by the subjugation of the cities of Râï, Kûms, and Damaghaun, with the territory dependant on them. The declining fortune of the Persian monarchy was now extended to its vassals in the almost inaccessible mountains and forests of Mazanderaun and Tebristaun, both comprehended in the ancient Hyrcania, which, on becoming tributary, were admitted to a treaty of peace with these all subduing enthusiasts. A.H.XXII. A. D. 643.

While the conquests of Mahommedism were thus accumulating in other parts of the empire, a body of twenty thousand men, under Ehnif the son

* 18,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

A.H.XXII. A. D. 643. of Keyss, proceeded, by direction of Omar, to invade the powerful province of Khorassaun, corresponding to the ancient Bactriana. Alarmed at the approach of these troops, the despairing Yezdejird is now said to have fled for protection to the Khaugan of the Tatars, whose assistance he implored to expel the invaders. This prince generously determined to support the royal fugitive, and for that purpose immediately crossed the Amûr or lower Oxus, at the head of a numerous army, while Ehnif, with the Mahommedans, advanced to meet him from the side of Merû. A very trifle was, however it seems, sufficient to deter him from the prosecution of his design. Three of the Tartar scouts being intercepted by the Mahommedans, were by them immediately put to the sword; and the circumstance being communicated to the Khaugan, was by him translated into a presage so inauspicious to the success of his enterprise, that he as speedily determined to withdraw from the danger, and accordingly recrossed the Oxus without further delay. The unhappy Yezdejird was once more thus abandoned to his destiny; and although he succeeded in eluding, for some time longer, the pursuit of his enemies, this was the last instance in which he appears to have offered any material interruption to the final subjugation of his dominions.

Habeib usseyr.

A.H.XXIII. A. D. 644. In the course of the year twenty-three, the province of Kermaun was added to the possessions of Isslâm, by the united exertions of Soheyl the son of Auddi, and Abdullah the son of Autteban; that of Seiestaun, the cradle of the invincible Rûstum, was reduced by Aussem the son of Amrû, of the tribe of Benni Temeim; and to complete their conquests to the southward, the capital of Mekraun submitted to Hukkem the son of Aumer the Saulbian. However unimportant at a remote period, and in a distant quarter of the globe, this recapitulation of uncouth names may appear, they claim, notwithstanding, considerable attention on the spot; though perhaps not to so great a degree, as the catalogue of those fortunate adventurers, who accompanied the Norman William, in support of his pretensions to the crown of Edward the confessor, will ever continue to excite in the recollection of Englishmen.

While these conquests were accumulating round him, Shohrug, the lieutenant, or satrap of Parss, (that region of the Persian empire, of which Istakhar, or Persepolis was, and at a subsequent period Shirâuz became the capital) assembled a considerable force, with which, at the city of Foudje,*

* Foushudje perhaps.

on the confines between his province and that of Khûzistaun, he seemed determined to oppose a resolute resistance to the usurpations of these cruel invaders. But the vigilance of Omar, ever watchful to promote the ascendancy of his fortune, did not long suffer these demonstrations to pass unregarded. Several eminent commanders with patents for the government of such parts of the province as the events of war should place at their disposal, were employed without delay to convince him of the inutility of his efforts. These men, at the head of troops now long inured to conquest, accordingly entered Parss ; and Shohrug, like the rest of his compatriots, perceiving it unavailing to oppose the tide of adverse fortune, shrunk from the contest, and abandoned his country to the enemy. Mûjaushia the son of Mûssaoud then took possession of Foudje, while Othmaun the son of Abil Auss, led the victorious Mahommedans into Istakhar.

A.H.XXIII. A. D. 644. Habeib usseyr.

In the same quarter, Sauriah the son of Zennoim, employed with a separate division against Fassa and Dauruljerd on the route from Shirauz to Kermaun, appears to have experienced a more determined resistance from the natives of those districts, than the behaviour of their fellow subjects might have led him to expect. Having consumed a period of nearly two months, in besieging one of the strong holds of the country, into which they had thrown themselves, he found himself at the same time suddenly and fiercely attacked by a sally from the garrison, and by a numerous body of Kûrds, who had advanced to their relief. The Mussulmans had fallen in considerable numbers, and the issue of the contest was held in alarming suspense ; when, as the historian with the utmost gravity assures us, the Khalif at Medeinah, one Friday, while discharging the functions of the Imaumut in the mosque of the prophet, was suddenly heard to exclaim, "*Sauriah ! remove to the hill;* an exclamation which, by some more than mortal medium was instantly communicated to the perception of that commander who, accordingly, drew off his troops towards the skirts of an adjoining hill, with which he effectually covered his rear; and in that situation again prepared to sustain the attack of his assailants: Here the battle was renewed, with a fury in proportion to the objects which separately animated the contending parties; but, as might have been expected from such a prelude, fortune with her usual predilection finally declared for the Mosslems.

A.H.XXIII. A. D. 644.

Habeib usseyr and Rouzut ussuffâ.

This may be considered as the last of those military exploits that so largely contributed to signalize the reign of Omar; which was now destined to be prematurely shortened by the hand of an ignoble and obscure individual, armed against his life by the sense of injury, and by a denial of justice and protection against the alleged wrongs and exactions of an obdurate master.

In the latter part of the month of Zilhudje, of the year twenty-three, and on his return to Medeinah, from the performance of a last visitation to the sacred shrine of Mekkah, Omar was solemnly admonished by Kaaub-ul-akhbaur, the traditionist perhaps, to prepare for the long journey of eternity; for that of the term of life, there remained for him but the short interval of three days. As he was not sensible of any ailing or infirmity, the Khalif under some degree of surprise, expressed a desire to know, upon what grounds he conceived himself authorized to announce an event so aweful; Kaaub replied, that his information was derived from the tourayat, or Jewish scriptures, in which, he presumed to allege, that there were some passages, which typified the character and actions of Omar. While the Khalif was under the influence of these impressions, Feyrouz, a christian slave belonging to Moghairah the son of Shaubiah, to whom probably his master had given the name of Abû Lûlû, but whom the Sheiahs or adherents of Ally have since dignified with the appellation of Shuja-ud-dein, the hero of their faith, procured admission to his presence; and complaining of the heavy exactions of Moghairah, intreated that an injunction might be laid upon him to make some abatement in the daily sum, which he levied from the fruits of his industry. Upon this Omar demanded of the slave if he excelled in any trade or profession; and being informed in reply, that he was a carpenter, sculptor and smith, and that the sum required by his proprietor, amounted to four dirhems* a day; the Khalif declared, that, considering the endowments of which he acknowledged himself possessed, the demand on the part of his master was by no means unreasonable; and proceeding to say, that among his other qualifications, he understood he was also an excellent millwright, he demanded moreover, perhaps insultingly, whether, if he should undertake to construct at his request a windmill for the service of the state, he might not consider his skill employed to infinite advantage. To this, unable any longer to suppress

* About one shilling and ten-pence.

his indignation, the slave rejoined, that he might, peradventure, find the means of constructing such a windmill for *him*, as would be celebrated from east to west, and the story of which would be repeated to the end of time. Abû Lûlû then withdrew, and the Khalif acknowledged that he had presumed to threaten him with assassination. A.H.XXIII. A. D. 644. Rouzut ussuffaâ and Habeib usseyr.

Watching his opportunity on the following day, while the Khalif was engaged in the performance of morning prayers, and the people entirely occupied in attending to his exhortations, in the public mosque at Medeinah, the same slave having probably mixed, unperceived, with the congregation, rushed forward to the pulpit; and before they could be aware of his design, succeeded in inflicting on the person of Omar, six different wounds with his kreisse, or khunjer; one of which, below the navel, completed his purpose: and taking advantage of the consternation into which the assembly were thrown by an act of such unlooked for atrocity, immediately effected his escape into Persian Irâk; where, at a subsequent period, according to the Sheiahs, the assassin was suffered to experience a peaceable death in the city of Kashaun. The Sûnnihs affirm on the contrary, that, being instantly seized, and apprehending the punishment which awaited him, he cut his own throat on the spot.

In this state, the Khalif was conveyed home, and a draught of milk, which he had received from one of those who attended, being observed to issue, mixed with blood, from the wound below his navel, it was immediately pronounced to be mortal; when Haureth, who had administered the draught of milk, advised him, if he had any bequests to arrange, to dispatch; for to all appearance his affairs were at a dangerous crisis. At this moment, Kaaub, the reputed sage already mentioned, entered the chamber, when Omar told him with some degree of emotion, that his prediction was but too truly verified; however, he called God to witness, that the termination of life had in itself nothing to excite his apprehensions; it was the multitude of his offences only that gave him alarm; in which perhaps he was not very singular. Then calling to his son Abdullah, he desired him to repair to Ayaishah with a message from him, not as sovereign of the true believers, for the fatal event of the day had terminated that proud distinction, but merely to state that the humble Omar wished her health, and besought her permission to be committed to the earth by the side of his two illustrious benefactors. Abdullah returned with Ayaishahs

A.H.XXIII. A. D. 644. Rouzut ussuffâ.

full assent to his father's request. Not satisfied with this, he directed, when he ceased to live, that the same request should be repeated, and if again complied with, it would be well; otherwise to commit him to the grave in the common burying ground of the Mussulmans.

While he thus languished on the threshold of dissolution, some of the principal coexiles were urgent with Omar to nominate a successor to the Khelaufut; this he declined, alleging, that the responsibility incurred by the actions of his own government, was as much as he could well sustain; without extending it to those of another, when he was in his grave: and though the example of a much better person than himself, even of Abû Bukker might be cited for his imitation, yet, that of one who was as much superior to all the race of Adam, of Mahommed himself, who might have exerted such a discretion without the probability of a dissent, was, with him too powerful an argument to the contrary. It was next suggested to him, that with the acknowledged excellencies which adorned his character, the nomination of his son Abdullah, would meet with the entire approbation of all the prophet's companions, whose acquiescence it was principally necessary to provide for; to this he most decidedly objected, declaring, that with his consent not one of the family of Omar should ever load himself with such a charge; and become the source of additional compunction to him on the great day of retribution. However, he at last complied with their solicitations, so far as to fix their choice to one of these six persons, each of whom, he declared that the prophet, on one occasion or other, had expressly designated for a place in paradise. These were *Ally; Othman; Saud-e-Wekauss; Telhah the son of Abdullah; Zobair the son of Ul Awaum; and Abdurraihman the son of Aouff:* whom at his death he directed them to assemble in a species of conclave, for the purpose of chusing, from among themselves, that one whom they thought most worthy to be the prophet's successor.

There were, notwithstanding, many among the believers who presumed to question, with some degree of severity, the pretensions of these six worthies, to whom the honors of the Khelaufut seemed to be thus exclusively confined; and in order to remove their doubts, which he did not learn without considerable dissatisfaction, Omar is now stated to have declared the grounds on which he conceived himself authorized to endow them with such a preference. As they appear to have been of a

nature rather singular to allege in support of such exalted claims, they cannot in justice be here omitted. And first, with regard to his son in law the husband of Fautima, the prophet on a variety of occasions is declared to have repeated, that there was not a scene, if we may so explain it, on the awful theatre of the day of judgment, in which his hand would not be found locked in the hand of Ally. In order to vindicate his preference of Othman, an observation of the prophet is also introduced, in which he describes to Omar, all the angels of heaven united to bestow their benedictions upon him; that Othman was possessed with such unaffected piety and reverence for his creator, that neither through error nor design was he ever known to offend. Of Saud-e-Wekauss, the excellence rested on service performed in the battle of Ohud, where the arrows with which the prophet stood by to supply him, were directed among the enemy with such unerring skill, that he was heard to pronounce thirteen times successively, that the zeal of Saûd would find its meed in paradise. One very cold night, during an expedition in which he was engaged, the animal on which the prophet rode becoming lame, he earnestly besought heaven, that the man who should dismount for the accommodation of God's prophet, might secure so permanent a share of divine favor, as to be safe against the hazard of future displeasure. At the same moment, Telhah the son of Abdullah, was observed to dismount, and the camel, on which Mahommed rode, recovering from its lameness, the prophet undertook to announce to him, on the authority of the angel Gabriel, the promise, that wherever the terrors of the day of judgment should be exhibited, that angel would be found by his side: this was accordingly the circumstance on which he founded the claim of Telhah. Of Zobair, the merit appears to have been derived from a similar source, the desire of securing the prophet's regard by a very trifling instance of attention. On some occasion, when he had fallen asleep, some flies had settled on the prophet's face, *it being but seldom that a collection of sweets is secure from such attacks;* and Zobair was detected, when Mahommed awoke, in the friendly task of fanning the flies from his countenance; on which the name of the tutelar archangel was again introduced as hailing him with the assurance, that on the same aweful day, that immortal spirit would be present to avert the flames of hell from the face of Zobair. Of the same nature also were the grounds on which Omar endeavoured to establish, lastly, the pre-eminence of Abdurraihman; for he proceeds to

A.H.XXIII. A.D. 644.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

A.H.XXIII. A. D.644. Rouzut ussuffâ.

relate, that while the prophet was, on one occasion, in the apartment of Ayaishah, his daughter Fautima, with her two children Hussun aud Hûsseyne, the objects of his fondest affection, came to visit him, the latter crying most violently for food; moved by their sufferings, he ardently prayed, that a boundless sphere of happiness might be the portion of that person who should relieve the wants of his children. Immediately somebody was heard at the door, and on admission, found to be Abdurraihman the son of Aouff, with a tray of victuals in his hand, which he said, he had provided as a treat for God's prophet; to which the latter replied, that a place in paradise was prepared for him, and that the munificence of heaven would be extended to prosper him, even in this world.

Thus consecrated by the venerable stamp of prophetic benediction, Omar sternly cautioned those who had presumed to imagine evil against the candidates whom he had marked for the succession, to desist, lest the most serious mischiefs should recoil upon themselves. He then imposed his dying obligation upon Abû Telhah, to select from among the Ansaur, fifty of the bravest warriors; with whom, when he should have breathed his last, he was to post himself without delay, as a guard over the conclave, or council of six, whose proceedings he was to neglect no possible exertion to hasten to a conclusion. To constrain the opposition of a refractory and obstinate minority, he was authorized to exercise the argument of the sword; and where the voices appeared to be equally divided, three against three, he was to declare for that side on which he found the name of Abdurraihman. The presence of his son Abdullah might be perhaps expedient to the council, but he was not to be suffered to interfere in any way in their deliberations; neither were they on any consideration to be allowed to protract the election of a Khalif, more than three days after the period of his death.

It only remains to mention, that after having sustained the burden of royalty with unblemished reputation for the period of ten years, two months, and some days, Omar, in the close of Zilhudje, of the year twenty-three, took his departure to a state of more permanent glory. In addition to the advantage of an illustrious descent, which in common with the prophet, he traced to Kaaub the son of Lauvi, this prince, the son of Ul Khetaub and Khaithma, was possessed of qualifications which were sufficient to have

* Beginning of November, A. D. 644.

exalted him in any rank of society. To his prudence, or rather singular talent for discernment, the prophet bore ample testimony, when he bestowed upon him the appellative of Faurûk auzem,* the great discriminator, between truth and falsehood; and of his other virtues, if we may be permitted to form an opinion from the eulogium pronounced over his remains, by the competitor of his views on the sovereignty, the brave and liberal minded Ally, the memorial would also prove abundantly flattering. In this he is made to affirm, that Omar was the only person, the record of whose actions, and whose appearance in the presence of his creator, he wished his own to resemble; neither could he doubt, as they were inseparable in this world, that he should be again united to the favorite of Omnipotence, and the friend of his bosom the faithful Abû Bukker, in the mansions of eternal bliss. Profound in the knowledge of the truths of revelation, he feared none but his God, whose will to obey, with him, surpassed all other objects, and in support of whose ordinances he disdained all considerations of person or party. Strictly severe in the investigation of truth, he was equally rigid in the detection of error; and poor as he proved himself in the perishable possessions of this world, he was abundantly rich in the treasure which he had secured in a happier futurity.

A.H.XXIII. A.D. 644. Rouzut ussuffâ.

In short, apart from the lust of foreign conquest and usurpation, in which, unfortunately for mankind, he had too many examples to imitate, and to which he was, perhaps, gradually impelled by circumstances, acting upon an intemperate zeal to promote the imposture in which he was engaged; the character assigned him, even by the historians of an adverse party, may in some respects justify us in considering the second successor of Mahommed, among those princes, who, by an impartial distribution of justice, a rigid and prudent oeconomy, and an inflexible integrity in the application of the resources of the state, have added substantial glory, to the deceitful splendors which have been too frequently known to decorate the insignia of royal authority.

* He severed from his body the head of a Mahommedan, who, in a dispute with an Israelite, refused to abide by the decision of the prophet. Vide Sales excellent translation of the Korân, Vol. I, page 106, in the note.

A.H.XXIII. A. D. 644. Habeib usseyr.

We have already observed that Omar was the first who assumed the title of Ameir ul Moûmenein. He was also the first who adjudged the punishment of eighty lashes to such as disregarded the prohibition against wine; and he set the example in which he was generally imitated by his successors, of perambulating the streets in disguise, in order to observe the temper and manners of his people. According to his request, he was buried in the chapel of Ayaishah by the side of Abû Bukker.

At the death of Omar, the following were the persons who governed under his authority in the different parts of the empire. At Medeinah, Nauffia the son of Abdullah Khozzâi. Tayef, Soffeyan the son of Abdullah Thaukefy. Bassorah and Heirah, Abû Mûssa Aishaury. Kûfah, Moghairah the son of Shaubiah. In Egypt, Amrû ul Auss. At Hamess, Amrû the son of Sauid. Damascus, Mauweiah. In the territory on the river Jordan, Amru the son of Ayeinah. In Yemen, Yauly the son of Ommeyah. Bahareyne, Othman the son of Ul Auss. And in Oman, Khozzeifah the son of Mohussen.

CHAP. V.

IF the statements admitted into the preceding pages possess any claim to our attention, the empire of the Khalifs, under the reign of Omar, may be considered to have attained, pretty nearly, to those limits, which, in actual sovereignty at least, it appears to have surpassed at no period of its history. From the straits of Babelmandel along the Red sea, through Egypt to the western limits of the desert of Barca, and from the latter point along the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Orontes, its boundary on two sides may be easily determined. And from Antioch, an irregular line drawn above Edessa and Nisibis, by the lake of Urmia to the Caspian, in the northern extremity of Mazanderaun, by the Suffeidrûd perhaps, continued through the Caspian by the Kharezmian desert to the Oxus, may furnish some idea of its limits on that side. Another line passing from the Oxus in the direction of Merû, through Seiestaun, and by the mountains of Mekraun to the Arabian sea above cape Guadel, will enable us to form some conception of its boundary on a fourth side; and the shores of the Arabian sea, from the same cape to the straits of Babelmandel, will complete the outline of this puissant domain.

A.H.XXIV. A. D.644. Rouzut ussuffâ.

It is, however, not intended to convey an impression, that the acquisitions within this vast boundary were as yet by any means permanently secured. The great province of Khorassaun was not finally subjugated until the reign of Othman; and many formidable insurrections in different parts of the Persian territory, evinced on a variety of occasions, that abhorrence of foreign dominion, and regard for the religious rites of their ancestors, which continued to animate the disciples of pyrolatry, until repeated discomfitures massacre and expulsion, succeeded in blending at length, with a very trifling exception, the vanquished with their oppressors under the united and powerful sway of the Korân.

A.H.XXIV. A. D. 644.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

Before we proceed to the circumstances which prevailed to establish Othman on the throne of the Khelaufut, it may be necessary to observe, that the friends of Ally were by no means insensible of the tendency of Omar's arrangement, to preclude him from the attainment of any views in the sovereign dignity which might have been formed in his favor. His uncle Abbas in particular, was no sooner apprized of such an arrangement than he advised him to oppose its execution in the very outset, by declining a place among the electors; and on his expressing a strong repugnance to act in contravention to the dictates of the dying Khalif, Abbas remarked with some bitterness, that he would then most assuredly experience in the result, what would not be very consonant either to his own or the wishes of his adherents. However, when the principles on which the election was to be conducted, became more clearly understood, Ally made no difficulty in expressing his conviction, that he had been completely juggled out of his prospects, by the preponderance assigned to the vote of Abdurraihman; since there was no reasonable ground to expect, either that *he* would decide contrary to the interests of his father in law Othman, or that Saud-e-Wekauss, who was the couzin german of Abdurraihman, would take a part in opposition to the views of his relative. So that even allowing, that Telhah and Zobair were both favorable to his appointment, the superior weight thus attached to the voice of Abdurraihman must inevitably turn the balance against him, Upon this, after reminding him of the instances in which he had twice already lost the Khelaufut, by disregarding his admonitions, Abbas again cautioned him, as he valued his fame and honor, not to unite in the proceedings of the electors, unless they previously engaged their allegiance to him as the rightful Khalif. All this however passed, without producing any influence either on the conduct or fortunes of Ally.

At all events, When they had acquitted themselves of the last solemn duties, in committing the remains of Omar to the grave, Mokdaud ul Asswad, probably the same person who has already claimed our attention under the appellative of Abû Telhah, proceeded in conformity to the instructions of the deceased Khalif, to convoke the conclave or council of six, who were accordingly assembled, including Ally, either in the hall of the treasury, or, according to others, in the dwelling of Fautima, the sister of Eshauth the son of Keyss. Here, as they seemed disposed to enter

into tedious discussions in support of their respective claims, Abdurraihman thought fit to close the debate, by suggesting a method which he conceived best calculated to bring their deliberations to a speedy decision. This was, that one half of the electors should transfer their power of nominating individually to the other half. On which, Zobair declared, that for his part, he resigned his concern in the affair, to the discretion of Ally; Telhah conferred his right of choice upon Othman; and Saud-e-Wekauss confided his interests to Abdurraihman. The latter then immediately renounced the Khelaufut both in his own behalf and that of his brother Saud; and in consequence of an act so apparently disinterested, it was ultimately agreed to by the whole, that they should accede without reserve to the nomination of Abdurraihman.

A.H.XXIV. A. D. 644. Rouzut ussuffâ.

The electors had now separated, when Abdurraihman dispatched a confidential person to demand from Ally, to whose authority he was disposed to submit, provided the choice to the Khelaufut did not fall upon himself: Ally pronounced in favor of Othman. And to a similar question proposed to himself, Othman declared reciprocally in favor of Ally. Telhah and Zobair were next sent for, and to the same demand, the latter replied in favor of Ally, and the former for Othman. Then turning to Saud, Abdurraihman requested him to state, since they had both divested themselves of all claim to the distinction, whom he thought most worthy of the important charge. The suffrage of Saud was given for Othman; whence it was not difficult to decide, that the chance of the succession seemed pretty equally suspended between these two personages. In order, however, to determine his choice by every plausible expedient in his power, Abdurraihman employed a near relative, on the night preceding the final adjustment, to conduct both Ally and Othman to his chamber, where the following question was separately proposed to them; whether they would engage to govern in conformity to the law of God, as exhibited in the Korân, to the ordinances of his prophet, and to the virtuous example set before them by Abû Bukker and Omar? This, with a modest reserve, Ally engaged to do, to the extent of his abilities; but Othman, with an eagerness which betrayed his avidity for power, and a confidence which is not always the index to superior worth, engaged for the full performance, without the smallest reserve. On which, observing that there was nothing further to

A.H.XXIV. A. D. 644. say, Abdurraihman dismissed them with an assurance that on the following day his decision should be pronounced before the public.

Rouzut ussuffa. The ensuing day, accordingly, the fourth, as it would appear from the death of Omar, in a full assembly of the prophet's companions, and their clientage convened in the principal mosque of Medeinah, Abdurraihman, at the conclusion of morning prayer, ascended the pulpit; and demanded aloud of the five electors, if it was still clearly understood among them, that the nomination to the Khelaufut was absolutely consigned to his discretion; and when they had all expressed themselves in the affirmative, he added, that for his own part, he had neglected no means of information in his power to direct him in his choice, which he further declared should be governed by no kind of attachment to any party whatever. To protract the developement of his plot to the very verge of execution, he called upon Ally to approach; but when the latter drew near, according to desire, Abdurraihman suddenly held back his hands, until he had resumed his seat. The result, it will not be difficult to anticipate. Othman was now desired to come forward, and the question proposed to him the preceding night was again repeated; to which he returned the same unqualified reply. Upon this Abdurraihman, raising his eyes to the roof of the building, invoked the majesty of heaven to witness, *that he had cast the yoke of the Khelaufut on the shoulders of Othman;* and striking his hand upon that of Othman, immediately pledged his allegiance to him; a tumultuous movement seemed to agitate the assembly, the multitude pressing from all sides of the mosque, to follow his example; but Ally, and Abbas with his son Abdullah, kept their seats, with the design of quitting the place without engaging their faith to Othman. An admonition from Abdurraihman prevailing however upon Ally to forego the dictates of self interest, they acquiesced with a good grace, and submitted to acknowledge the validity of the election, by giving their hands to the successful candidate.

Othman, IIId of the Kholfarash-edein.

Habeib usseyr. The transaction which elevated Othman to the throne of the Khalifs, is however, elsewhere related with some further variation, but with this it would be unnecessary to load the attention of the reader. It is even asserted by several writers, that the validity of the election would have been disputed with the sword, were it not for the repugnance which dwelt in the bosom of Ally, against the effusion of Mussulman blood. While it is otherwise pretended, that Abdurraihman, by the previous precaution of sounding the

inclinations of the chiefs of the Koraish, had discovered that opinions were generally averse towards Ally *as a man inured to bloodshed*, before he finally ventured to pronounce in favor of Othman. But, that the latter attained to the object of his ambition through the superior address of his son in law, more than through any advantage of talents or qualification which he otherwise possessed beyond his rival, the circumstances altogether appear pretty clearly to determine. A.H.XXIV. A. D. 644. Habeib usseyr.

An act of misguided vengeance, exercised by Abdullah Omar, for a suspected participation in the guilt of his father's murder, is the first occurrence, which appears to have claimed the notice of the historian, after the accession of Othman. The name of Hormûzan has already met our observation under the preceding reign, as presiding over Khûzestaun when that province was attacked by the troops of Omar. Under the Persian monarchy, he appears to have held his government with peculiar and even regal privileges, though this was not unusual with the great Satraps* of the empire; nor was it until the means of resistance were exhausted, that he submitted to the superior fortune of his invaders, by whom he was at last taken and conveyed to Medeinah; where, as formerly related, he became in a short time, either through menace or persuasion, a proselyte to Isslâm. In this city, on a trifling pension from the public treasury, he resided under the particular protection of the Benni Haushem; until the assassination of Omar was perpetrated by the hand of Abû Lûlû, with whom, unfortunately, and Jeheinah another christian, he had contracted a very intimate friendship. When the assassin had effected his escape in the general confusion, out of the mosque, he was according to the belief of the Sûnnihs, or sect of Omar, closely pursued by one of the Benni Temeim, who put him to death, and carried the Khunjur or Kreisse, with which he had wounded the Khalif, to Abdurraihman the son of Abû Bukker. Abdurraihman delivered the fatal dagger to the son of Omar, and without suspecting, as it is stated, that he would be immediately carried away, without further examination, by the dictates of a blind revenge, intimated, that one day he had observed Abû Lûlû entering the house of Hormûzan, in company with Jeheinah, bearing this same dagger in his hand.

* Perhaps it is a fair conjecture to hazard, that this appellation may be derived from the Persian term Shahterruf. *On the part of the king.*

A.H.XXIV. A.D. 644. The circumstance was, however, no sooner communicated to him, than, without a moments consideration, Abdullah flew in search of Hormûzan and Jeheinah, both of whom he immediately sacrificed to his vengeance.

Habeib usseyr. In consequence of this rash act, the son of Omar was arrested in conformity to the law, and consigned to the custody of Soheib the son of Semnaun the Greek, until the succession to the Khelaufut should be determined. Accordingly, when that important point had been adjusted he was brought before Othman, who proceeded to deliberate on what species of punishment, the claims of justice required he should inflict on the offender. Ally was decidedly of opinion, that he was amenable to the most rigorous severity of the law of retaliation. Others of the companions suggested, that if such a rigorous course were adopted, they would expose themselves to the stigma of having one day imbrued their hands in the blood of the father, and the next in that of the son. A third party professed to warn the Khalif against incurring the charge of precipitation, by the very first measure of his government. Othman pursued a moderate course, and having liquidated the fine of blood from his private purse, he caused Abdullah to be set at large. The latter, however, continuing to apprehend, that at some period or other, the rigor of the law might still be inflicted upon him, took an opportunity of withdrawing to Damascus, where he sought the protection of Mauweiah; and, as will be hereafter related, perished of his wounds, received in the cause of that successful usurper, in the war of Seffeyne.

About six months after the accession of Othman, a revolt at Hamadaun called his attention to the affairs of that quarter; but the approach of Moghairah the lieutenant of Kûfah, appears to have dispelled the rising storm without bloodshed. A similar attempt, to shake off the yoke of the conquerors, among the citizens of Râi, was not destined to be more successful; they were again reduced to submission by some of the chiefs who served under the authority of the governor of Kûfah, whose power, for a long time, seems to have extended to the greater part of the conquests in Persia. Not long after, Othman resolved, notwithstanding, to remove Moghairah from his government, in order to restore it to Saud-e-Wekauss; a measure, which he alleged to have been bequeathed by his predecessor, as some atonement for the unmerited disgrace which he had been formerly compelled to adjudge that respectable chieftain to suffer. But when

Saud had continued in possession of his recovered honors about twelve months, and the people of Kûfah had had an opportunity of doing justice to the benevolence and purity of his character, they found that he was to be again removed to make room for an uterine brother of the Khalifs, Waleid the son of Aukkebah, son of Mogheitt, whom they did not hesitate to stigmatize as the votary of every species of vice and debauchery. This was the first instance in which Othman betrayed that imprudent partiality for the members of his own family, the foundation of those clamours and ultimate hostility, which produced his final destruction. And yet it is acknowledged that the same Waleid, during a period of five years in which he retained the government of Kûfah, conducted himself with such ability and attention to the happiness of the people entrusted to his care; residing in a house, the doors of which, in order to facilitate the access of the aggrieved and the indigent, he had caused to be taken away; as to command universal approbation; until at the expiration of that period, repairing unfortunately to public worship in a state of intoxication; and proceeding through four prostrations, instead of two prescribed by the ritual for morning prayers, the scandalous indecorum was reported to Othman; by whom he was immediately recalled to Medeinah, and there condemned to suffer from the hand of Abdullah the son of Jauffer Teyaur, the discipline of the double whip. This, however, was a circumstance which did not occur until six years after the period under present consideration. It remains to notice, that the twenty-fourth of the Hidjera, from the malady which raged with great violence at Medeinah in the course of that year, has received from Arabian writers, the appellation of Sunneh-urriauff, the year of the dysentery.

A.H.XXIV. A. D. 644.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

In the twenty-fifth of the Hidjera, Amrû the lieutenant of Egypt was engaged in the suppression of a revolt in the people of Alexandria, whom he, however, succeeded in reducing to their allegiance. The province of Azerbaïjaun, which had also been in a state of rebellion, capitulated to return to its duty, with Waleid the governor of Kûfah, employed about the same period, at the head of the Khalif's armies in Persia.

A.H.XXV. A. D. 645.

In the course of the same year, a division of the troops of Syria, under Jeib the son of Mûsselma, was directed to proceed against the frontier of

A.H.XXV. A.D. 646. Habeib usseyr.

the Greeks of Constantinople; while Selmaun the son of Rebeiah, in pursuance of instructions from Othman, marched by order of Waleid with a detachment of the force under his command towards the same destination. Before these two commanders had been, however, able to form a junction, the former embraced an opportunity of engaging the Mirzebaun, or general of the frontier, one of the Greek emperor's most distinguished officers, who had advanced to oppose him at the head of eighty thousand men, in the neighbourhood of Shumshaut,* and succeeded in obtaining a complete victory. The ensuing day he was joined by Selmaun, with the troops of Kûfah; and as the booty which had fallen into the hands of the victors was very considerable, their general laid claim to a proportion, and received a peremptory refusal from Jeib. A dispute was the consequence, in which both parties had recourse to their arms; but the Syrians appearing to have the disadvantage in this disgraceful feud, Jeib requested that the affair might be peaceably arbitrated; after considerable discussion it was at last agreed to appeal to the judgment of the Khaleifah. The decision was favorable to the claim of Selmaun; and the blood which fell on this occasion, is recorded to have been the first drawn between the people of Kûfah and Damascus.

Jeib remained with his division on the borders of the Greek emperor's territories, while Selmaun conducted his troops into Armenia, whither he had been already preceded by continual alarms of the rapid progress of Mahommedism; and as the hearts of all men were already half subdued by the impression of terror, he was accordingly victorious wherever he made his appearance. After glutting himself with conquest in the hither Armenia, Selmaun passed the Kûrr or Cyrus, and entered Shirvaun, with the prince of which he concluded a treaty of peace. From hence he directed his march towards Derbund. At this period the Khaugan, or Khaun of the Tartars, was encamped under the Baubulabûaub, or Caspiæ portæ, with an army, if we are to credit the report of the historian, of not less than three hundred thousand men; and yet on intelligence that these formidable invaders were approaching, such was the inconceiveable dismay with which they were preceded, that he immediately retreated. The chiefs of the Tartarian steppes, or plains, were, however, not easily reconciled to such a resolution; and they boldly remonstrated with their sovereign on the disgrace and shame of retiring before an enemy, the utmost of whose force

* Semisat-Samosata.

would not exceed ten thousand men. The Khaun persisted, however in his resolution, assigning for reason, his conviction, that the Arabs were heaven descended; that they were invulnerable, either by sword or arrow; and that it would, therefore, be a folly to contend with them. A.H.XXV. A. D. 646. Habeib usseyr.

Under such impressions he continued his flight with redoubled speed, followed by the Mahommedan general, who pursued without halting to the walls af Balkhjird. In the fertile and delightful neighbourhood of this city, the Arabian army was encamped for a considerable time; as well to afford a respite from fatigue, as to collect the spoils of the enemy. But while thus stationary, one of the scouts belonging to a party of Khezzez, a Tartar oordû, or hord inhabiting the western shore of the Caspian, employed to watch their motions, exploring the outskirts of the camp, came undiscovered upon an Arab who was bathing in the river; and, for the sake of experiment, let fly an arrow at him. The Arab fell; and the Tartar striking off his head, conveyed it immediately to the camp of the Khaugan, at whose feet he laid this convincing proof, that this heaven descended race was not exempted from the common lot of man. The Tartar prince resuming courage from the incident, determined to hazard an attack upon the invaders; against whom, he accordingly led his multitudes, and succeeded in giving them a total defeat; neither the general, nor any of his followers, escaping to describe the fatal result.

Intelligence of this sanguinary discomfiture was received at Medeinah with the deepest concern; and to prevent the mischief from extending itself into other quarters, orders were immediately transmitted by Othman to Jeib, to advance with the Syrian troops from Shumshaut into Armenia without delay; to maintain the possession of that province, and when opportunity should occur to give battle to the enemy. In pursuance of his instructions, Jeib conducted his army by the route of Derbund of the Benni Zoûaurah against the city of Khelaut, the castle of which he carried by storm; the whole of the infidel garrison being put to the sword, and the women and children reduced to slavery. Upon this return of success, he directed his march towards the cities of Mûtammer, of which, he had already by letter summoned the chiefs to submit to the authority of Isslam. In consequence of this, a deputation of the nobles of the country repaired to the camp of

A.H.XXV. A. D. 646. Habeib usseyr. Jeib, and by a present of eighty thousand dirhems,* appear to have prevailed upon him to enter into some species of treaty with them. However, while he was engaged in extending the influence of Isslam, by all the expedients he could devise, he was suddenly superseded by Khozzeifah the son of Mohussen, who presented him with the letters of Othman depriving him of his command. Jeib submissively acquiesced, and returned into Syria. Khozzeifah continued at the head of affairs in that quarter for about twelve months, when he appears to have voluntarily withdrawn to his province of Oman, leaving the command to Moghairah. This latter was, however, permitted to retain his authority but for a very short period, being removed by Othman to make room for Eshauth the son of Keyss, in whose hands the government of Persia and Azerbaijaun now continued to the conclusion of this reign.

A.H.XXVI. A. D. 647. The territory of Kauzerûn and the white fort, lying betwixt Istakhar and the Persian gulph, appear to have held out until the twenty-sixth of the Hidjerah, when they were both reduced by Othman the son of Abi ul Auss. The same year was also distinguished by a formidable expedition into Western Africa.† The Khalif had considered it expedient about this period to introduce a change in the system which had hitherto prevailed in the government of Egypt; by separating the department of the revenue, which he now assigned exclusively to Obeidullah or Abdullah the son of Saud, son of Abi Sûrudje, from that of the army which remained with Amrû, whose authority became hence forward intirely restricted to the military controul. This was, however, an arrangement which did not by any means coincide with the views of Amrû, who, by long possession, had been probably accustomed to consider himself as almost independently established in his government. Shortly afterwards, the troops in Egypt having been augmented by considerable reinforcements under Abdullah Rauffia, the generals in that province were directed by Othman to proceed to the final reduction of Africa; and ultimately of Andalûss, or Spain, so called by the orientals from the southern part of that peninsula. But as some obstacles appear to have opposed the immediate prosecution of the enterprise, principally from the contentious and refractory spirit, with which, in resentment for the introduction of that plan, by which he had been deprived of the most lucrative portion of his authority, Amrû contrived to embarrass the

* About 1,833*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* † Meghreb.

proceedings of his collegue, it was suspended until these obstacles could be removed. Proofs, however, were not long wanting, that the discontent of Amrû was not to be restrained from breaking out by any considerations of public duty; and complaints of the embarrassments which he continued to experience from his conduct, being transmitted to Othman by Obeidullah Saud, he was ultimately suspended from the command of the army, which was now added to the powers already enjoyed by his obnoxious rival. In consequence of his degradation, Amrû repaired to Medeinah equally mortified and aggrieved; and entering into an immediate and intimate correspondence with Saud-e Wekauss, cordially united with him in aspersing, and bringing contempt on the administration of Othman. But as a public and more determined proof, that all the ties of friendship between them were forever dissolved, Amrû proceeded to divorce his wife, for no other alleged reason than because she was the maternal sister of Othman.

A.H.XXVI. A. D. 647. Habeib usseyn.

In the mean time, the army destined for the African expedition became every day more formidable by the reinforcements which were continually arriving from Medeinah; and among other noble persons who hastened to take a share in the enterprise on this occasion, are found the respectable names of Abdullah the son of Abbas, Abdullah the son of Omar, and Abdullah the son of Zobair. Obeidullah Saud, the lieutenant of Egypt, with an army thus powerfully augmented, and no longer embarrassed by the intrigues of Amru, immediately advanced into the African territory. In the neighbourhood of the city of Shebeitlah, or Sufetula, he was opposed by Jerjeir or Gregory, the lieutenant of the Greek emperor Constantine the son Heraclius, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men. Over these, after a series of hostilities, for the period of forty days in which success was dubious, he at last obtained a complete victory, through the signal valour and address of Abdullah Zobair, who killed the Greek general Gregory, with his own hand. Obeidullah Saud then led his troops against Shebeitlah, which submitted after a short resistance, rewarding the victorious invaders with a booty, which gave to every private horseman a share of three thousand dinaurs,* and one thousand dinaurs to every foot soldier in the army.

Discouraged by these defeats, the Africans appear to have relinquished all idea of further resistance; and Obeidullah consented to give them a

* At the lowest computation about 1,375*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

A.H.XXVI. A. D. 647. precarious peace, for the almost incredible sum (if of gold) of two million five hundred thousand dinaurs.* As a reward for his singular prowess in the course of the campaign, the daughter of the Greek general was given to the destroyer of her father, Abdullah Zobair, who was at the same time dispatched to Medeinah by the son of Abi Sûrudje, in charge of the fifth of the spoils of Shebeitlah, and of the other conquered cities of Africa. These spoils were afterwards disposed of, by the Khalif, to Merwaun the son of Ul Hukkum, whose ascendancy over the the mind of Othman was now begining to discover its effects, for the sum of five hundred thousand dinaurs.† On the same occasion, Merwaun received from his master a gratuitous donation of one hundred thousand dinaurs;‡ all which did not fail to operate on the clamorous and discontented spirit which already prevailed among the citizens of Medeinah. Obeidullah Saud continued in the African territory for about fifteen months; at the close of which, he returned into Egypt, leaving the administration of his recent conquests, to Abdullah the son of Rauffia, son of Abdulkeyss.

Habeib usseyr.

A.H.XXVII. A. D. 648. In the twenty-seventh of the Hidjera, this same Abdullah Rauffia is stated to have passed over into Spain, the southern part of which he is said to have subjugated to the authority of the Mahommedans. Of this important event, our author furnishes no other particulars, than that the government of Andalusia was on this occasion consigned to Abdullah Nauffia the son of Ul Hûsseyne, and that it was the first enterprise undertaken on the part of the Arabs against Western Europe, that appears recorded in the annals of Isslâm.

A.H.XXVIII. A. D. 649. The year following, according to the testimony of the majority of historians, Mauweiah the lieutenant of Syria, equipped a powerful armament against the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, (Zedûs) both of which, he reduced to submission. Exclusive of the booty acquired on this expedition, to an immense amount, they have not forgotten to mention, eight thousand beautiful captives, of both sexes, condemned, on this occasion, to what must have been considered the most dreadful of all misfortunes, Mahommedan slavery.

Abû Mûssa Aishaury had hitherto continned to administer the government of Bassorah for many years, in a manner to secure the approbation

* About 1,145,833*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

† At the lowest 229,166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ‡ 45,833*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

of the inhabitants; but either the love of change, or some occasion of discontent having induced them to complain against him, during the twenty-ninth of the Hidjera, the Khalif embraced the opportunity of indulging his predominant failing, by transferring that government from Abû Mûssà, to the son of his maternal uncle, Abdullah the son of Aamer Ghoreizah. A.H.XXIX. A. D. 650. Habeib usseyr.

In the close of the same year, certain deviations from the practice of his predecessors, in conducting the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, at Mekkah and the vicinity, contributed to extend more widely the discontents already prevailing against the government of Othman; involving him in a controversy with his couzin Abdurraihman, the principal instrument of his elevation, who did not fail to remonstrate with him on the imprudence of his conduct. What appears rather extraordinary, unless considered as a departure from that simplicity of manners which distinguished his countrymen, the provision which he made for the entertainment of the pilgrims on this occasion, under a spacious tent expanded in the valley of Meina for the purpose, was perverted by the Assaubs or companions of the prophet, into an additional ground of censure and dissatisfaction. On his return to Medeinah, an incident also occurred, which might have operated on superstitious minds to produce a presage unfavorable to the permanence of his reign. In superintending some workmen whom he had employed to sink a well, about two miles fromthe city, the prophet's seal, which the Khalif wore on his finger, and which had hitherto securely passed from hand to hand through his predecessors, to his great mortification, dropped into the well; and, notwithstanding the most diligent search, could never afterwards be recovered. Rouzut ussuffâ.

The thirtieth year of the Hidjera, appears to have been distinguished by a formidable insurrection at Istakhar, in which, the governor, Obeidullah Mûkummer, fell a sacrifice to the fury of the insurgents. On this occasion the fugitive Yezdejird hastened for the last time, to put himself at the head of his subjects, with the remnant of troops and faithful followers whose attachment to his fortunes, no extremity of distress or danger, had hitherto been sufficient to destroy. In the neighbourhood of that ancient capital of the empire, he was again defeated with great loss, by Abdullah the son of Omar, in conjunction with Othman the son of Abi ul Auss; or, according to others, by Saud the son of Ul Auss, whom the Khalif employed A.H.XXX. A. D. 650. Rouzut ussuffâ and Habeib usseyr.

A.H.XXX. A. D. 650. to suppress the revolt, and restore his insulted authority. Yezdejird escaped, however, once more, into Khorassaun; and this may perhaps have determined the views of the Mahommedans more seriously towards the final subjugation of that powerful and extensive province; in which, although their incursions had on a former occasion been carried to the banks of the Oxus, they had hitherto established no permanent possession. In that direction Abdullah Omar appears for a short time to have pursued the vanquished prince; but having made himself master of Dauruljuz, Darabjerd perhaps, and Jour, he returned to besiege Istakhar; the citadel of which, he ultimately carried by assault, putting to the sword great numbers of the ancient Persian nobility, who had sought a temporary and precarious asylum within the walls of that fortress. Abdullah now received orders from Othman to return, and leave the management of affairs in Parss, in the hands of Kahrem the son of Haban, of the tribe of Obed, and two other chieftains whose names it would be unnecessary to repeat.

Rouzut ussuffâ and Habeib ibn sseyr.

Among the events of this year, we are led to include an expedition into Jûrjaun,* which took place about this period, under Saud or Sauid the son of Ul Auss, accompanied by Abdullah Abbas, Abdullah the son of Omar, Abdullah the son of Zobair, already so distinguished by his exploits in Africa; Abdullah the son of Amrû and Khozzeifah ul Yemauni, with others of the most illustrious names, that had hitherto distinguished the records of Isslâm. According to some authorities, the youthful Imaums, Hussun and Hûsseyne, served their maiden campaign on this occasion. The enterprise appears to have terminated in the submission of the metropolis, which, together with the province, may have borne in common the name of Jûrjaun, and was allowed to purchase peace, by a contribution of two hundred thousand dinaurs.†

A.D.XXXI. A. D. 651. In the midst of some contrariety of date and statements, we are perhaps best supported in placing the death of Yezdejird, and the final reduction of Khorassaun, under the thirty-first of the Hidjera. It already appears, that this unhappy monarch, on his recent defeat near Istakhar, had directed his flight to that quarter, whither the ambition of Abdullah Aamer the governor of Bassorah, was now further stimulated by the importunities of Ehnif the son of Keyss, to pursue him; and secure to himself the glory of

* To the south east of the Caspian. † At the lowest 91,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

adding so largely to the possessions of Isslâm, by the conquest of this noble province; which, he accordingly solicited, and obtained the permission of Othman, to undertake. In the prosecution of the enterprize, his march appears to have led him through Parss, to the borders of Kermaun, which latter province he found in a state of rebellion; this was, however, quelled, without much apparent difficulty, by a detachment of one thousand horse, under Mûjaushia the son of Mûssaood, whom he employed on that service. Rebbeiah the son of Zeiaud, of the tribe of Hâreth, being then dispatched to secure the obedience of Seïestaun, Abdullah, with the main body of his army, the advanced guard of which he had placed under the immediate direction of Ehnif the son of Keyss, proceeded through the desert which appears on that side to cover the approach towards Khorassaun. Having compelled the city of Tabass to surrender on capitulation, he entered the Kohestaun; from the sturdy inhabitants of which mountainous region, he appears to have met with the only material resistance, on his progress towards Neyshapûr, which he found the natives of the surrounding territory had made every preparation to defend against him.

A.H.XXXI. A. D. 651. Habeib usseyr and Rouzut ussuffâ.

When he last withdrew into Khorassaun, in the abundant population and resources of which, as it then stood, he might naturally have flattered himself with some hope of a suspension to the crisis of his fate, and to the departing glories of his house, the unhappy Yezdejird, with that faithful band of noble relatives, and others who continued to share his destiny, was received into the city of Merû: but the period was now arrived, which an over-ruling providence had marked for the final dissolution of the power of the Benni Sassan. The conduct of their unfortunate monarch began now to exhibit to his followers those marks of asperity and impatience, which an unmerited succession of evils may be supposed capable of producing, sometimes, even on the firmest minds. Provoked by some harsh expressions dropped at a moment of irritability, Mahûiah the prince or satrap of Merû, resolved, in a fit of blind resentment, to betray the interests of his sovereign; and immediately entered into a correspondence with the Khaugân of Transoxiana for the purpose of putting him in possession of the country entrusted to his charge. The Tartar prince, to whom he was already allied by a marriage with his daughter, acceded with little hesitation to the proposals of his son in law; and

A.H.XXXI. A. D. 651. Habeib usseyr and Rouzut ussuffâ.

crossing the Jeyhûn at the head of his troops, appeared, as had been previously concerted, under cover of the night, under the walls of Merû; the gates of which were thrown open by the traitor at his approach. Thus assailed by a danger equally sudden and unexpected, and alarmed perhaps at the fearful prospect of domestic treason, Yezdejird precipitately fled the town; and having proceeded to the distance of about two farsangs, on foot and unattended, he ventured to approach a water mill, from the solitary inhabitant of which, he implored an asylum for the remainder of the night. The miller stipulating for the paltry sum of four dirhems,* of which he said he stood in want to satisfy the demand of a rigid landlord, the illustrious fugitive consigned to his possession his sword and royal cestus, estimated at the aggregate revenue of an empire. Awakened by the contemplation of these precious pledges, a detestable spirit of avarice determined this savage monster to embrue his hands in the blood of his sleeping guest; in order to render himself also master of the rich and splendid apparel in which he saw him arrayed; and having carried his atrocious design into execution, he cast the lifeless body into the river. In the mean time, the people of Merû, unapprised of the treacherous plans of their governor, having risen in arms to oppose the entrance of the Khaugan, attacked him on all sides with such determined and unexpected resolution, that he found it expedient to withdraw with considerable precipitation, through the neighbouring desert towards the Jeyhûn, which he hastened to recross, on his return to his capital of Bokhâra. The Persians now commenced a search, in order to discover the retreat of their sovereign, whose body, stripped of its apparel, they found in the stream into which it had been thrown; and the splendid appurtenances of departed royalty in the hands of the miller, sufficiently proclaimed the author of the detestable and atrocious parricide, whom they sacrificed to their just and immediate vengeance. Mahûiah is said, for a season, to have escaped the punishment due to his crimes; and, however inconsistently, to have been the person by whom the remains of Yezdejird were ultimately conveyed to Istakhar, to be deposited in the sepulchre of the Persian monarchs Ferdûssy, however, by whom, in the last pages of the Shahnâmah, the fate of Yezdejird is described, with all the circumstances of poetical detail, and with

* About one shilling and ten-pence.

some variation in point of fact, informs us, that Mahûiah was not suffered long to survive his betrayed and murdered sovereign; that he was delivered up to Puzshen the prince of Samarkand, and by him condemned to a painful and lingering death; his hands and feet being first successively amputated, and his carcase finally thrust into a bag of burning sand. A.H.XXXI. A.D. 651. Habeib usseyr and Rouzut ussuffâ.

After sustaining a siege of four months, the city of Neyshapûr submitted at length to the authority of Abdullah Aumer, who found himself thus at liberty to prosecute his designs against the province at large. The lieutenant of Tûsse, or Tooss, had already joined his standard, while engaged in the siege of Neyshapûr, which, as an encouragement to similar instances of early submission, was placed under his government. Ehnif the son of Keyss, whose previous knowledge of the country must have qualified him to hold a conspicuous share in the undertaking, was employed to make himself master of Herât; while other commanders proceeded in different directions, in order to hasten the subjugation of those places, which might still continue disposed to assert the rights of the ancient establishment. The governors of Abiwerd, Nissa, and Sirkhess, were among the first who yielded to the authority of the invaders; and the Mirzebaun and inhabitants of Herât, were received to the degrading condition of tributaries on the prompt payment of one million of dirhems.* It is further stated, in this place, that a negociation was opened at the same period with Abdullah Aumer, by Mahûiah the governor of Merû, which concluded in an engagement to furnish on the spot, a contribution of two million two hundred thousand dirhems,† and an annual tribute for the future, of six hundred thousand dirhems.‡ In all probability he formed the expectation of reestablishing, on the basis of a treaty with the Arabs, that authority which he had forfeited by the attempt to betray his government to the Tartars; otherwise, this is a circumstance not reconcileable with the preceding part of the narration. Shortly afterwards the son of Keyss, by the reduction of Balkh, Tokharestaun and Tâlekaun, succeeded in planting the standards of Isslâm on the banks of the Oxus, from whence they have never been withdrawn.

Conceiving the conquest of Khorassaun as now completed, Abdullah Aumer became desirous of displaying the trophies of his good fortune in

* About 22,916*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* † About 50,416*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ‡ About 13,750*l.*

A.H.XXXI. A. D. 652. Habeib usseyr and Rouzut ussuffâ.

the bosom of his native country: consigning therefore the management of the recent acquisitions to Keyss the son of Heithum, (or, as he is elsewhere denominated, the son of Sulleb) and Khaled the son of Abdullah, continuing the military command, however, in Ehnif the son of Keyss, he returned without further deliberation into Hejauz. His reception from Othman was not such as to justify this obvious derelection of duty, in abandoning, for the gratification of a childish vanity, so remote a frontier of the empire to the hazard of contingencies, against which he could no longer pretend to provide. He was, notwithstanding, continued in the government of Bassorah, and from thence suffered to exercise by deputation his authority over the province of Khorassaun.

If we are to credit the testimony of the Persian historians, the year thirty-one produced events eminently disastrous, and ultimately fatal to one of the Greek emperors of Constantinople, to whom they have assigned the name of Constantine the son of Heraclius. An armament of five hundred vessels had been equipped by this prince, to make an effort for the recovery of Alexandria, and the fertile territory of the Nile; but being attacked by the Mahommedan fleet of forty sail, under the command of Abdullah Rebbeiah, it was defeated with great loss, near a station called Zaut ussowaur. According to one of the Kûfite writers, the emperor was present in this naval conflict, and escaped with infinite difficulty and hazard to his capital; and the force by which the attempt was rendered so completely abortive, appears to have been fitted out in concert, by Mauweiah, and Obeidullah the son of Saud the lieutenant of Egypt. It was on this occasion, that in consequence of the reproachful and irreverent terms, in which, in the course of a dispute with himself, they presumed to speak of Othman, Mahommed the son of Abû Bukker, and Mahommed the son of Abi Khozzeifah, were both contemptuously dismissed from his ship, and probably from his fleet, by Obeidullah Saud.

On returning to Constantinople, the Greek emperor determined at all hazards to renew his attempt for the recovery of Egypt; and redoubling his exertions, had assembled in the harbour of his capital a fleet of twelve hundred sail, on board of which he was already embarked, when a violent gale afforded, to some of his generals an argument to dissuade him from the prosecution of an enterprize, which the very elements seemed determined to oppose. Nothing, however, could prevail upon this prince to abandon

his resolution, and he accordingly set sail in spite of every remonstrance. The issue is represented to have been fatal to him. The greater part of his fleet was either dispersed or destroyed at sea, and the ship in which the emperor had embarked, was driven for shelter to one of the ports in the island of Sekleilah, or Siculia. The islanders received him at first with all that respect and zeal which was due to the person of their sovereign; but, when they were made to understand, that an obstinate disregard to the counsels of his ministers, had terminated in consequeuces so destructive to his subjects, they were easily led to form a conspiracy against his life. While he was engaged in his bath, a party of the conspirators embraced an opportunity of assailing this unfortunate prince; and reproaching him in bitter terms with the inauspicious complexion of his government, and above all, with the inconsiderate levity with which he had sported with the lives of his people, they cut him to pieces with their swords; after which they raised another Constantine to the throne of the empire. In this relation, under a considerable variation of circumstances, it is not very difficult to recognize the fate of the emperor Constans the son of Constantine the third, and grandson of Heraclius, who perished by domestic treachery in a bath at Syracuse, as described by the eloquent pen of Mr. Gibbon.

A.H.XXXI. A. D. 652. Habeib usseyr and Rouzut ussuffâ.

Among the deaths of this year, we are induced to notice those of Hukkem the son of Abi ul Auss, the uncle of Othman, and father of his two favorites, Merwaun and Hâreth; and Abû Soffeyan the father of Mauweiah; the latter had survived to the age of eighty-eight.

In the thirty-second of the Hidjera, a revolution in Khorassaun was attempted by a chieftain of the name of Kârin, a principal commander, and one of the last remaining pillars of the fabric of the Persian monarchy. The city of Neyshapûr was abandoned to the insurgents, by Keyss the son of Heithem, who hastened towards Bassorah for assistance. The insurrection was, however, suppressed in his absence, by the gallantry and good conduct of Abdullah Hâzem; the chief of the insurgents, with a multitude of his followers, having perished in a battle, by which the contest was decided. The fifth of the spoil was transmitted by the successful commander to his principal, Abdullah Aumer the lieutenant of Bassorah; whom we must always endeavour to distinguish from the son of the Khalif Omar, who bore the same name. In consideration of his meritorious conduct on this occasion, the undivided government of Khorassaun was now conferred

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A.H.XXXII. A. D. 652. upon Abdullah Hâzem, by the justice of Othman; Ehnif the son of Keyss, being in all probability, at this period, employed in the reduction of Kharezm, which is stated by most writers, to have submitted to that commander in the course of the year thirty-two. Among the events of the same year, may be noticed the death of the respectable Abbas, the son of Abdulmûtleb, at the age of eighty-six; of Abdurraihman the son of Ouff, who had so signally contributed to the elevation of Othman; and of Abû Zerr, a noted chief of the Benni Ghoffaur, who, for his intemperate zeal, and the freedom of his remonstrances, first with Mauweiah, and then with Othman, had been sent to conclude his days in exile, in the desert about two days journey from Medeinah.

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A.H.XXXIII. A. D. 653. An act of personal violence towards Malek Ashtur the Nudjefite, exercised on a certain public occasion, by Saud the son of Ul Auss the governor of Kûfah, proved further instrumental in exciting and aggravating that spirit of discontent against Othman and his ministry, which at this period too generally prevailed throughout the empire. The citizens of Kûfah, in consequence of the indignity thus publicly offered to one of their principal favorites, were very easily impelled to unite with him, not only in bringing contempt upon the administration of Saud, but on that of their common sovereign, whose name and character, they did not forbear to stigmatize at their cabals. This came to the knowledge of Saud, and an officer, on his part, was employed one evening to expostulate with them on their seditious proceedings, and to disperse them: which had no other effect, than that of drawing upon the person thus employed, a very severe chastizement for his intrusion; and affording to Saud an ample subject of complaint, which, in consequence of so flagrant an insult to his authority, he immediately dispatched to Medeinah. The instructions of Othman to his lieutenant were, to remove Malek Ashtur, and his obnoxious associates, by force, if it was found expedient, into Syria, where their conduct would be properly watched by the vigilance of Mauweiah.

Thither they were accordingly conveyed; but whatever other result might have been proposed by this measure, the refractory spirit of these haughty chieftains was not likely to be conciliated, by exposing them to the odious authority of Mauweiah. In a very short time, however, the latter announced to the Khalif, that the turbulence of these men, together with the incessant disputes, in which they engaged him, had rendered his existence

miserable; in the mean time, it did not become him, to dictate the manner in which, in his judgment, their conduct deserved to be treated. In reply, the Khalif directed him to transfer his troublesome charge to Abdurraihman the son of the celebrated Khaled, at this time governor of Hamess; in the expectation that the intractable spirit of the malcontents would be at last subdued, by the equally inflexible temper, and harshness of manners, which this commander appears to have inherited from his father. Mauweiah, glad to be relieved of their presence in any way, very readily dismissed them for Hamess, where they found themselves interdicted from appearing before the governor, until the expiration of two months; during which, Abdurraihman had solicited, and obtained the Khalif's authority, to use them at full discretion. At a later period, such an intimation from the sovereign would have been decisive of their fate; but setting aside the danger of revolt, which would probably have been hastened by the assassination of so many distinguished citizens, it would appear that the disciples of Isslâm had not yet attained to that hardihood in iniquity, evinced by so many examples in their subsequent history. Abdurraihman, therefore, contented himself, by inflicting upon them every mark of contempt and indignity, of which, in his public station, he possessed so many opportunities of availing himself. So that, wearied out by incessant proofs of insult and degradation, they were at length happy to procure permission on any terms, and perhaps, by any concession, to leave the scene of their multiplied indignities, and return to Kufah; with the exception of Malek Ashtur, who continued, at all hazards, to reside at Hamess.

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In the thirty-fourth of the Hidjera, the presence of Saud being required to attend the orders of his sovereign at Medeinah, an opportunity was afforded to the refractory citizens of Kufah, to unfold the design which had probably been some time in agitation, of cancelling their allegiance to Othman. This design was, however, for the present, counteracted by the exertions of the party which continued attached to Saud, and which suggested the more prudent and moderate course, of appealing to the justice of Othman, for the removal of their obnoxious governor; rather than proceed to those unwarrantable extremities, which so wantonly, and immediately appeared to set his authority at defiance. Zeid the son of Keyss, who appears to have been at the head of the conspiracy, perceiving that his views were thus frustrated, with the concurrence of his brother Saubet,

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determined to call in the aid of Malek Ashtur, in whose courage and abilities, the party seem on all occasions to have reposed the utmost confidence, for the accomplishment of their plans. Malek Ashtur was very easily prevailed upon to resume his place at the head of the malcontents; and, in a conference with the citizens on his return to Kufah, at which, by an assurance, that the sole object of Saud's visit to Medeinah, was to misrepresent their conduct, and a second time procure their expulsion from their country, he is said to have deceived them into an engagement, to unite with him in opposing the reentrance of the governor, when he should present himself in the neighbourhood, on his return from Medeinah. In the mean time, information being received, that Saud was already arrived within a short distance from the town, Malek caused it to be proclaimed in the different quarters, that all those who were desirous of assisting him to prevent the return of that commander, should immediately leave the city. A multitude of every description of the inhabitants accordingly assembled without the walls, and proceeded in the train of Malek Ashtur, to intercept the return of Saud. Alarmed at the appearance of such a multitude, the latter, whose retinue consisted of no more than ten of his domestics, was persuaded without much difficulty, to dispatch a messenger to Medeinah with the recommendation, that some person might be immediately appointed to supersede him in the government; intimating at the same time to the Khalif, at the suggestion of Malek Ashtur, that if he was solicitous of retaining the Kufites in their allegiance, it would be advisable to accede to the wishes of that people, by confiding their destiny to Abû Mûssa the Aishaurite. Accordingly, when Saud had retraced his steps to Medeinah, and had described to Othman the scene of which he was compelled to be a witness, the Khalif thought it prudent to make a virtue of necessity; Abû Mûssa was appointed to the government of Kûfah, where he was soon afterwards received with every testimony of esteem and veneration; and these seditious proceedings were for a short time appeased.

If, however, the report of the prevailing party is in any respect entitled to belief, the vices and malversations of Othman's unworthy favorites, and of the delegates of his authority in general, had, at last, rendered the government of their sovereign so completely unpopular, that the remainder of his reign presents little else to the attention of the annalist, than a repetition of the same factious and tumultuary scenes; of which it will be

our endeavour to describe the progress, in as small a compass as possible, consistently with the design of these pages. A.H.XXXIV. A. D. 654.

Some time previous to the period under consideration, a Jew of Sâna, of great reputed learning, of the name of Eben ussoudan, but more generally known to the Persian writers by that of Abdullah Seya, or Sebba, repaired to Medeinah, and, with the expectation of honorable and distinguished treatment from Othman, embraced the tenets of the Korân. But finding on experience, that his ambitious hopes were not likely to be realized to the extent with which he had flattered himself, he cultivated the society of those discontented chiefs, of whom, even at Medeinah, the number was very considerable, and ultimately united with them in calumniating and bringing contempt upon the character of the chief of the believers. This behaviour in the apostate Israelite being reported to Othman, he conceived that with him, at least, there was no occasion to temporize, and he was accordingly, without much ceremony, expelled from Medeinah. Well knowing that the province of Egypt abounded with enemies to the Khalif's government, Eben ussoudan proceeded to that quarter; and having deceived the people by an appearance of superior wisdom and sanctity, took an opportunity of disseminating among them the heresy of the *Rudjaat*, or second coming of the prophet; founding his system on the general belief of the Christians, in the expected return of their Redeemer to judge the world; affirming, at the same time, in conformity to that pre-eminence which is arrogated by Mahommedans in favor of the author of their religion, it must be understood, that to him also would be assigned the precedence on this last aweful occasion; and impiously appealing, in support of his doctrine, to the express declaration of Omnipotence in the sacred scriptures. Of the influence, which he thus contrived to establish, he took advantage, to implant in the minds of the Egyptians a confirmed aversion to the government of Othman, and to that of his lieutenant Abdullah, or Obeidullah as he is more frequently denominated, the son of Saud Sûrrudje, with whom they were already sufficiently disgusted. He employed, moreover, every opportunity to persuade them of the superior claims of Ally, and of the violation which he had suffered in his just rights, when precluded from the succession. Seduced and inflamed by these and

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A.H.XXXIV. A. D. 655. Habeib usseyr. similar practices, the Egyptian Mahommedans entered into immediate correspondence with the malcontents of Kûfah and Bassorah, the object of which, to subvert the authority of Othman, they no longer affected to disguise.

The government of that prince had indeed become now so extensively odious, that a concussion or explosion of some kind or other was, perhaps, naturally expected to be at hand. His conduct already referred to, in disposing of the principal employments of the empire among his relatives, most of whom, so far from being distinguished by any liberal qualifications, or benevolence of heart, had rendered themselves, by their arrogance and oppressive exactions, the objects of universal detestation; his removal or supersession of several of the most eminent of the prophet's companions, in order to provide for his favorites; his recalling from banishment, of Hukkem the son of Abi ul Auss, and his two sons, Merwaun and Hâreth, upon whom, not contented with admitting them to the closest alliance with his family, he lavished the wealth of the public treasury; conferring upon Merwaun in particular, the highest dignity of the state, that of Vezzeir, or prime minister; and in continuing to employ the sons of Ommeyah, in defiance of the reiterated complaints of tyranny, oppression and violence, brought against them by his injured subjects; all these together comprized a sum of grievances, which seem to have prepared men in general to look to the period of his degradation, without much concern, if not with total indifference.

Another circumstance, by which he considerably aggravated the discontents which were generally operating to his disadvantage, was the following. In consequence of the multiplied variations which had crept into the readings of the Korân, Othman had caused all the different copies which could be found, to be collected together and burnt; excepting one, which alone, sanctioned by his own authority, he directed all believers to receive, as the only genuine transcript of the pretended revelations of their prophet. Lastly, the resentment of the Benni Ghoffaur was never appeased for his conduct towards Abû Zerr, whom as they alleged, he had driven into exile, on the malignant suggestions of Mauweiah; his treatment of Aumar Yausser was equally resented by the Benni Mekhzûm, and his neglect or misusage of Abdullah Mûssaoud had left a similar impression among the Benni Hozail, each of them, among the most formidable of the Arabian tribes.

In the course of the former year, Ally had been prevailed upon at the instance of several of the companions, to remonstrate with the Khalif on the impolicy and arbitrary tendency of his conduct in the above respects, without avail; Othman in justification of the preference given to his relatives in particular, appealing to the ties of nature and affection. And as the designs of the malcontents, began to discover themselves more clearly, he summoned to Medeinah, among others, in whose attachment he could confide, Mauweiah, and Saud the son of Ul Auss, as already noticed, Abdullah the son of Aumer, and Abdullah the son of Saud; in order to concert such measures, as might be best calculated to avert the impending mischief. Some plan having been accordingly agreed upon, each of these departed for his respective province, prepared to watch and defeat the machinations of their common enemies, by all the means in their power to exert; with the exception of Saud the son of Ul Auss, whose removal or exclusion from the government of Kûfah, as before related, had given him a permanent residence near the person of his sovereign. On the other hand, perceiving that Othman continued to guide himself entirely by the opinions and influence of Merwaun, in spite of the repeated admonitions of their order, that of the companions of the prophet; who, by a kind of prescription claimed the right of tendering their counsels in all matters of public concern, Ally as well as Abdullah Abbas, and Telhah and Zobair, had long since discontinued their attendance at his court.

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Irritated by the inflexible obstinacy of the Khalif, in withholding from them that redress of grievances, to which they conceived themselves entitled, great numbers of men of all descriptions, in the commencement of thirty-five, proceeded from Egypt, Bassorah, and Kûfah, towards Medeinah, for the avowed purpose of deposing him; the men of Egypt, under the directions of Auffeky the son of Harreb, accompanied by Mahommed the son of Abû Bukker, and other eminent chiefs; those of Kûfah headed by Malek Ashtur, and the men of Bassorah by Hukkeim the son of Heilah, and others; and having made a previous junction of their force, these insurgents approached and encamped in three divisions within sight of the walls of the capital. Nevertheless, though the dethronement of Othman was already determined upon, they were still under considerable perplexity

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with respect to their choice of a person to succeed him; the people of Messer declaring in favor of Ally; those of Bassorah for Telhah the son of Obeidullah; and the men of Kûfah for Zobair the son of Ul Auaum. The matter being, however, proposed to Ally by those who favored his appointment, that prince, with the magnanimity which appears to have distinguished him in all his actions, honestly disclaimed any right which they possessed in any shape whatever, to interfere with the question of the Khelaufut. The proposals of the men of Bassorah and Kûfah were not better received by Telhah and Zobair.

In this posture of affairs Othman was induced to pay a private visit one night to Ally; in which, after a flattering appeal to that singular generosity and benevolence of heart, which distinguished his character, he condescended to solicit his interposition to pacify the insurgents; to dissuade them from the prosecution of their pernicious designs, and prevail upon them to return homewards. Penetrated with compassion for the apparent distress of his friend, Ally engaged to recal the insurgents to their allegiance; on receiving from Othman a solemn promise for the immediate dismission from his ministry and councils of Merwaun and all the faction; and for the future to be governed by the advice of himself and the legitimate companions of their prophet. At a conference with the insurgents, accordingly, Ally found no great difficulty in fulfilling his part of the engagement; as they readily consented to withdraw to their respective provinces, trusting to the Khalif's conscientious performance of the conditions to which he had pledged himself.

No sooner, however, was this imbecile old man relieved from his apprehensions, than the malignant influence of Merwaun again interposed to involve him in fresh embarrassments. He represented to his master, that the insurrection was by no means of a magnitude to excite so serious an alarm; but that the son of Abitauleb had delineated the affair in colours so exaggerated, in order to enhance the merit of that service which he pretended to render on the occasion: that it was a duty which he indispensably owed to his reputation, immediately to convene the people of Medeinah, and announce to them, that those who had approached his capital in such an attitude of menace and hostility, had been made sensible of the folly and intemperance of their conduct; and thus brought to recollection, had returned homewards with shame upon their heads.

In concurrence with the advice of his minister, the illfated Othman proceeded to convene an assembly of the chiefs and principal citizens in the cathedral mosque at Medeinah; and after the usual exordium ventured from the pulpit of the Imaumet to make to them the declaration, so indiscreetly suggested by Merwaun. Amrû Auss, who is stated to have been present but by accident, immediately stepped forward, and in direct contradiction to what had fallen from the Khalif, publicly averred, that, so far from any sense of folly, or inconsistency in their conduct or designs, it was with the utmost difficulty that the insurgents were prevailed upon, by himself and others, to consent to a temporary forbearance only, and after stipulating the most express and pointed conditions. To this Othman was preparing to make some reply, when the clamours of the assembly became so violent and outrageous, and so little respect was exhibited for the person of the Khalif, that he descended from the pulpit in no small degree of terror. It is recorded by many authors, that part of the assembly proceeded even to the extremity of pelting the aged monarch with stones; that they dragged him from his place, broke his staff upon his own head, and otherwise treated him with such marks of indecent violence and indignity, that he swooned away, and in this state was conveyed to his palace. A.H.XXXV. A. D. 655. Habeib usseyr.

When he had been restored to his faculties, Othman once more received a visit from Ally, who expostulated with him on the absurdity of his conduct, in publishing such a declaration, when the direct reverse was notorious to every person in Medeinah. He offered but little in reply, further than that what was passed could not be recalled; at the same time, that if he could point out any expedient to relieve him from his present perplexities, his advice would be very acceptable. Ally recommended, that the people should be immediately reassembled; that he should retract his imprudent assertions, acknowledge the errors of his former conduct, and make a solemn promise of future amendment.

In compliance with the recommendation of Ally, the people were accordingly again convened in the mosque of Medeinah, where Othman is said to have addressed them in words nearly to the following effect. "Alas, "people of Medeinah, ye cannot be ignorant that it is the common lot of "humanity to err; neither do I presume to arrogate to myself a greater share "of infallibility than the rest of mankind. Where then is the marvel, that I "should have fallen into those errors and inconsistences entailed upon our

A.H.XXXV. A. D. 655. Habeib usseyr. "imperfect condition? Draw near, and bear witness while I thus solemnly "profess my sincere and unfeigned repentance for every act of my life and "government, which hath not been found acceptable before the throne of "God, or conformable to the sentiments of our prophet's distinguished "companions." In the same strain, as a proof that he was determined for the future, to ensure to all believers that freedom of access to his person which was necessary to the redress of their grievances, he concluded by declaring his immediate intention to discharge from employment every chamberlain or porter in his service; lest, in that capacity, they might prove in any degree instrumental in intercepting from him, the complaints of his people. The effect of this discourse upon the assembly appears to have been an united impulse of transport and compassion; the Khalif in a flood of tears, descended from the pulpit and withdrew; while Ally appealed to all who heard him, if a more ample acknowledgment could in reason be expected from any man, and it was to be hoped that the Almighty would support him in his resolution.

The same day, however, when the nobles of Medeinah repaired to his gate in crouds, to tender him their applause, for a conduct so conciliatory and acceptable to the community, the evil genius of Othman, in the shape of Merwaun, again interposed. He had shut himself up, together with Saud the son of Ul Auss, with the Khalif in his interior apartments; and they were each of them loading their sovereign with reproaches for having succeeded in rendering himself at last completely contemptible in the eyes of the whole world; the very object which, as they alleged, the son of Abitauleb had been so long labouring to attain. They, therefore, urged him with the most pressing importunities, this once at least, to refuse an audience to the people assembled before his gate; by which they expected that a tumult would of course be excited, when it was found that the Khalif's protestations had terminated in such early disappointment. Yielding to these importunities, Othman dispatched Merwaun to the gate, to intreat the people to go away, for that regret and shame had rendered him incapable of conversing with them. Instead of addressing them, however, in the conciliatory language dictated by his master, Merwaun treated them with the most violent abuse, and sent them away equally disappointed and incensed.

In this state of mind, the insulted citizens of Medeinah presented themselves before Ally, to whom they recounted the circumstances of the unworthy treatment which they had just experienced. Confounded and disgusted by these repeated instances of infatuation, Ally determined for a last time to visit the palace; and having bitterly and severely reproached Othman with the duplicity and weakness of his conduct, he left him to his own reflections, resolved to have no further communication with him in any shape. In the crisis to which he was now reduced, Othman was, however, prevailed upon by the entreaties of his favorite wife, Naylah the daughter of Ul Ferayzah, a woman of singular good sense and sagacity, to withdraw his confidence from Merwaun, and to submit himself to the counsels of Ally and the popular party. This brought on another conference with Ally, and an apparent reconciliation having taken place, matters were again for a short time laid in deceitful tranquillity.

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On the other hand, it is noticed in the Rouzut ussuffâ, as a traditionary report, that when, in consequence of the indecent violence offered to the Khalif's person, in the mosque of Medeinah, as described in a preceding passage, Ally called upon him for the purpose of condolance, Othman closed his eyes the moment he observed him enter his apartment; and that disgusted with so evident a mark of his antipathy, he quitted his presence, and from that hour to the period of his assassination, never again set foot within the threshold of his door.

About the period in which the inhabitants of the different provinces of the empire began to manifest such a spirit of universal dissatisfaction with Othman's government, we further learn that a memorial was presented to him by an association of the nobles of Egypt in particular, complaining of the criminal and arbitrary behaviour of Obeidullah the son of Saud Sûrudje, their governor; in consequence of which, Othman wrote to Obeidullah, recommending to him to conciliate the aggrieved by an immediate change of measures. In direct contrariety to the intention of his master's letters, the lieutenant of Egypt added aggravation to the injury, by throwing the promoters of the complaint into imprisonment, and suffered himself to be so far carried away by his resentment as to put one of them to death. In order to demand redress for this act of aggravated injustice, seven hundred of the principal inhabitants of Câherah, or Cairo, or Misser, as it is indifferently denominated, repaired in a body to Medei-

A.H.XXXV. A. D. 655. Habeib Usseyr.

nah, and finding that their applications to his successor had been ineffectual, appealed to the companions and friends of their prophet, for protection against the tyranny and unbridled violence of Obeidullah. After some debate, though an opinion seemed generally to prevail that nothing short of strict and personal retaliation should be required for the life which had been shortened by the sword of his injustice, it was at last resolved to be satisfied with the immediate and peremptory removal of Obeidullah, from that power which he had so grossly abused. This resolution was accordingly communicated to the Khalif by Ally, who was further authorized to announce, that however inadequate, a fine would for the present be accepted of, in compensation for the blood which had been shed in the prosecution of that unjust vengeance, which was exerted on the occasion.

To all this, reinforced by the pressing importunities of Ayaishah and Telhah the son of Obeidullah, who demanded in terms of unqualified indignation, that the governor of Egypt should be immediately and unequivocally removed from authority, Othman was constrained to give way; and accordingly signified his readiness to transfer the lieutenancy of Egypt to any person whom they thought proper to nominate for the purpose. On this occasion, with the entire assent of the Egyptians, the choice of the whole order of the companions fell upon Mahommed the son of Abû Bukker, who was forthwith proposed for that dignity. In concurrence with these measures, the necessary letters patent for the appointment of Mahommed Abû Bukker, were expedited under the authority of Othman; and that prince was soon afterwards dismissed to take possession of his new government, accompanied by the aggrieved Egyptians, and a deputation of the companions and auxiliaries of the prophet, empowered to investigate the conduct of Obeidullah the son of Saud.

The son of Abû Bukker had not, however, advanced more than three days journey on his way towards Egypt, when his retinue fell in with and intercepted a courier, who was posting with the utmost apparent dispatch on his camel, towards the capital of that province. On being interrogated as to the object of his mission, he described himself to be a slave of Othman's; and that he was proceeding on business of importance to the lieutenant of Egypt. But when informed that the person whom he sought, was in company with them, he explained that his business was with Obeidullah the son of Saud, not with Mahommed Abû Bukker. He was

now conveyed to the presence of the latter, and persisting to deny that there were any letters or papers in his possession, it was determined to search him; when, rolled up in wax, in his leathern cantin for water, they discovered a billet, with this superscription, bearing the seal of the Khalif; "From Othman Ameir ul moumenein, to the son of Abi Sûrrudje." The billet was broke open without much ceremony, by the son of Abû Bukker, in the presence of all his company, and found to contain nearly the following words. "When the son of Abû Bukker and the memorialists shall "arrive in Egypt, all the means of that government shall be exerted to cut "off, impale, and incarcerate, such of them as will be pointed out; provid- "ing that none be suffered to escape the chastisement due to his merits. "With respect to the pretended commission which they carry with them, "let it be destroyed; and the functions of government continue to be "exercised as before."

A.H.XXXV. A. D. 655. Habeib usseyr.

Disconcerted by the snare thus perfidiously laid for them, Mahommed Abû Bukker and his retinue, returned straight to Medeinah; dispatching messengers to recal the people of Kûfah, and Bassorah, who had been also induced by the deceitful appearances of reform in the conduct of government, to retire homewards. On his arrival at Medeinah, at an interview with Ally and others of the most distinguished of the companions, the son of Abû Bukker related all that had passed, and laid before them the Khalif's intercepted letter. Upon closer scrutiny, the hand writing was, however, recognized to be that of Merwaun. Ally, attended by Telhah, Zobair, and Saud-e-Wekauss, now repaired to the presence of Othman, to demand an explanation of this insidious proceeding. The Khalif readily acknowledged that the seal, the camel and the slave, were certainly his: but in other respects, protested his entire ignorance of the business; and when Ally and his associates reiterated their doubts of his veracity, he solemnly appealed to God for the truth of his assertions, of which they became at last entirely convinced; as well as that the whole perfidious contrivance originated in the malignant invention of Merwaun, without the smallest concurrence on the part of his sovereign. They therefore demanded that the affair should be scrupulously investigated, and that the person of Merwaun should be delivered up to them. The latter,

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Othman generously declined, expressing his positive determination at all hazards, to protect the person of his minister: a resolution which contributed but little to allay the general ferment. Several of the most distinguished chiefs retired in consequence to their private habitations, abstaining from all intercourse with their fellow citizens. Others betook themselves to the pursuits of agriculture, or other avocations, to avoid the effects of the storm which they saw impending.

The palace of Othman was now invested by the Egyptian and other insurgents; who insisted with loud and insolent clamours, that if the letter from Merwaun to the son of Abi Sûrrudje had been dispatched by his authority, nothing short of the Khalif's life was sufficient to expiate the crime. But whether or not, the imbecility of his conduct was such at all events, that he was no longer qualified to hold the reins of the government. At the same time, exasperated by a retrenchment in her pension which Ayaishah had recently suffered by Othman's directions, all the arts of which that violent and revengeful female was mistress, were employed to inflame and impel the people into hostility against their unhappy sovereign.

A.H.XXXV. Zilhudje, A. D. 656. June.

While thus immured in his palace, the recurrence of the period of annual visitation to Mekkah, awakened the apprehensions of Othman, lest, amid the tumults which distracted his capital, the sacred precepts of his religion should fall into neglect; and he, therefore, entreated Abdullah Abbas to undertake the charge of Ameir of the Hadjies, which, after some difficulty, he was persuaded to accept of. He was accompanied on this pilgrimage by Ayaishah, who probably embraced the opportunity to be absent from those scenes of outrage, which, in conjunction with Telhah the son of Obeidullah, she appears to have been deeply implicated in hastening to a crisis.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

Among those incidents which are described to have incensed the minds of his enemies against Othman, the following must have contributed in a very eminent degree. When the siege of the palace had continued some time, one of the order of the prophet's companions engaged against him, requested that the Khalif would appear upon his terras, and attend to something of importance which he had to communicate to his advantage. In compliance with this request, Othman made his appearance on the place which had been indicated to him; and the person by whom he had been thus summoned, was proceeding to open the conference, by urging, what he

conceived the necessity of the times imperiously required; namely, an abdication of the government on the part of the Khalif; when Kesseir the son of Usselleb, from the battlements of the palace, suddenly drew his bow and killed the officious adviser on the spot. The besiegers demanded with eager vociferation, that the murderer should be delivered up to punishment, which Othman, with equal firmness and magnanimity, resisted; declaring, that with his consent, those should never suffer, whose only crimes consisted in loyalty and a generous attachment to his person and dignity. A.H.XXXV. A. D. 656. Rouzut ussuffâ.

The issue of the contest appears to have been considerably accelerated by this useless piece of treachery; the insurgents now set fire to the gates of the palace, and forcibly rushed in through the doors and by the terraced roofs. On the other hand, Merwaun and Saud the son of Ul Auss, at the head of five hundred of Othman's Maumlûkes whom they had rallied in the principal area of the palace, prepared to give the assailants a gallant reception. At this painful crisis, the aged and venerable Khalif, by the most earnest entreaties, endeavoured to dissuade them from an opposition which must be equally fruitless and unavailing, as he was well assured that the period of his dissolution was arrived. He then related to them, that the preceding night, the prophet had appeared to him in a dream; and when he complained of the injuries which he was suffering from the violence of an infuriate populace, had desired him not to be afflicted, for that the succeeding night he should break his fast with him in paradise. Merwaun solemnly protested, in reply, notwithstanding, that while he continued to possess a spark of life, he should not suffer the slightest injury to touch the person of his master. Othman then addressed himself to the slaves, and offered freedom to all such as immediately laid down their arms; an offer, of which, many of them are accordingly said to have availed themselves. In the mean time, the insurgents having forced their way into the interior, a fierce and sanguinary contest ensued in the courts of the palace; but while Merwaun stood conspicuous at the head of his people, prepared to repel the assault, he received on his neck the stroke of a scimitar from an unknown hand, which laid him senseless; the hour of his destiny being, however, not yet completed, the blow missed the artery, and one Habeib usseyr,

A.H.XXXV. A. D. 656. Habeib usseyr.

of the slaves was permitted to convey him from the place unmolested, in the persuasion that he was actually dead. The son of Ul Auss was also shortly afterwards wounded, and compelled, though reluctantly, to quit this scene of blood and outrage.

The contest was maintained, notwithstanding, with unabated fury, until Mahommed the son of Abû Bukker made his way into the apartment; where, with his eyes intently fixed upon the sacred pages of the Korân, sat the venerable Othman. Regardless of those considerations of compassion and forbearance, which, the contemplation of fallen and unresisting greatness might have inspired, the son of Abû Bukker seized his aged sovereign by the beard, and insultingly demanded, what now availed his doating partiality for the apostate Obeidullah, for the outlawed Merwaun, and the magician Mauweiah? To this, in mild resignation, Othman observed in reply, that were *his* father living, he would never have entertained the presumption to commit that act of barbarous violence, by which he had, on this occasion, thought fit to signalize himself. Smitten with a reviving sentiment of compunction, Mahommed left him without further injury. The next that entered was Kennaunah the son of Basher; and he was preparing to strike at his unoffending sovereign, when arrested in his design by the cries of his associates from the area below; warning him to forbear, for that they sought not the life of Othman. These very persons, however, immediately entering the apartment, fiercely demanded of Othman what induced him further to delay his abdication of the government. One of them, the Ghauffeky or Auffeky already mentioned, then gave the first stroke, which drew the defenceless monarch's blood; some drops of which fell on a particular passage of the Korân, which he still continued to peruse. Another of the ferocious band, Soudân the son of Hamran, now prepared to finish the tragedy; when Naylah the daughter of Ferayzah, with that heroic fidelity which has not unfrequently exalted the sex to a level with angels, threw herself upon her husband, and endeavoured to ward off the stroke of the assassin's scimitar; in this effort of conjugal tenderness she lost the fingers of one hand, and the unhappy Othman soon afterwards expired under the repeated wounds inflicted upon him by Soudân and Kûmberah. The moment they had accomplished their atrocious design, the slaves of Othman rushed into the apartment, and sacrificed these two, to the injured spirit of their master; but Ghauffeky made his way good out

of the palace, and proclaimed the fatal catastrophe, in terms, which, if not a proof that Telhah was an associate in the conspiracy, were certainly intended to impress the public with the belief, that, though not an immediate accomplice in the murder, he held a principal share in abetting the guilty transaction. A.H.XXXV. A.D.656. Habeib usseyr.

Some time previous to the last sad scene of his existence, when the insurgents had succeeded in cutting off every supply of water and provision, and had otherwise reduced him to the utmost extremity of distress, Othman is said to have conveyed a message to Ally; demanding to know, whether he was resolved to continue an unconcerned spectator, while his enemies were preparing to embrue their hands in the blood of his kinsman; and thus once more to suffer the sceptre of the Khelaufut to elude his grasp; he next apprized him of his distressing situation, and solicited a small supply of water. With respect to the former circumstance, Ally pledged his word that he would never suffer Telhah the son of Obeidullah to take any step that affected his life, neither should he ever permit him to ascend the throne of the Khalifs. He further ordered a supply of three skins of water to be carried to the afflicted monarch, which some of the Benni Hâshem succeeded in conveying in spite of the opposition which they met with, from the Egyptian insurgents in particular.

It is further stated, that when the siege of the palace had been extended to the fortieth day, intelligence was conveyed to Ally, the very morning of the day on which they carried their design into execution, that the enemies of Othman had resolved upon his death. In consequence of this information, he armed his two sons, the Imaums Hussun and Hûsseyne, and commanded them to defend the entrance of the palace against every attempt. Even Telhah and Zobair thought it decent to follow the example, in appearance at least, since their sons, Mahommed and Abdullah, were immediately ordered to accompany the two Imaums. What appears rather extraordinary, if in reality, it was not another individual of the same name, Kûmberah, one of the recorded murderers of Othman, is mentioned as one of the party which attended the young princes on this occasion, for the protection of his person. Observing the approach of this band of illustrious young men to the relief of the Khalif, the insurgents endeavoured to keep them at a distance with vollies of stones; neither did they cease to annoy them, until they saw the face of Hussun covered with blood, and Habeib uss yr and Rouzut ussuffâ.

A.H.XXXV. A. D. 656. that Mahommed the son of Telhah, and the Kûmberah above alluded to, were both wounded. An impression of awe, which the historian ascribes to them, for the sacred person of Hussun, seems for a moment to have suspended their violence. This was, however, merely transient; for after a very slight cessation, they proceeded to set fire to the gates in the manner already noticed; and having accomplished their sacrilegious design against the life of their sovereign, they next employed their opportunity in the pillage of his property; without sparing the houses of Abû Horeirah, and of others, adjoining to the palace.

Habeib usseyr and Rouzut ussuffâ.

In the mean time, Ally became apprized of the bloody event, and hastened without further delay to the scene of havoc and disorder; where, in terms of severe displeasure either real or dissembled, he reproached his sons, as well as Mahommed the son of Telhah, and Abdullah Zobair, for their conduct, in abandoning the person of the legitimate sovereign of the believers, to the vengeance of his enemies, when entrusted to their express and particular protection. The arguments, however, which they offered in vindication, appear to have been of a nature sufficiently convincing, to prevent him from proceeding to treat them with any further demonstrations of displeasure.

The remains of Othman had continued for three days unburied, when Abdurraihman the son of Addeiss, one of the principal leaders of the insurgents, was prevailed upon, through the intercession of Ally, to give orders that two of the attendants of the deceased monarch, Hobair the son of Mûtanm, and Hakkeim the son of Khezzâm, might be permitted to convey the body of their master for sepulture, to the common burial place of the Mahommedans. In these circumstances, unable to prevail with any one to furnish them with a bier, they tore off the door of one of the apartments, on which, as a substitute, they placed the corpse; and in the evening, between dusk and bed time, for fear of disturbance, bore it in mournful silence towards the spot where it was intended to give it interment. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, and the obscurity of night, they were pursued by the seditious citizens, who assailed the sad procession with stones and other means of annoyance. Penetrated with grief at the unrelenting inveteracy with which the mangled remains of the venerable monarch were still followed, Hobair was preparing to commit them hastily to the earth, when three of the Ansaurs, or auxiliaries of the

prophet, interposed, and insisted that they should not be laid among Mûssulmein, or true believers. They were, accordingly, driven at last to the alternative of depositing the body of their unfortunate sovereign in a recess between the public burial place of Medeinah and that of the Jews; the spot of his interment being, at a subsequent period, taken into the Mahommedan inclosure, by Mauweiah, on that prince's accession to power. With regard to the slaves, who many of them gallantly fell in defence of their lord, they were entirely deprived of the rites of sepulture, and their bodies thrown upon the high ways, to be devoured by beasts of prey.

A.H.XXXV. A. D. 656. Habeib usseyr and Rouzut ussuffâ.

Such, as we have attempted to describe it, was the fate of Othman; who thus fell a sacrifice to the vengeance of an exasperated party, on Friday the eighteenth of Zilhudje, of the year thirty-five, about three in the afternoon, at the age of eighty-two and upwards, and after a reign of twelve years, lacking four months and twelve days. To the virtues of this prince, when he was no more, his enemies appear to have done ample justice; the bitterest of whom, even Ayaishah, so strongly suspected of having hastened his destruction, and Saud-e-Wekauss, seem to have mourned his death with unfeigned sorrow; the latter declaring, that, for the preservation of the true faith, it was at the present crisis as expedient to fly from Medeinah, as at a preceding period it was to fly from Mekkah. But if his character were to be estimated from the recorded testimony of his own party, there is scarcely a human excellence in which he will be found wanting. Of surpassing clemency, beneficence, and piety; in integrity of mind and purity of manners, most eminent; an exemplar to the orthodox, and a most upright and incorruptible judge, he was an inflexible enemy to every species of vice; in vigilance so persevering, and of such patient devotion, that he not unfrequently repeated the whole of the Korân, in the course of one genuflexion. And lastly, though during the period of a long life, he had exhibited repeated proofs of the most undaunted courage, yet so fixed was his repugnance to the effusion of Mahommedan blood, that even when he saw his life at stake, he persisted to the last moment, in forbidding his friends to combat in his defence. His panegyrist concludes by observing, that the murder of Othman unsheathed the sword of internal discord and civil war; that it terminated the heroic achievements against infidels, and of course the legitimate victories of Islam, by which the division of spoils became extinct forever. The disciple of an indifferent profession of faith, may, notwith-

18th of Zilhudje, or 15th of June.

A.H.XXXV. A.D. 656. Habeib ûsseyr.

standing, from a consideration of the events of his reign, and of the imprudent predilections which proved his ruin, peradventure, be disposed to think, that with all these mild and pacific virtues, however qualified to Preside in a cloister like many others, Othman was deplorably deficient, either from age or natural imbecility, in those energetic powers of mind, which are requisite to the controul of a warlike people, and to the management of an extensive and powerful empire.

His surname of Zûl Nûrein, the possessor of the two stars, Othman derived from enjoying the envied distinction of being the husband of two of the prophet's daughters, Rakkeiah and Omm-e-Kelthûm, by whom, and six other wives, he was at different periods, the father of eleven sons and six daughters; of the former of whom it will be sufficient perhaps to mention, the names of Omar, Abdullah the elder, and Abdulmelek; whence he has, as usual, been occasionally denominated, Abû Omar, Abû Abdullah, &c. for reasons which are obvious.

At the death of Othman, the lieutenants, and others who exercised authority under him, in the different provinces and principal towns of the empire, were as follows. At *Mekkah*, Abdullah Khozzermy. At *Tayef*, Kaussem the son of Rebbeiah, the Thâkefite. In *Yemen*, Yâlly the son of Ommeyah, sometimes called Yâly ben Mûnneiah. At *Bassorah*, Abdullah son of Aumer Gûrreizah. At *Kufah*, Abû Mûssa Aishaury. Over *Damascus and Syria*, Mauweiah. At *Hamess or Emesa*, Abdurraihman the son of the celebrated Khâled. In *Palestine*, Ailkamah the son of Hakkeim. At *Kerkessia* in Mesopotamia Jerreir the son of Abdullah. In *Azerbâijaun*, Aishauth the son of Keyss. At *Isfahaun*, Sayeib the son of Ekria. At *Hamadaun*, Besheir the son of Ommeyah. At *Râi*, Sâeid the son of Keyss. In *Khorassaun*, Ehnif the son of Keyss, subordinate to the governor of Bassorah. In *Bahareyne*, Abdullah ul Fezzaury. And in *Egypt*, Abdullah or Obeidullah the son of Saud, son of Abi Sûrrudje. Zeyd the son of Thaubet, was Kauzy, or civil judge of *Medeinah*; Abû Hûrreirah of *Mekkah*; and Abû Derda of *Shaum*, or Damascus. Merwaun, as we have already seen, was Vezzeir, or minister of state; he was also secretary to Othman. The captain of his guard was Abdullah the son of Mûkeyed, of the tribe of Temmeim, and one of his maumlûks, or slaves, of the name of Hamran officiated as Hâjeb or chamberlain.

CHAP. VI.

ALLY, the fourth and last* of the orthodox or legitimate successors of Mahommed, was the son of Abûtauleb, the brother of Abdullah father of the prophet of Isslâm; and was born of Fatima the daughter of Assud, in the sanctuary of the Kaaubah at Mekkah, on the sixteenth day of the month of Rudjub, just thirty years after the era of the elephant; that which was established to commemorate the interposition of a miracle, to save the temple of Mekkah from the destruction with which it was threatened by Abrâhah the Christian viceroy of Saana, on the part of the Nejaush, or monarch of Abyssinia. Hence it would appear that he was thirty years junior to his couzin Mahommed, whose birth is affirmed to have taken place in the first month of Rebbeia, in the year of the elephant; the eight hundredth and eighty second from the accession of Alexander of Macedon, and the fortieth from that of Noushirwân the just; and if this statement be true, the discomfiture of Abrâhah and his army, commemorated by the era of the elephant, must be assigned pretty nearly to the five hundred and sixty sixth year of the nativity of our redeemer. Be that, however, as it may, Ally, from the age of five years, received his education in the family of his couzin, whose divine mission he acknowledged at eleven, and whose faithful friend and intrepid coadjutor in every stage, whether of adversity or success, he continued to the day of his death. A.H.XXXV. A.D.656. Habeib usseyr.

Having been frustrated in his views on the succession, in the manner attempted to be related in the preceding pages, he had, during the several reigns of Abû Bukker, Omar and Othman, withdrawn from all concern with public affairs, devoting himself entirely to religious pursuits; although, when consulted in periods of distress and difficulty, he never withheld his advice.

* The transient authority exercised by Imaum Hussun scarcely entitles him to be included among them.

A.H.XXXV. A. D. 656. During the circumscribed period of his reign, he was embarrassed with the management of three very arduous and dangerous civil wars; first, that of the *Naukesseine*, in which he was engaged against Telhah and Zobair, and their associates confederated to subvert his authority, in breach of their plighted allegiance; this is also, by historians, designated the war of the camel, because in the battle, which decided the contest in favor of Ally, the imperious Ayaishah, who had espoused the cause of rebellion, rode upon a camel. Secondly that of the *Kausseteine*, the appellation by which Mauweiah and his adherents were designated in the war which terminated in the hollow and faithless accommodation, after the conflicts on the plains of Seffeyne. And lastly, that of the *Maarekeyne*, in which he was victorious against the *Khowauredje*, dissidents, or schimatics, led by Abdullah eben Wauheb the Raussebite, on the banks of the Neherwân; a short time subsequent to which, namely, in the month of Ramzaun, of the fortieth year of the Hidjera, he was assassinated by a ruffian of the name of Abdurraihman the son of Mûljum, of the tribe of Mûraud, after a short and turbulent reign of four years and nine months. He was buried at Nedjef. But as the memory of this prince has been consecrated to a degree bordering on adoration, by one of the most celebrated and enlightened nations of the east, we trust we shall be excused, if, in the desire of judging for ourselves, we may have been led to enter more at large into the events of his reign, than may, perhaps, be in strict conformity to the original design of this undertaking.

Habejb usseyr and Kholausset ul Akhbaur.

Among a variety of relations transmitted to posterity by oriental writers, on this subject, the following statement of the circumstances which, on the present occasion, more immediately produced the accession of Ally to the throne of the Khelaufut, has been recommended to our attention, as that which bears the nearest alliance to the truth of history. The earliest overtures to this effect, appear to have again proceeded from the Egyptian party; by whom, at the expiration of the third day from the death of Othman, Ally was urged with fresh importunity, and in compassion to the calamities which threatened to distract the empire, to assume the reins of government. But, when it was rather haughtily intimated to them by him, that they were little authorized to interfere in the appointment of a sovereign to the believers, a prerogative which he maintained to reside exclusively in the warriors of the field of Beider, the intimation was speedily

Rouzut ussuffâ.

communicated to such of that distinguished order, as were to be found at this crisis in Medeinah; in consequence of which, they repaired to the presence of Ally in a body; attended by the greater part of the companions of the prophet; and bearing testimony to the superlative qualifications which so singularly marked him for their selection, united in soliciting his immediate acquiescence in the general will. In reply to these importunities, Ally acknowledged that once indeed, on the death of Omar in particular, he had been led to aspire to the exalted distinction of conducting the enterprizes, and regulating the happiness of a faithful people: but, that this was an ambition, of which he had long since divested himself; however, he was still willing to accept of the second place, that of minister of state or vezzeir; of which he expressed his readiness to discharge the duties, with the most perfect obedience and fidelity to any person whom they might think it expedient to elevate to the supreme dignity. A.H.XXXV. A. D. 656. Habeib usseyr.

Regardless of the arguments and apologies of Ally, in evasion of their proffered honors, the companions persisted in their intreaties; and, at last, proceeded to menace him with some violent or precipitate resolutions; when he called upon them to recollect, that whatever they might resolve upon, this was a matter, on which it was impossible to decide, in the absence of two very important personages, whom he could not perceive to be among them; Telhah and Zobair. They were accordingly requested to attend: instead, however, of complying with the summons, they desired it to be understood, in reply to the message which they received on this occasion, that, although they declined being present, they should not withhold their pledge of allegiance from that person, on whom the lot of the succession might fall. This was an evasion which did not escape the comprehension of those who composed the assembly; and the determined Malek Ashtur and another chief, were employed to repeat the message; when much against their inclinations, both Telhah and Zobair were conducted to the place of conference. Ally received them with distinguished respect; and having urged to them the obvious necessity which suggested the immediate appointment of an Imâm, or hierarch, of the believers, declared at the same time, that if either of them entertained the most distant views on the succession to that important office, they should have his entire and

A.H.XXXV. A. D. 656. Rouzut ussuffâ.

immediate concurrence, They both of them declared in reply, and without apparent reserve, that they knew no person whose pretensions could, in any respect, bear a competition with those of Ally.

It was accordingly determined, without further debate, by the generality of the assembly, that Ally should immediately be invested with the supreme dignity, and the first person who offered his hand in token of allegiance was Telhah: which circumstance, as the hand of Telhah had been disabled by a wound received at the battle of Ohed, afforded to those present a melancholy presage, that the measure they were agitating was not destined to arrive at an auspicious termination; and Ally is even said to have expressed his conviction on the spot, that Telhah was already prepared to violate his engagement. The whole of the people at Medeinah, however, with the exception of a few only of those most intimately attached to the memory of the late Khalif, and who determined on this occasion, to observe a course hostile to the choice of the great majority of the companions, readily submitted to the authority of Ally.* On the other hand, Niauman the son of Besheir the Ansaur, accompanied by Abdullah the son of the Khalif Omar, Mahommed the son of Mosselmah, Hussaun and Zeid the sons of Thaubet, Soheyb the son of Sennaun, and Kaaub the son of Malek, conveyed the blood stained robes of Othman, and the mutilated fingers of Naylah to Mauweiah at Damascus. Others of the adverse party, after remaining for some time in concealment, embraced an opportunity of withdrawing to Mekkah, where they found a welcome reception from Ayaishah.

ALLY, IVth of the Kholfa-rashedein.

Ally was but imperfectly seated in this manner on the throne of the Khalif's when he avowed his resolution to supersede all those who had been placed in authority by his predecessor. This apparently imprudent step, Moghairah the son of Shiaubah, whom we have repeatedly had occasion to notice, and who was esteemed one of the wisest among Arabs, from the purest motives of loyalty and zeal, endeavoured to prevail upon him to suspend; at least, until it could be ascertained with what temper the accounts of his accession were received in the different provinces; or whether indeed, in some cases, his authority would, in any shape, be acknowledged, lest a measure so decidedly premature, should have the immediate effect of producing the most violent commotions throughout the empire. This piece of admonition however seasonable and salutary, at a period when his government was by no means firmly established, did not

* Habeib usseyr.

receive from Ally that attention which it might have claimed. In consequence of which, as if on further deliberation he had been induced to change his opinion, Moghairah, at his next visit, affected to defer to the superior sagacity of his sovereign, and expressed his entire approbation of the design; because he would be able to derive from it at least one most material advantage, that of discriminating between the loyal and the disobedient, between his friends and his enemies. A.H.XXXV. A. D. 656. Rouzut ussnffâ.

Just as Moghairah was quitting the mansion of Ally, Abdullah Abbas entered on his arrival from Mekkah, and he had the curiosity to inquire of his couzin, what had been the subject of their conversation. Ally repeated to him, without reserve, the strangely contradictory opinions which had proceeded from Moghairah. With honest frankness, the son of Abbas declared his entire concurrence in the former counsels of Moghairah, as originating from motives of the purest and most disinterested fidelity, whilst he reprobated his latest opinion, as treasonable in the highest degree. And this being subsequently reported to Moghairah, that chieftain is said to have justified the apparent versatility of his opinions on the following grounds; when a person, either through folly or obstinacy, is found to reject those counsels which are obviously salutary, he must expect to receive what are of a complexion precisely the reverse. A maxim by which he had been governed in his conduct towards Ally in the preceding instance.

Having testified his decided disapprobation of the removal of Mauweiah in particular, Abdullah Abbas was required by Ally to state his reasons; and he explained in reply, that, entirely governed, as they were, by motives of self interest and private ambition, without the smallest consideration of public utility, Mauweiah and his adherents, the moment they perceived themselves superseded, and curtailed of the means of gratifying their sensual appetites, would avail themselves of every expedient to propagate the calumny, *that Ally was an accomplice in the murder of Othman;* and that, having thus waded through blood to the throne of the Khelaufut, he meditated the further design of extirpating the whole of the family and friends of his predecessor. Neither was it difficult to foresee, that, irritated by these and other calumnious reports, the people of Syria and Irâk, and even of Arabia, would be seduced into rebellion and ultimate hostility. There could, moreover, be no positive security against a violation of engagements on the part of Telhah and Zobair, notwithstanding the apparent

A.H.XXXV. A. D. 656. Rouzut ussuffâ.

pledge of allegiance, so reluctantly drawn from them. In conclusion, the son of Abbas entreated his couzin, for the present at least, to suffer Mauweiah to retain his authority, and he would engage at a more convenient opportunity, to drag him from his government, "as he would a hair from a cake of dough." To this Ally rejoined, that neither upon Mauweiah nor his adherents had he any thing to bestow but the sword; that the sole motive of his opposition to the government of Othman, had been the tyranny and violence of his lieutenants and other agents; and that now, whilst he held the power, he should not expose himself to the charge of tergiversation or dereliction of principle. That he should not willingly consent to their retaining the authority which they had so basely abused, not even for an hour. Abdullah did not conceal his regret that the Khalif's sole reliance seemed to rest on the exertion of open force, whereas in the management of an affair of so much difficulty and importance, some degree of address and circumspection appeared at least necessary. Ally put an end to the conversation by announcing to his relative, that whenever, in the solution of any difficulty, he found occasion to consult his opinion, he should expect his sentiments without reserve; and although he might sometimes think it expedient perhaps to act in contrariety to such sentiments, he should, notwithstanding, look for an implicit obedience on his part. To all which, Abdullah signified his faithful submission and acquiescence; an engagement which he never violated.

In this posture of affairs, Ally received an application from Telhah, soliciting for himself the government of Bassorah, and that of Kûfah for his friend Zobair, with which it was not found convenient to comply; the Khalif alleging, that were he to acquiesce in separating from them, there were none other on whose counsels he could with such confidence rely for support, on emergent occasions. Feeling themselves, notwithstanding, deeply aggrieved by this repulse, these two personages suffered the seeds of disaffection and hostility which they bore in their hearts, to take root; while they mutually declared, that though they had been over awed by the violence of Malek Ashtur to submit from necessity to the authority of Ally, yet they could otherwise never acknowledge any pretensions on which he could justly aspire to be their sovereign. They accordingly watched an opportunity to leave Medeinah on the first pretence, and to

unite in the intrigues which were already at work, to disturb the tranquility of the empire. A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656.

In the first month* of the year thirty six, determined without further delay to carry into execution his plan of a general removal, Ally dispatched Othman the son of Haneif to supersede Abdullah Ghoreizah, in the government of Bassorah; and in the same manner Omaurah the son of Hussaun, was authorized to take upon himself the government of Kufah, and Keyss the son of Saud Ebbaudah, that of the province of Egypt. The government of Yemen was destined for Abdullah Abbas, and letters patent were accordingly prepared for this purpose, when Ally most urgently intreated him, to proceed in the first instance into Syria, where the most sedulous exertions were immediately necessary to retain the people of that province in their obedience. This was a piece of service which Abdullah found himself however compelled to decline, from a consideration of the extensive influence which Mauweiah had established in the country; not only through the closeness of his affinity with the late Khalif, being his uncle's son, but by the undisputed authority, which, for so long a period, he had been suffered to exercise over it. There were other reasons urged by Abdullah Abbas against his being employed in Syria on this occasion. He acknowledged an apprehension that his life would be in jeopardy, if placed within the reach of Mauweiah and his faction; or at any rate, though they might forbear to shed his blood, there was no reason to expect, that they would suffer him to remain at liberty; a prison, therefore, was the least of the evils which he could hope for. But the argument which he pressed beyond every other consideration, was, that sensible of the sacred and inviolable attachment, which, both from friendship and consanguinity subsisted between them, Mauweiah and his adherents, so long as Abdullah remained inseparate from the person of Ally, would be deterred from any act of open or declared hostility. He therefore suggested the propriety and advantage of dispensing with his acceptance of any employment, which necessarily placed him at any considerable distance from the person of his master, until some happier period than the present should arise. These reasonings of his gallant and faithful relative had the desired impression upon Ally; and Sohail the son of Haneif was chosen in his room, to undertake the precarious and delicate task, which had for its objeet the supersession of Mauweiah.

Rouzut-ussuffa.

* July, A. D. 656.

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656. When Othman the son of Haneif arrived in the precincts of Bassorah, that city was quietly delivered up to him by Abdullah Ghoreiz[illegible] who, proceeded straight towards Mekkah. Othman was therefore suffered to enter upon the exercise of his government, with no other obstacle than what arose from a considerable disposition to hostility towards the cause of his sovereign, already betrayed in the conduct of many of the inhabitants. Omaurah the son Hussaun had proceeded on the other hand to Nâîah, in the vicinity of Kufah, when he was met by Telhah the son of Khûeylud, and Kaukia the son of Amrû, who charged him, as he valued his life to return to Medeinah, for that the people of Kufah were determined to receive no other person than Abû Mûssa as their governor. Omaurah perceived the necessity of yielding, and accordingly returned to the capital. In Yemen, the approach of Abdullah Abbas was no sooner announced to Yâly ben Mûnneiah, than he hastened, without scruple, to empty the public treasury of all its specie and valuables, and took his departure, with much splendour and parade, for Mekkah, which was now become the general rendezvous of the disaffected. Keyss the son of Saud Ebbaudah, the designated lieutenant of Egypt, was received on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Kaherah, or Cairo, by a numerous association of the inhabitants, and immediately conducted into that city; the absence of the son of Saud Sûrrudje, at this time in Syria, no doubt facilitating his entrance. There existed, notwithstanding, among the nobles of the country a difference of opinion which it might require some degree of address to reconcile; one party consenting to acknowledge the authority of Ally without reserve; the other stipulating that if he brought to punishment the murderers of Othman, he should have their willing obedience, otherwise, they should consider themselves absolved from their engagements. Keyss conceived it necessary to temporize, and accordingly compounded with the latter on their own terms.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

Nothing, however, more clearly demonstrated to the new Khalif, the instability of his authority, with respect to the distant provinces at least, than the unsuccessful issue of the mission of Sohail the son of Haneif, appointed to the government of Damascus and Syria. This person had proceeded on his journey as far as Tabûk, when his progress was arrested by a body of the troops of that province; who haughtily and peremptorily demanded, whence he came, and whither he was going? And when

Sohail had explained the object on which he was engaged, they informed him, with great insolence, that they neither acknowledged the authority of his master, nor of any of those whom he employed: and with respect to the former, they conceived themselves bound by the most sacred engagements, to retaliate upon him the death of Othman. Sohail now requested to be informed, whether any others were associated with them in the prosecution of these hostile measures; when they further announced to him, that what he had heard was the unanimous voice of Syria universally associated, to require from Ally the blood of the murdered Othman. A more explicit avowal was perhaps unnecessary; and Sohail returning immediately from the spot, related to his sovereign the untoward circumstances, of which he had endured the mortification to be the witness.

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With a mind full of indignation, and some embarrassment, Ally could not forbear from communicating what had passed on this occasion, to Telhah and Zŏbair, who had not yet found an opportunity to quit Medeinah. The consolation which he received from this quarter, was such perhaps as he might have foreseen. They taxed him with the mortification to which he had recently taught them to submit, by his refusal of the two governments, at a time when he should have been led to consider them as his best and truest friends; in the mean time his enemies having formed the most sanguine expectations, that, on the first favorable occasion, they would not hesitate to withdraw from their allegiance, the only advice they could offer under the pressure of such an exigency, (and if he was sincerely desirous that the rising commotions should be appeased he would do well not to neglect such advice) was to permit them to retire immediately to Mekkah, to devote themselves to the services of religion; which would be a proof to the world, that whatever controversy might formerly have existed between them, was now at an end, and have a considerable effect in retaining those in their obedience, whose minds were at present, otherwise, ripe for hostility and revolt. If, on the contrary, he chose to be governed by opposite maxims, they could only tell him to prepare for war; for they clearly perceived that the affair of the Khelaufut was to be no otherwise decided, than by an appeal to the sword. The brave and open minded Ally declared in reply, that so long as a possibility remained,

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656. Rouzut ussuffa. it was his determined resolution to persevere in a system of conciliatory measures towards his enemies; but if, after all, these differences failed to terminate in the manner most consonant to his wishes, he trusted he should be found ready in arms to traverse and oppose their hostile and ambitious designs. With regard to themselves in particular, since they were so earnestly bent to separate from him, he gave them his entire permission to depart whensoever and whithersoever they chose. Telhah and Zobair most readily availed themselves of this permission, and having been long privy to the plans of hostility which Ayaishah was meditating in Hejauz, they proceeded immediately to Mekkah.

It has been already noticed, that this turbulent and ambitious female, while the late Khalif was besieged in his palace, had accompanied the pilgrims on their usual religious visitation to Mekkah. It further appears, that when the object of her journey had been accomplished, she was on her way to Medeinah on her return, but meeting with a person from that city, and apprized by him of the fatal termination of Othman's government, and of the consequent accession of Ally, she hastily retraced her steps to the sacred city; observing, that after the events which had taken place at Medeinah, she could consider it no longer a proper residence for her. She also embraced every occasion to assert publicly, and solemnly, that Othman had perished by the sword of injustice, and that she should most assuredly demand his blood at the hands of his immolators. Surprised at her behaviour, Obeid the son of Selmah, one of Ayaishah's maternal uncles, expressing his astonishment at this inconsistency in her conduct, after having been the first to asperse and render obnoxious the person and character of the deceased monarch, and even to stimulate the people to destroy him; she justified herself on the plea, that the enemies of Othman should have been satisfied with having brought him to a proper sense of the conduct of which they disapproved; but when they imbrued their sacrilegious hands in his blood, they had overstepped the boundary of justice. She however acknowledged that there was an appearance of inconsistency in the case; but it was to be recollected, that of two traditional decisions of the prophet on points of a similar tendency, the former was always supposed to give way to that which was of more recent date.

Under these circumstances, Ommeyah was among the first of those who repaired to Mekkah, and associated with Ayaishah in her rebellious projects

against the rightful Imâm of the Mosslems. And shortly afterwards the train of her followers was augmented by the arrival of Abdullah Ghoreizah from Bassorah, and of Yâly the son of Mûnneiah from Yemen. With these last she acquired a supply of treasure and valuable effects to a very great amount. A short time also brought to her party a further accumulation of strength, in the persons of Telhah and Zobair, who had been allowed to withdraw from Medeinah on the pretext, as hath been already noticed, of dedicating their lives to the purposes of devotion; but who now assisted in disseminating those injurious calumnies, fabricated by his enemies, against the fame and reputation of Ally. Thus assembled, the party proceeded to deliberate on the best means of carrying their rebellious plans into effect; when it was proposed by Abdullah Aumer to march immediately to Bassorah, in order to avail themselves of the powerful support which he could venture to engage from his numerous friends and adherents in that quarter. To this proposal, for similar reasons, Telhah gave his ready assent, and the measures were accordingly resolved on without further debate. Previous to their departure, they caused it to be proclaimed however in the streets of Mekkah, "that the mother of the faithful," the appellation peculiarly assigned to Ayaishah, "together with Telhah and "Zobair, were proceeding towards Bassorah, and that it behoved all those "who were desirous of avenging the blood of Othman, and of acquiring "renown among Mussulmîn, immediately to unite in the expedition." In consequence of this, one thousand of the people of Mekkah and Medeinah, and two thousand from various other quarters, collected together and joined these insurgents.

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For all these an equipment was provided from the supply of treasure, conveyed by Yaly the son of Mûnneiah and Abdullah Aumer; and the necessary preparations having been completed, they proceeded from Mekkah. But when their march had been prosecuted as far as the waters of Jûdaub, (either a rivulet or collection of springs on the route to Bassorah) a circumstance apparently ludicrous, which occurred to Ayaishah, had nearly put a period to the enterprise, of which she appears to have been the animating principle.

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Previous to her engaging finally in the confederacy, it is said, that on a visit to the mother of Selmah, after avowing the sense which she felt of the cruel injustice to which the injured Othman had fallen a victim, and lamenting the dangerous commotions, to which that fatal event seemed likely to give birth, Ayaishah proceeded to express her anxiety, lest the discord which threatened its fundamental principles, should ultimately shake to pieces the sacred fabric of their religion. She then ventured to apprize the mother of Selmah of the expedition into Irak, which Telhah and Zobair had in contemplation, for the purpose of checking the progress of these disorders, and of the importunities by which she had been prevailed upon, to be an associate in their views. And she concluded by a solicitation, that the mother of Selmah would accompany her in the enterprise, and afford by her countenance to their proceedings a stronger probability, that the threatening troubles might be speedily tranquillized.

The mother of Selmah, who, it may be necessary to recollect, was the sixth in order among the names of the prophet's wives, testified her utmost concern and disquietude at what she heard, and demanded in reply, with what kind of assurance, knowing, as she did, the intimate ties of affinity by which the son of Abûtauleb was allied to their prophet, she could entertain a thought of embarking in measures so directly hostile to him. "It was *but* yesterday," observed this prudent and respectable widow, "that you attached impiety to the name of Othman, and to day "you can as readily affix the appellation of tyrant to that of Ally. Be on "your guard against the deceitful suggestions of these men, who are "evidently misleading you from the path of rectitude. In the presence "of the Almighty, whose messenger he was, I call upon you to declare, "whether, at this moment, you do not recollect the prophet's express pre- "diction, that but a short period would elapse, before the very dogs near a "certain river in Irâk, called the Jûdaub, should raise a clamour at the "appearance of one of his wives engaged in the cause of rebellion. Nay, "further, when, from the emotion of surprise, he observed me involuntar- "ily drop the pitcher which I bore in my hand, whether our husband did "not expressly declare that in his belief you, yourself, was the person to "whom this circumstance would occur." Ayaishah acknowledged her recollection of this fact, and signified her immediate determination to

withdraw from the design; observing that she considered the advantages of personal safety paramount to all others. A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

The result of this conference being communicated to Abdullah Zobair, the sister's son of Ayaïshah, he repaired to her presence, and declared his resolution either to destroy himself, or become a devoted wanderer in the solitude of the desert, if she persisted in declining to accompany the expedition. She continued, notwithstanding, firm to her purpose, until, through the contrivance of some of the party, it was reported to her that her nephew had actually departed for Bassorah, on foot, and without any sort of provision for the journey; and that unless she adopted some step to overtake him without delay, he was in imminent danger of perishing in the desert. Every other consideration was now obliterated by Ayaishah's affectionate regard for this her favorite relative, and she consented at last, however reluctantly, to accompany the malcontents, in compliance with their repeated importunities, on their march towards Bassorah.

On reaching the Jûdaub, as already noticed, the ears of Ayaishah were suddenly assailed by the barking of the dogs at a neighbouring village, which forcibly reminded her of the circumstances just related; she most solemnly adjured Telhah to reconduct her immediately back to Mekkah, accounting for this her apparently capricious behaviour, by the prophet's prediction which she then repeated. To induce her to recede, however, once more from this sudden change of resolution, Abdullah Zobair suborned certain Arabs of the desert by liberal presents to attest before Ayaishah, that this was not as she had apprehended the Jûdaub; *thus furnishing to the historian the first instance of false evidence recorded in the annals of Isslâm.* Finding, after all, that the misrepresentation of the Arabs had not made sufficient impression on the belief of Ayaishah, Abdullah, who was entrusted with the command of the rear guard, rode suddenly in, and spread an alarm, that Ally and his troops were close at hand; so that between the apprehension of an immediate attack, and the terror of some portentous impending calamity, she found it impossible to retreat. And in this state of painful suspense she again required the attendance of the guide to remove her suspicions with respect to the name of this station; Telhah now informed her, that apprehensive of having deviated from the proper route, the guide was absent in the rear, making the necessary inquiries in order to satisfy his doubts.

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656. Rouzut ussuffâ. The guide had, it seems, received, from Telhah and his friend Zobair instructions to return, and, perhaps contrary to their expectations, had taken the road towards Medeinah. Falling in with Ally, and being by him interrogated as to the situation of Ayaishah and her associates, he communicated the first intelligence of their march towards Bassorah, of the intended secession of Ayaishah, and other circumstances, to the infinite satisfaction of that prince; who had laboured under considerable anxiety lest his enemies should have proceeded to Kûfah, and cut him off from the succours which he had hoped to derive from that quarter.

In the mean time Ayaishah with the insurgents appeared before Bassorah; when two persons of distinguished ability were dispatched by Ally's lieutenant Othman the son of Haneif, to learn the object of their visit. These were first admitted to an audience with Ayaishah, by whom they were acquainted, in reply to their inquiries, that certain turbulent and seditious persons, violating the asylum of the prophet's exile, had dared, without proof, or judicial process, to shed the blood of the established Imaum, or sacerdotal chief of the believers, and overspread the land with crimes and atrocities. That the perpetration of such an act had banished her repose; and that her journey to Bassorah had been prompted by the fullest expectation, that from the denizens of so respectable a city, she should not fail to receive such powerful aid, as might enable her to march to Medeinah, and inflict upon the assassins of the successor of God's prophet, that retribution which by their crimes they had so justly merited. From Telhah and from Zobair, to whom they next proceeded, they received a similar reply. From these, however, the deputies boldly demanded, how it came to pass that *they* should have presumed to engage in hostility against Ally, after the public and solemn pledge of allegiance, by which they had affianced themselves to him. They again justified themselves on the plea, that their conduct on that occasion had been influenced by their fears of the violence of Malek Ashtur; but even intimidated as they were, that they had not yielded their assent without expressly stipulating that the murderers of Othman should be brought to justice; and that since Ally had proved unfaithful to his engagements in that respect, they considered themselves entirely absolved from all that had been entered into on their part. The two deputies then returned to communicate the result of their mission to the governor of Bassorah.

Othman the son of Haneif, thus fully apprized of the hostile views of the confederates, directed the necessary warlike preparations to be made in order to defend his post; but, naturally impressed with the desire of distinguishing such of the denizens of his government, as might be in the interests of Ayaishah and her associates, Keyss the son of Moghairah received his instructions, to meet the assembled people in the principal mosque of Bassorah, and endeavour to sound their inclinations in this respect. In the address to which, on this occasion, the son of Moghairah demanded their attention, he requested they would for a moment reflect, whether the relict of their prophet and his illustrious companions were alone exempted from enjoying that peace and safety at Mekkah, which was extended even "to the beasts of the field and the birds of the air," and whether, therefore, when these people assigned their apprehensions of danger, as the reasons which compelled them to quit their country, the pretext was not too palpable to impose upon the most ordinary understanding. If on the other hand, they advanced that the object of their entrance into the territories of Bassorah, was to avenge the blood of Othman, he appealed to the inhabitants of that place and its jurisdiction, since no participation in the murder of the late Khalif could be laid to the charge of any one among them, whether it did not behove them to unite in repelling the arrogant intruders, and forcing them to resume their proper residence.

A.H.XXXVI. A.D.656. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Asswad the son of Saud the Rohite, one of the citizens, interposed by declaring, that as far as he had been able to ascertain, the object of Ayaishah and her associates was to solicit the aid of them and others, in order to avenge the blood of Othman; and for his own part, he should not be withheld from stating, that the life of that man, who considered with indifference the guilt of Othman's blood, was justly at the disposal of any who chose to assail him. After some further discussion, the multitude pretty clearly demonstrated the part which they were determined to espouse in the contest, by attacking the son of Moghairah with stones, and driving him from the mosque. From this circumstance, Othman the son of Haneif, whatever previous doubts he might have entertained on the subject, was at no loss to perceive, that the friends of Telhah and his associates were too numerous in Bassorah, to admit of any reasonable hope of successful

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656. resistance; and he therefore prepared to assert the rights of his master by such other expedients as the occasion might suggest.

Rouzut ussuffâ. On a subsequent day, Ayaishah seated on her camel entered the city, and appeared, with Telhah on her right hand, and Zobair on her left, surrounded by their troops, in the spacious area then called Mûeyed, in the centre of the place. Othman drew out his followers in an opposite direction, while the people of the town flocked together to attend the issue. Having expatiated at some length to the concourse thus assembled, on the various excellencies of the late Khalif, and on the atrocious circumstances of his murder, Telhah and Zobair proceeded to demand their aid, to inflict the merited vengeance on the perpetrators of that bloody deed. Part of the citizens loudly assented to the truth of these representations, and resolved that it was incumbent on all believers to avenge the death of their Khalif. Another, though inconsiderable party, professed themselves of a very opposite opinion, openly insisting that these two personages, after a scandalous infraction of the most solemn engagements with Ally, were now combined to usurp the government into their own hands, under the mask of demanding justice on the murderers of Othman.

One of those present, however, Jauriah the son of Kedaumah, one of the chiefs of the Benni Temeim, and a zealous supporter of the rights of Ally, addressed himself more immediately to Ayaishah; declaring aloud, and with a solemn appeal to God, that the murder of Othman however atrocious, was infinitely more pardonable with the offended spirit of her departed husband, than the conduct by which she had been led to dishonor herself on this occasion, in exposing her person unveiled, and on that execrable camel, to the unhallowed view of an indiscriminate multitude. If by an irresistible bias she had been impelled to quit her home, he admonished her to recede before it was too late; but if her appearance at Bassorah was the result of compulsion, the most prudent step she could follow was to demand the protection of the people, to reconduct her to her habitation at Mekkah. Next addressing himself to Telhah and Zobair, he reproached them, although the immediate disciples of the prophet, with their criminal disregard of his clearest institutes in exposing the relict of the messenger of their God, with so little scruple, and in a manner so disgraceful, in the midst of such a multitude, notwithstanding their punctilious nicety in concealing their own women within the secrecy of their harams. This

does not appear to have produced any reply from the hearers. In the mean time Hakkeim the son of Hailah, of the tribe of Obed and commander of the lieutenant of Bassorah's cavalry, causing the warlike instruments to strike up, and the greater part of the inhabitants going over to Telhah and his associates, an action commenced, and continued with considerable slaughter on both sides, until night put an end to the conflict. A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656. Rouzut ussuffâ.

The battle was renewed the following morning, and had continued without any apparent advantage to either side until noon, when perceiving that the combatants were nearly exhausted by their exertions, Ayaishah desired that proclamation might be made against the further effusion of blood; for that her object in coming to Bassorah, was not for the hateful purposes of civil discord, but to promote the interests of truth and harmony. Hostilities immediately ceased; and arbitrators having been selected to compromise these unhappy differences, it was determined, after considerable debate, that a person should be deputed to Medeinah, to ascertain the nature of those engagements under which Telhah and Zobair had bound themselves; if it proved that such engagements had been the effect of compulsion, the city should be delivered up by the son of Haneif to Ayaishah without further resistance; on the contrary, if it should appear, that their affiance to the authority of Ally had been perfectly voluntary, Ayaishah and her adherents should immediately withdraw from the country, and direct their views to any other quarter that they conceived expedient.

The person selected to proceed to Medeinah on this occasion, was Kaubes-sour, Kauzy and chief of the law at Bassorah, who hastened with all diligence to fulfil the object of his mission. On his arrival at Medeinah, on a Friday, he embraced the opportunity, when the people were more generally assembled in the principal mosque, to solicit that information which he had been deputed to obtain. To this no one ventured to reply, but Assaumah the son of Zeid, who did not hesitate to affirm, that the submission of Telhah and Zobair to the authority of Ally, had been compulsory. On which the governor of Medeinah, Sohel the son of Haneif, indicating a design to offer violence to the son of Zeid for this bold assertion, the latter was conducted from the assembly, in order to prevent the mischief which was otherwise likely to ensue; since there were others present, who

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expressed themselves disposed to confirm the declaration. The same zealous adherent to the cause of Ally, perceiving the sentiment which prevailed, with as little scruple avowed his determination to proceed straight to Bassorah in order to frustrate the designs of the enemy.

This intelligence appears to have been little expected by Ayaishah, and her associates hastened to anticipate the surprise, by an immediate renewal of hostilities. Entering the principal mosque under cover of the night, they massacred forty of the dependents of Othman the governor of Bassorah, whom they found there; and proceeding thence to the palace of the government, they put to the sword four hundred more of the guards, and others entertained for the protection of the place. Othman himself they dragged from the palace, and were preparing to dispatch him in quest of his friends, when Ayaishah interposed to rescue him from death, both in consideration of his great age, and of his having enjoyed an honorable lot in the society of their prophet. He did not however escape but at the expence of his beard, which was of remarkable length and beauty, and which, as a lasting mark of contumely, together with his eye brows and eye lashes, they plucked one by one from the roots. Thus disgraced and disfigured, Othman was suffered to join his prince; who not immediately recognizing him under the metamorphosis, observed with a smile, when he made himself known, "that he had dismissed him to his government an old man; it was some consolation to see him return in the bloom of youth."

Having rendered themselves, in this manner, masters of Bassorah, Telhah and Zobair dispatched letters into Syria, to acquaint Mauweiah with their success, and to require his assistance in prosecution of the hostilities thus auspiciously commenced against Ally. At the same time Ayaishah wrote to caution the inhabitants of Kûfah, as they valued their welfare, to withhold from Ally those succors, which it was probable he might shortly demand from them; and to seize the earliest opportunity of joining her standard. On the expulsion of the lieutenant of Bassorah, some dispute had arisen among the most powerful of the victorious party, on the subject of the Imaumut, or pontifical functions; to accommodate which, Ayaishah directed, that her favorite Abdullah Zobair should take the lead in all public prayers, until the question of the Khelaufut, or supreme dignity, should be otherwise finally determined.

In the mean time, the most public means having been resorted to by the heads of the insurgents, to circulate the report, that Othman had been cut off with the positive concurrence of Ally; Abdullah Hukkem, the Temeimite, one of the leading citizens of Bassorah, took occasion to produce, in the presence of Telhah, the very letters written by that person to the principal inhabitants of the place, exciting them to the act, with which he had the effrontery to accuse another. He did not forbear to assure him also, that however others might suffer themselves to be misled through ignorance of the truth, the prevarication and inconsistency of their words and actions were too obviously palpable to impose upon him in the slightest degree; he (Telhah) was sufficiently conscious, and it was therefore superfluous to remind him of the manner in which, after the most liberal and magnanimous proposal on the part of Ally, to relinquish his claims in their favor, both he and Zobair united in acknowledging his superior and exclusive pretensions, and in solemnly pledging their allegiance to his authority; in flagrant violation of which engagement, confirmed on the sacred truths of their belief, they were now confederated against him, under the wretched pretext of avenging the death of his predecessor. All they could urge in reply seems to have been, that they had experienced the deepest compunction and regret for the unwarrantable conduct of which they had been guilty towards Othman; and that now he was no more, the only means of reparation they could devise, was to avenge his fall. However, finding no other resistance to their authority, the party of Ayaishah took possession of the public treasury, the contents of which they distributed to their followers; whom, in the space of a short time, under various pretences, they succeeded in augmenting to nearly thirty thousand strong. On the other hand, great numbers of the Benni Abdul Keyss, and Benni Bukker tribes, took flight from Bassorah to join the illustrious Zûlfekkaur.

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When Ally had become sufficiently apprized of the hostile designs of Mauweiah, and of his arraigning him with the guilt of Othman's blood, the whole of his attention was directed towards the levy and equipment of an adequate force, to humble and extirpate this his irreconcileable and inveterate enemy. And in pursuance of such an object, all those who had acknowledged his authority, received orders to prepare for the expedition

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656. into Syria. In these preparations he was engaged, when intelligence was brought him, that Ayaishah and her associates were on their march towards Bassorah; to this information, however, he did not give immediate credit, as he could not divest himself of the suspicion that this was only a feint, and that their views were in reality directed towards Kûfah, for the purpose of detaching the people of that place from their allegiance to his authority. The suppression of this rebellion, however, for the present superseded all other objects, and for that purpose he immediately applied to the inhabitants of Medeinah for their assistance. Of these a part expressed their willingness to afford him every testimony of attachment and obedience. But among others, there arose a material discordance of opinion. It became now the subject of public conversation, that Ally had been repeatedly advised to bring to justice the murderers of Othman, in which he would have found none to oppose him; but to this he would not listen; and thus leaving them a plausible pretext for hostilities, they alleged that he had acted in a manner directly consonant to the views of his enemies; "he therefore," said they "that despises the counsels of his friend, deserves to see the "designs of his enemy prosper."

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Thus frustrated in his hopes, from a quarter in which disappointment was perhaps least expected, Ally, with an afflicted spirit, left Medeinah; and at the head of about nine hundred men, hastened, if possible to intercept the march of the insurgents. The advanced guard of this inconsiderable force, was commanded by Abû Leyli the son of Amrû ul Jerrauh; the right wing by Abdullah Abbas, and the left by Amrû the son of Selmah. He was also accompanied by several others of the prophet's most distinguished associates; and particularly by Khozzeimah the son of Thâbet, whose steady and scrupulous adherence to truth, was such as to have acquired for him, from the author of their religion, the title of Zû Shihaudetein, *he whose testimony bears a two fold strength.* Receiving however intelligence by the way that his enemies had gained the start of him, and not yet able to ascertain their views, Ally encamped at the station of Zikâder, where he remained for some days; during which, he dispatched directions to Medeinah to forward the whole of his baggage and equipage to the army; having privately determined after the treatment which he had recently experienced, to return no more to the territory of Yathreb.

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While encamped at Zikâder, among other mortifications which he was compelled to experience, Ally found himself assailed by the unavailing reproaches of his own family. His son Hussun, alarmed at the distresses which seemed to threaten them, presumed to remind him of those frequent occasions on which he had rejected the advice of his children. And they were now, accordingly exposed to perish of hunger and thirst, beyond the possibility of relief, among the sands of the desert. To this desponding observation, the intrepid Hyder made little reply, further than by an endeavour to console his son; and a desire that he would state those instances of admonition, the disregard of which could have had a tendency to lead to the calamities he seemed to apprehend. Hussun explained by adverting to circumstances which preceded the death of Othman, when it had been proposed to Ally for a short time to quit Medeinah; so that in the event of the insurgents proceeding, in his absence, to take away the life of the Khalif, the suspicion of his bearing any concern in that nefarious transaction, might be thus entirely obviated; and every ground removed on which his enemies might pretend to disseminate calumnious accusations to his prejudice. Again, when the destruction of Othman had been accomplished, he had been intreated, as circumstances seemed to require, to decline the Khelaufut, until the concurrence of all believers should be ascertained in his favour. And lastly, when it became notorious, that Ayaishah, Telhah, and Zobair, were confederated to avenge the blood of Othman, he had been advised to remain in a place of security, and await the disclosure of events.

To all which Ally separately replied; and in the first place, that when the palace of Othman was invested by the insurgents, means had been also adopted to preclude the possibility of his withdrawing from the town, by posting a guard over his house, as well as over those of some others of the most distinguished personages. With regard to the circumstance objected to him in the second place, he affirmed, that the acknowledgement or concurrence of every part of the empire was in no shape indispensable to the election of the Khalif, which was an affair vested exclusively in the denizens of the two sacred cities, or more expressly, in the companions of the prophets flight, and those who protected him in his exile; whose choice once determined on, it behoved all others submissively to acquiesce. And to the last subject of complaint, he had only to observe, that after the public

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656. Rouzut ussuffâ. acknowledgements of his authority which he had received, and the hostile designs of Telhah and Zobair had been announced, such a passive demeanor as that which had been recommended to him, could only have led to promote divisions of opinion; independent of its extreme unworthiness of that sacred office which he had undertaken, and which he was determined never to degrade. Moreover, in demanding at his hands the blood of Othman, his enemies evidently sought his life, and had therefore left him no alternative.

But to prevent all future discussion on these subjects, Ally embraced the opportunity to inform his son, that when the messenger of Omnipotence had departed for the regions of eternal bliss, though he could not admit that any man was possessed of higher qualifications, or more indisputable claims than himself, yet when he perceived an almost unanimous acquiescence of all the orders, to submit to the exaltation of Abû Bukker, he did not hesitate to forego his just pretensions, in deference to what appeared to be the general will. Neither was the slightest point, in which he could either promote or support the interests of that prince, by him ever left unheeded. When also at the approach of death, the same Abû Bukker declared his will in favor of Omar, in prejudice to those well grounded expectations, no selfish consideration could prevail with him to withhold his assent; and the whole empire could bear testimony to his conscientious forbearance from opposition on that occasion. Again, when the people were brought to acknowledge the authority of Othman, in consequence of that unprecedented mode of election introduced by Omar; "my conduct" continued Ally, "was still governed by the same coincidence with "public opinion; and under every circumstance of Othman's administration "he uniformly experienced from me, the most zealous and submissive "obedience. And lastly, when this unfortunate prince had fallen by the "hands of his assassins, and I had entirely withdrawn myself within the "seclusion of my own dwelling, although repeatedly urged by the people "to assume the government, their entreaties were resisted on my part "with unaltered firmness, until the expiration of seven days; when per"ceiving no probability of a settlement on this important question, and "apprehensive that disorders might otherwise come to pass, beyond the "scope of human prudence to repair, I yielded to importunity, and to the

"imperious necessity of the occasion; the chiefs of our faith submitting to "my authority with every demonstration of cordiality and zeal." A.H.XXXVI. A.D.656.

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However Hussun might have been reconciled by these explanations, it could not escape the discernment of Ally's mind, that an attempt to crush the rebellion at Bassorah with the very slender force which now attended him, did not afford any flattering prospect of success; he therefore made use of the occasion to prove the fidelity of the people of Kûfah; and with this view Mahommed the son of Abû Bukker, and Mahommed the son of Jauffer teyaur, proceeded to that place; with letters to the inhabitants representing the extremity to which he had been driven by the conduct of his enemies, who, in violation of the most solemn engagements, were now in arms against his lawful and acknowledged authority.

In prosecution of this object, the two Mahommeds arrived at Kûfah, and communicated the letters with which they had been entrusted by their sovereign. But the inhabitants having consulted with Abû Mûssa the Aishaurite, who still continued governor of the place, that chieftain explained to them, in terms which pretty clearly evinced the disposition by which he was animated on the subject, that Ally and Telhah being engaged in a personal contest for power, those of course who felt a bias for the concerns of this world, were at liberty to espouse the cause of either party: but such as placed their views on what was of infinitely higher importance, the enjoyment of a blessed futurity, would do well, in the seclusion of retirement, and in the bosom of domestic peace, to decline taking any share in the dispute: for this was one of those afflictions, which God's messenger had foretold that his people were destined to suffer; in which he had cautioned them to keep to their houses, and though after every endeavour to abstain from, they might ultimately be compelled into hostilities, *they were enjoined to make their swords of wood.* As the tendency of such an address publicly delivered from the pulpit, could not be easily misunderstood, the son of Abû Bukker and his collegue, were proceeding to reply with equal indignation and severity, when Abû Mûssa coldly observed, that the pledge of allegiance given to Othman was not less binding upon their master than upon himself; if, therefore, war was unavoidable, it behoved him in the first place to attack and do justice upon the murderers of his injured sovereign. In short, the messengers of Ally, convinced on this and further observation, that the people of Kûfah were

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determined to abide by the dictates of their governor, returned without further delay to Zikâder, and described to Ally, to his considerable surprise and disappointment, the circumstances of their reception, and Abû Mûssa's disloyal conduct. A second attempt, in which Abdullah Abbas and Malek Ashtur, were employed to bring the lieutenant of Kufah to a more favorable sense of duty proved equally unsuccessful; he was found more obdurate in his opposition than had been represented even by the former report.

As a last effort, however, to secure the assistance of this turbulent and martial colony, Ally now determined to try whether the presence of his son Hussun might not have some influence in awakening that spirit of loyalty towards the family of their prophet, of which he might yet persuade himself there remained a latent spark still unextinguished in the breast of every Mûssulman. Accordingly that prince, accompanied by Aumer Yausser, was next dispatched with a further application for their assistance to the people of Kûfah, and a letter from the Khalif to Abû Mûssa to engage his co-operation by every promise of favor and aggrandizement. In concurrence with their instructions, these two distinguished associates hastened towards Kûfah; and in the neigbourhood of that place were met by most of the nobles and principal inhabitants, by whom the lineal representative of their prophet was immediately conducted with every mark of respect and veneration, and attended by a great multitude, to the principal mosque of the city. Here, casting his eyes on Abû Mûssa, who had also repaired to the assembly, Hussun sternly demanded his reasons for interposing his authority to detach a faithful people from the path of rectitude, and to prevent them from affording aid to their rightful sovereign, who sought no other object than the public good. To this, with affected humility, Abû Mûssa briefly replied: "devoted to the service of my lord be both my "father and mother, it becomes not me to deny his affirmation; but it was "my lot to hear our revered prophet declare, that the hour of discord was "at hand, in which it would be better to sit down than stand, better stand "still than walk, and better walk than ride. The party at Bassorah we "must moreover consider as our brethren; and the persons and property "of such, God himself has commanded us to hold sacred." Unable to suppress his indignation at these words, Aumer Yausser was beginning to revile him for his hypocrisy and perfidy, when he was suddenly interrupted

by one of the assembly, who severely retorted upon him the abusive epithets, of which he seemed disposed to be so liberal; desiring him to recollect that such insolence to established authority, but ill became the yesterday's associate of rebellion. A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656. Rouzut ussuffâ.

During the altercation, Zeid the son of Sûjaun with letters from Ayaishah made his appearance in the assembly. The perusal of these letters appears, however, to have produced an impression rather different from what might have been intended, and the messenger proceeded moreover to load the adverse party with abuse and obloquy; some of those present could not forbear to recriminate upon the conduct of Ayaishah, in thus indecently interfering in a contest of arms, in gross violation of every maxim of female propriety, and of the positive institutes of her religion; in usurpation of the peculiar attributes of the manly character, and, where she presumed to excite the faithful to acts of treason and rebellion against their acknowledged sovereign, in disregard of every principle of truth and justice. The confidence of Abû Mûssa at this moment began to abandon him; he summoned, notwithstanding, sufficient resolution once more to ascend the pulpit, and again exerted every argument he could invent to dissuade the people from complying with the demands of Ally; he proposed for imitation the example of some of the prophet's most distinguished companions, and in particular that of Abdullah Omar, of the warlike Saud e-Wekauss, of Mahommed the son of Musselmah, of Assaumah the son of Zeid, and many more; who had prudently determined to step aside from the scene of civil discord, rather than unsheath the sword against their Mussulman brethren. He therefore called upon them not to barter the sacred interests of their religion for the perishable projects of this world; but to consult both present and future welfare, by a steady adherence to that authority which had been so long exercised to promote their happiness.

The attention of the assembly was then engaged by Kaukia the son of Amrû, who urged the indispensable necessity of a supreme and established ruler, by the exertion of whose power and prudence, to regulate and conduct to a happy termination the destiny of a numerous people. It was therefore in a fortunate hour, that they were called upon by the exalted

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Ally, from the purest motives, to unite with him in support of those designs, in which he had embarked, with no other object than the advancement of the general welfare. It was on this account their duty as well as interest to afford him the earliest proofs of returning loyalty, by hastening to join his standard. In this stage of the debate, one of the citizens of the name of Obed Kheyr, demanded of Abû Mûssa whether Telhah and Zobair had not publicly pledged their allegiance to Ally; and if so, whether from that day to the present period, any circumstance had occurred in the conduct of the latter, to justify their breach of such allegiance. Abû Mûssa acknowledged the pledge of allegiance, but professed his ignorance with regard to the other points; on which his interrogator observed, that until he was better informed on the subject, he should for his own part, then, beg to be governed by an opinion of his own. Imaum Hussun now called upon Abû Mûssa to descend from that pulpit on which, after forfeiting his allegiance to the rightful successor of the prophet, he was no longer either authorized or worthy to appear. Equally mortified, the crest fallen governor was compelled reluctantly to obey; while Aumer Yausser and another of the adherents of Ally seized the favorable moment to enlarge upon the numerous excellencies of their patron, and encourage the ardor of the people to hasten to his presence, with those proofs of loyalty and attachment, to which, by his exalted virtues, he was so eminently entitled.

By this time Imaum Hussun had taken possession of the pulpit, and having appealed to the hearts of all present in support of his parent's superior claims, explained at length the object of his mission. In behalf of that parent, he intreated them for the present to suspend all consideration of the justice or injustice of his conduct; to afford him that immediate aid which he solicited at their hands, in the cause in which he was engaged against a perverted and perfidious faction, and he would cheerfully submit to be personally responsible at a future period, for any injuries which could be fairly laid at his door. He concluded by once more affirming, that though Telhah and Zobair had been the first to affiance themselves to the authority of Ally, they were among the earliest to violate their engagements. On these considerations he admonished all who heard him, without distinction of rank or wealth, to consult their assured and permanent glory, by hastening without further delay to join the intrepid chief, by whom they were anxiously expected in his camp at

Zikâder. In similar terms they were addressed by Hidjer the son of Audy; but the popular sentiment had now taken a decided turn, and further reasoning appeared superfluous. The Kûfites declared with loud acclamations, that the darling of their prophet's affections had irresistibly convinced them, and that nothing should further prevent them from submitting to the authority of his father, whom they immediately prepared to support with all the force of the country. A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Just as matters had arrived at this crisis in the assembly, intelligence was brought to Abû Mûssa of an extraordinary scene that was passing within the walls of his own palace. It would appear, that, on the departure of Hussun from the camp at Zikâder on this occasion, it had had been suggested to the Khalif, by the intrepid and faithful Malek Ashtur, that until some method was devised, either to disgrace or remove the lieutenant of Kûfah, his wishes in that quarter must inevitably terminate in disappointment; he therefore solicited and obtained the permission of his sovereign to follow, with instructions to employ his utmost exertion to weaken and subvert the authority of Abû Mûssa. On his arrival at Kûfah, he became apprized of the declining turn which had then taken place in the affairs of that chieftain; and without suffering himself to be interrupted by inferior considerations, hastened to the governmental palace, which, with the weighty argument of his mace or battle axe, he soon cleared of the domestics of Abû Mûssa. In the utmost consternation, they presented themselves covered with blood to their master, telling him that a person whose appearance and language they attempted to describe, had thus treated them; and like an unforeseen and irresistible mischief, was now committing the most extraordinary outrages on his furniture and most valuable effects; of which, if he did not speedily exert himself, not an article would escape the devastation of this furious stranger. Almost suffocated with surprise and astonishment, Abû Mûssa precipitately withdrew from the assembly, and returning home, was at no loss to recognize the author of all this alarm and confusion; who accosting him by the name of hypocrite, and other opprobrious epithets, demanded what further concern he could pretend to have in that mansion, which belonged to one whose rightful authority he had dared to abjure. By this time the multitude had declared for Malek Ashtur, and Abû Mûssa perceiving his hopeless situation, con-

A.H.XXXVI. descended to supplicate for a short delay, not more than was necessary to
A. D. 656. provide himself with some kind of shelter for his family; which was peremptorily denied him, while his property continued to be thrown into the streets, and the greater part was entirely destroyed. At length, through the urgent solicitation of some friends, the respite of one day was allowed him to provide himself with another house, to which he retired, and denying access to all who sought to visit him, there immediately shut himself up from society. In the mean time, the people of Kûfah were employed in the most active preparations for marching; and in six days after the occurrence of the above events, Malek Ashtur found himself at the head of twelve, some say of nineteen thousand chosen warriors; with whom he proceeded to the camp of Ally; Ameir Hussun, accompanied by a slender retinue, having already taken his departure for Zikâder.

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The approach of the Kûfites inspired Ally with a degree of confidence in proportion to the value of so powerful and seasonable an acquisition of strength. He received them at some distance from his camp, and assured them for the last time, that the sole purpose for which he had solicited their assistance, was to reclaim to the path of rectitude certain of their brethren, who had unhappily deviated into rebellion and hostility. Neither should he proceed to avail himself of the means of coercion, until the total failure of every milder attempt to persuade, should have left him no other alternative. In the mean time they might rely upon his solemn assurance, that, in every circumstance, his conduct would be scrupulously regulated by the sacred word of God, and the institutes of his messenger; having no other object in view, than the advancement of the true religion, and the welfare of its followers. He then conducted them into the encampment, assigning to each of their leaders those quarters, to which by rank or dignity he found them entitled. The very next day, Kaukia the son of Amrû, not less distinguished by his valour than the powers of his understanding, proceeded towards Bassorah; to endeavour by the arguments of prudence and moderation to extinguish the spirit of ambition, with which Ayaishah and her two associates are accused of suffering their bosoms to be inflamed. Ally followed, shortly afterwards, with an army now equally respectable for numbers and equipment.

On his arrival at Bassorah the son of Amrû, in pursuance of his instructions, repaired first to visit Ayaishah, whom he requested to explain the

motives of her appearance in that territory; which she equally ascribed to her regard for the public welfare, and her zeal to avenge the blood of Othman. Previous to further discussion, Kaukia requested that Telhah and Zobair might both be sent for, in order that, what he had to offer might be delivered in their presence. They accordingly attended, and to the question already proposed to Ayaishah, returned a similar reply. Upon which the envoy observed, without ceremony, that to him their declaration appeared equally absurd and inconsistent; since the prosecution of their vengeance against the destroyers of Othmân, so far from promoting public good, would be the source of incalculable mischief, in the civil discord which must ensue. He next demanded what number of victims they had already sacrificed to this unwarrantable propensity for insurrection; and when they had advanced, that not more than six persons had hitherto fallen in the cause, he rejoined, that in this number only, they had created against themselves six hundred thousand opponents; and that in proportion to their perseverance in the pernicious plan, their enemies would be still augmented. To the justice of these observations, Ayaishah appears to have assented, and she demanded, in consequence, what, in her situation, he thought it most advisable to do. Kaukia recommended an immediate dereliction of every hostile design, and a treaty of peace to reconcile their differences with Ally; in which if they concurred, he could venture to augur happily of the issue; otherwise they must anticipate the most inauspicious reverse. To the propriety of these suggestions, in conjunction with Ayaishah, both Telhah and Zobair at least affected to subscribe, declaring, that if the sentiments of the son of Abitauleb were in coincidence with what he now expressed, there should be no obstacle on their part to an immediate accommodation. Kaukia now took his leave, and returning on the wings of dispatch, announced to his prince, the favorable appearances in which his mission had thus terminated. Ally testified his approbation of what had been done, but accelerated his march towards Bassorah.

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In this posture of affairs, the principal inhabitants of the last mentioned city, had deputed one hundred persons to the camp of Ally, in order to discover among the people of Kûfah, to most of whom they were, in some degree or other, allied by the ties of consanguinity, how far their inclinations appeared of a pacific, or hostile tendency. Finding on inquiry a disposition unanimously bent on obedience to the acknowledged successor of the

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prophet, of whose designs, whether ultimately favorable to peace or war, no one pretended to determine, the deputies obtained a personal conference with Ally, and requested he would relieve them from the doubts under which they laboured with regard to those designs. The Khalif, in reply, condescended to recur to every circumstance of his conduct, contrasted with that of his opponents, from the commencement of the turbulent scenes at Medeinah preliminary to the death of Othman, to the present day. He repeated his assurance that the object of his journey was to oppose and repress the pernicious practices introduced by his adversaries; to repair the disorders so destructive to public happiness; and to expel from among the disciples of Mahommed that odious spirit of revenge and animosity so repugnant to every principle of humanity and virtue. And he concluded by a declaration, that whenever his misguided brethren could be induced to testify a sincere and proper compunction, for the rebellious and hostile proceedings, in which they had suffered themselves to be engaged, he should be found perfectly ready to meet their advances. Neither should he commit himself, after all, to the horrors of war and blood shed, until every proof of forbearance, and every effort to conciliate should have been exhausted. The delegates of Bassorah confessed that nothing could be more manly, just and liberal, than the sentiments to which Ally had thus given utterance; but when, in consequence of the impression which his arguments appeared to have left on their minds, he called upon them to give him their pledge of fealty, some demur on the part of their leader, Aussem the son of Kelleib, prevailed with them, for the present, to decline that ceremony. Previous to their final departure, however, the whole of them publicly acknowledged the authority of Ally; and, on their arrival at Bassorah, professed to their fellow citizens, that the language which dropped from his lips was worthy of the race of the prophets.

After the dismission of the delegates, Ally put his army in motion, and appeared within sight of Bassorah, where, on a commodious spot, at Rauviah, he encamped. The insurgents on the other hand, to the number of thirty thousand men, marched out of the city with Telhah and Zobair at their head, and pitched their tents at Meghzeinah, in a position over against him.

In this situation of the armies a negociation was opened for the restoration of peace; and that every obstacle might be removed to the attainment

of an object so apparently desirable to both parties, it was agreed that the authors and abettors of the death of Othman should depart the camp of Ally. These are said to have amounted to more than five hundred persons, comprising among them some of the most distinguished leaders in all the tribes of Arabia: aud in particular, we find included in this obnoxious list, the names of Malek Ashtur, of Ally the son of Ul Hushm, of Auddy the son *Hautem Tâi;* of Khaled the son of Mûljum, and many others whom it would be too tedious to enumerate. The influence of Ayaishah seems, however, to have created an exception in favor of her brother Mahommed, although one of the most active in the conspiracy which she now affected to condemn with such implacable animosity. Separated from their associates, these proscribed individuals hastened to deliberate on the means of providing for their personal safety; convinced, as they declared themselves, that the reconciliation of the rival parties was to be cemented with *their* blood. One of them proposed, that since Ally, whose superior knowledge in their sacred scriptures no one could presume to question, had acquiesced in their expulsion, and associated himself in the resentments of Telhah and Zobair, they should submit to an immediate and voluntary exile from their country; and seek an asylum against the implacable vengeance of their enemies in the distant regions of the west. To this, Auddy the son of *Hautem* objected, because, in his estimation, the only blessing this world afforded, was the presence of our relatives, and the endearing intercourse of friendship; and that take from it this its greatest charm, life had for him no further value. Another, more sanguinary, as the shorter course, recommended to seize the first opportunity of dispatching Ally to join his predecessor, and thus secure their peace with the adverse party. Ally the son of Hushm contended, however, that, if in addition to the guilt already incurred by the death of Othman, they plunged themselves deeper by the murder of Ally, there could be no reasonable expectation that they would ever be trusted by Telhah and Zobair; or that, even supposing it might be thought necessary to temporize with them for a short season, their ultimate destruction would not at a proper period be brought to pass. In his mind what, on the contrary, appeared most likely to promote the object they had in view, was to put in practice some plan of interruption to the present system of harmony; to change the pacific disposition of the parties into more determined and obstinate hostility. This suggestion of the son of

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Rouzut ussuffa. While affairs continued in the same crisis, Ehnif the son of Kaiss or Keyss, who bore so conspicuous a part in the final reduction of the Persian empire, and esteemed one of the craftiest among Arabs, suddenly quitted Bassorah at the head of six thousand of his followers, and encamped at some distance from the town, in the Waudy ussebbaia, or desert of wild beasts: assigning as his reason for this unexpected procedure, the repugnance which he felt to engage in hostilities against the couzin of his prophet; and conceiving, that under such a pretext he should be able to conceal his true design, which was to preserve some kind of neutrality until fortune should have decided the contest, and then to submit to the triumphant party. Previous to the commencement of hostilities he obtained a private interview with Ally, whom, if he thought it desirable, he immediately offered to join with all who had attached themselves to his fortunes; but that which he proposed as the measure best calculated to promote his interest in a more effectual degree, was to admit of his remaining separate; by which it would be in his power to restrain a body of, at least, thirteen thousand veteran warriors, from drawing their swords in the cause of the enemy. Of the two alternatives, Ally chose the latter; in consequence of which, numerous parties from among the Benni Temeim and Benni Saud, including many of the Aul-e-khunduc, or heroes of the ditch, won over by the influence of the son of Keyss,* detached themselves from the insurgents, and withdrew to the Waudy ussebbaia. The Benni Ezd would probably have followed the example, had not their chief Kaaub the son of Sowr, who held the office of Kauzy of Bassorah, been prevailed upon, though with considerable difficulty, by the assuasive eloquence of Ayaishah, to declare himself at last in favor of her party.

The armies had now remained encamped in the neighbourhood of each other for several days, and the endeavours of such as had been employed to bring about a peaceful adjustment of their differences, appeared on the eve of success, when an unlooked for alarm, in a moment disconcerted every arrangement for accommodation. This originated in the contrivance of those conspirators against Othman, who, proscribed the camp of Ally,

* The heroes of the ditch were those, who, with Mahommed, associated to defend the intrenchments round Medeinah. Vide Sale's Korân, Vol. II. page 272.

watched an opportunity to put a period to the friendly correspondence which seemed on the point of reconciling that prince to his enemies. In pursuance of a plan already agreed upon, they accordingly took horse, and on the side which lay towards the encampment of Ally, one morning before day, fell suddenly on the outskirts of that of the insurgents; among whom, by a random discharge of arrows in every direction, they created for a short time the utmost consternation and disorder. The immediate conclusion was, that under cover of the night, the troops of Ally were approaching to surprise the camp, under which impression Telhah and Zobair hastened to arrange their army for battle; alleging, what they asserted to have been their unvaried belief, that the son of Abûtauleb, whatever his professions, could never be induced to divest himself of his natural disposition to violence and bloodshed. In the mean time, having succeeded in their object, the conspirators withdrew before those who had flown to arms to repel the danger, with some loss in killed and wounded, towards the encampment of Ally, through which they proceeded to spread a similar alarm, that the whole force of the insurgents was approaching to the assault; and as a corresponding sentiment prevailed here, with respect to the sincerity of the opposite party, it was as easily converted into an argument of the confirmed and reiterated perfidy of Telhah and Zobair. Ally became, therefore, on his part not less anxious that his enemies might not find him unprepared for the impending conflict.

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His troops were arranged on this occasion in seven divisions, each distinguished by a particular standard, and consigned to the direction of one of his bravest commanders. On the return of day, Malek Ashtur and Auddy the son of Hautem, appeared before Ally in behalf of the authors of the alarm, soliciting permission to devote themselves in his cause; which he did not conceive it prudent to decline. Auddy received charge of one of the principal divisions, and the intrepid Malek Ashtur assumed the command of the right wing of the army; the left wing being entrusted to the discretion of Aumar Yausser. A particular division, composed of the most distinguished of the Koraish, and of the prophet's auxiliaries and others natives of Hejauz, was placed under the orders of Abdullah Abbas, perhaps as a body of reserve. On the part of the insurgents, Sherjeil or Sherrajeil

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656. commanded the horse, and Abdullah Zobair was general of the foot. The names of the other commanders it could not be interesting to repeat, although some of them eminently distinguished in the annals of Isslâm. Ayaishah was seated in a kind of litter or cage, secured for the occasion by strong pannels on the sides, and fixed on the back of a camel covered with mail, of extraordinary size and speed, with which, on her departure from Meccah, she had been presented by Yauly the son of Mûnneiah, the deposed lieutenant of Yemen.

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He had now compleated the disposition of his troops, and the sun had issued from the chambers of the eastern horizon, when Ally presented himself, between the embattled fronts of the two armies, mounted on the white mule of the prophet; and having desired that hostilities might be mutually suspended while he spoke, proceeded to unfold a few of those circumstances, which seemed to demand his public and solemn avowal, previous to the last and irrevocable appeal to the sword. He once more expressed his sincere regret that his endeavours to reclaim, and his advances to conciliate, had been met by his enemies in the garb of injury and defiance; and his equal surprise and indignation at the conduct of Telhah in particular, who had now the effrontery to stand forth the avenger, after having contributed so notoriously by his influence, to the death of Othman. He appealed to the God of truth and glory, whether the actions of this man could be fairly reconciled with any principle of reason or justice; since, if it was admitted that Othman was in truth a *tyrant*, it behoved him on every consideration to unite with his destroyers; as much as, supposing the martyred prince to have been the oppressed and injured party, he was bound by every principle of duty, while the suffering monarch was still living, to employ those means in his defence, which were now so tardily and ostentatiously called into exertion. But all other considerations apart, there was one simple truth which he challenged his utmost ingenuity to controvert; the perfidious violation of that engagement, by which he had publicly and solemnly bound himself to obey the authority of Ally; for which the latter supplicated the Almighty to bring upon him a just and unretarded retribution. Then turning to his followers, Ally called upon them in animating language to a chearful exertion of their prowess against an atrocious faction, which, by its accumulated guilt, had justified the utmost severity of chastizement and retaliation; which, in aggravation of

the unprovoked infraction of treaties, had augmented the sum of its iniquities by the barbarous and ignominious usage, shewn to the loyal governor of Bassorah; by its sacrilegious waste of the public treasure; and by the unrelenting massacre of the virtuous Hûkkeim ben Hailah, his brother and son, and many other believers who had endeavoured by flight to save themselves from a sanguinary pursuit. He desired them to reflect that death was that obdurate inquisitor, whose search, neither the inmate of domestic repose, nor the way-worn traveller had ever been able to elude. He besought them to balance the singular felicity of a glorious exit on the field of battle, against the disgrace and infamy of an ignominious flight. And he called upon that Almighty power, at whose disposal lay the breath of the son of Abitauleb, to witness how much more cheerfully, for his part, he should yield his life to the sword, than on the ignoble bed of rest. He did not, however, forbear to remind his brave companions, that those who appeared in hostile array against them, included among their number some of the most illustrious members of their common faith, who, in their adorations of the deity, directed their eyes to the same sacred Keblah; he therefore charged them to abstain from hostilities until compelled to act in self defence, when they might repel force by force, and the blood of the assailants would rest on their own heads; and he further admonished them in no case to pursue those who fled, or offer molestation to the wounded. This generosity of soul, which, like the immortal Julius, appears to have been the brightest feature in the character of Ally, may justify the couplet in which the historian here apostrophizes his memory: "How "shouldst thou exclude thy friends, who regardest thine enemies even "with the eye of compassion."

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In the same intermediate space between the armies, a conference now ensued betwixt Ally and the two leaders of the insurgents, Telhah and Zobair; at which, when, in reply to the interrogations of Ally, Telhah alleged, as the grounds on which they had taken up arms against him, his having brought together from various parts of the empire, those seditious hords, who had dared to imbrue their hands in the blood of Othman; and that it had therefore become the duty of every honest Mûssulman to unite for his dethronement, as the principal instrument in the destruction of

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that injured prince; Ally indignantly demanded with what assurance they could urge such a plea, with the blood of Othman still reeking upon their swords? But in order to remove every doubt on such a subject, he now publicly challenged them to come forward, and solemnly imprecate the divine vengeance, on the heads of such as were justly chargeable with a guilty participation, either in will or deed, in that odious transaction. This they thought proper to decline; and when Ally proceeded to reproach them, with their wanton disregard to the prophet's memory, in their scandalous exposure of the relict of his bed, so inconsistent with those arrogant pretensions to justice and decorum, which they presumed to set up for themselves; they positively averred, that so far from being influenced by any solicitations or intreaty on their side, the conduct of Ayaishah had been entirely actuated by her own private regard for the public good; he subjoined with some severity, the remark, that all things considered, the actions of Ayaishah, adverting perhaps to former indiscretions, bespoke the neeessity of some one to regulate them, far beyond any of those for whose welfare she affected so much ostentatious zeal. Before they separated on this occasion, however, though Telhah continued inflexible in his hostile resolutions, Ally, by recurring to the intimate friendship which had ever subsisted betwixt them during the life of the prophet, and to a prediction of the latter, that, notwithstanding their apparent cordiality, the period was not very remote when Zobair should be found in arms on the side of injustice, against the man for whom he then professed such unbounded friendship, drew from this personage a solemn oath, that in consequence of what he had now brought to his recollection, he never would contend against him. With which assurance, Ally rejoined his loyal associates, to whom he related the circumstances of this conference, together with that of the fresh engagement by which Zobair had thus again so solemnly bound himself.

On the other hand, Zobair hastened to Ayaishah, and in terms of apparent contrition, proceeded to lament, that after a life of undeviating rectitude, from early infancy to the present moment, he should at last have engaged himself in this scene of inauspicious warfare. With some surprise Ayaishah demanded, what might be the object of such a remark; when Zobair recounted in explanation what had just passed in the conference with Ally, declaring, without reserve, that his share in the enterprize was

to be entirely ascribed to the treachery of his memory; and that he had, therefore, as the only reparation, resolved immediately to quit the army. Upon this declaration of his father's, Abdullah Zobair sarcastically observed, that the true cause of a resolution so unseasonably adopted, was not to be sought for in the recapitulation of an idle story; but in the terror which he had suffered to take possession of his mind, at the appearance of those warlike and undaunted spirits who had marshalled themselves under the banners of the son of Abûtauleb. For his own part, his determination was unalterably fixed, never to leave that field, never to relax in the prosecution of hostilities, until that judge, from whose decision there is no appeal, should have determined between them and their enemies. Irritated beyond measure at the disgraceful reflection conveyed in this remark, Zobair furiously assailed the front of Ally's line, and having thrice penetrated the ranks, without, however, wounding any one, he rejoined his own, observing to his son, that the instances of hardihood, of which he had now set him an example, were not often exhibited by men who laboured under the impulse of fear. Abdullah persisting, nevertheless, to dissuade him from withdrawing from the field, and by alarming his pride to engage him in the approaching conflict, he demanded upon what principle he could dare to imbrue his hands in the blood of Ally's adherents, after the solemn pledge he had given to the contrary. To this Abdullah replied, that the remedy was very easy. That the emancipation of a slave, by way of expiatory atonement, would be sufficient to relieve him from any embarrassment under which he might labour on that subject. So that overcome at last by shame and importunity, Zobair again yielded to their wishes; and giving freedom to one of his slaves, conceived himself once more at liberty to unite in the hostile designs of the party.

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Although every circumstance had sufficiently contributed to confirm that aversion, which prevailed among his enemies, towards every measure of accommodation, Ally to the very last moment appeared to experience a decided repugnance to the effusion of Mussulman blood; he, therefore, determined to make one final experiment, whether a superstitious feeling might not be rendered instrumental towards a reconciliation which he seemed at least so anxious to promote; for this purpose he inquired if there was any one among his faithful followers, who would undertake at the risk of life, to present himself to the adverse ranks, and warn them to return to

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their allegiance, by an appeal to the sacred pages of the Korân. A person of the name of Mosslem immediately offered himself for the service; and having passed over to the enemy's front, proceeded to discharge his instructions, by admouishing them to recede from their unwarrantable designs, by that sacred manuscript which he held uplifted for their contemplation, when the right hand which bore it was severed from his arm, by one of the infatuated multitude; seizing his sacred charge with the remaining hand, he was of this also immediately deprived by the stroke of another scimitar; pressing it, however, to his bosom, with the mutilated remnants, he continued his faithful exhortation, until finally dispatched by the swords of the enemy. His body was subsequently recovered by his friends, and prayers pronounced over it by Ally in person, after which taking up a handful of dust, and scattering it towards the insurgents, that prince imprecated upon them the retribution of an avenging deity. Yet the troops of Ayaishah had repeatedly charged their adversaries before any attempt was made to retaliate upon them; Ally with an extreme forbearance of disposition, still calling upon Ayaishah, as she regarded the modesty of her sex, to reflect, whether those were enemies whom she thus persisted in devoting to slaughter.

The fury of Ally's followers was, however, now wrought up to that pitch, beyond which it could no longer be restrained. And accordingly drawing their swords, and pointing their spears, they rushed impetuously to the combat, which was supported on all sides with extraordinary fierceness and animosity. Alarmed by the horrors with which she beheld herself surrounded, Ayaishah, at last overcome by her apprehensions, intreated Kaaub the son of Soûr, who led her camel, to throw himself between the contending armies, and by an appeal to the sacred code of their common religion, endeavour to suspend the effusion of blood. Unfortunately for himself, Kaaub hastened to comply with her intreaties; but his voice no sooner saluted the ears of Málek Ashtur, than, apprehensive lest the generous spirit of Ally might be imposed upon by the artifices of the enemy, to consent to a suspension of hostilities, that chief determined to silence him forever, and accordingly put him to death. In the heat of the action, Aumer Yausser was encountered by Zobair; but the latter, though he perceived an opportunity of striking a mortal blow, suddenly recollecting a prediction of the prophet, "that Aumer should die by the hand of a

rebel," restrained his arm, and withdrew to another part of the field. And we now find it related, that Zobair no sooner ascertained that this venerable personage fought under the standard of Ally, than he took his final resolution to abandon the cause of the insurgents; having heard Mahommed declare, "that truth and justice would ever be found on the side of Aumar." A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656. Rouzut ussuffa.

However this may have been, after fluctuating for some time in his resolution, Zobair at last totally quitted the scene of slaughter, and took the road towards Hejauz. In his way, he was necessarily to pass through that part of the adjoining desert, which Ehnif the son of Keyss had chosen for his encampmenr. As he was, in all probability, intently watching the approach from the field of battle, the son of Keyss perceived and recognized him at a considerable distance, and one of his followers was immediately desired to ride after him, and obtain some intelligence of the posture of affairs with the armies. Amrû the son of Jermûz, which was the name of the person employed to procure this necessary information, overtook Zobair about the hour of meridian prayer; and saluting him by his name, desired to know how matters stood with the troops of Ally and Ayaishah when he quitted the field. Zobair told him in reply, that when he left them, the armies were engaging with the utmost fury; but he evaded the question which followed, as to the reasons which induced him to retire from the conflict. They continued riding side by side for some little time longer, when Zobair intimated that, as it was about the hour, he was desirous of discharging the stated duties of his religion, and demanded, as on his part he should without scruple pledge himself to forbear from any hostile attempt, whether he might consider the assurance to be mutual. Amrû replied in the affirmative. Nevertheless, while Zobair was engaged in his prostrations, the perfidious ruffian seized his opportunity, and with a single stroke of his scimitar, dispatched him. Then stripping him of his armour, he took possession of his horse and sword, and conveyed the whole to the camp of Ally. Such, at the age of fifty-seven, was the fate of Zobair; to which it may be necessary to add, that being the son of Saffeiah the daughter of Abdulmûtleb, he was of course the couzin german both of Ally and of the prophet, of the latter of whom he is said to have been the inseparable companion in all his battles; and according to the Sûnnies, he was the first who drew his sword against infidels, in support of the doctrines

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of his patron. The murderer experienced however from Ally a very different reception from that which he had probably taught himself to expect. For when the arms of Zobair were presented to him, that prince no sooner recognized the scimitar of his unfortunate rival, than he greeted the destroyer of the son of Saffeiah with the hopeful prospect of a compensation in reserve for him in the region of everlasting punishment. On which, in the bitterness of disappointment, Amrû reproached the Khalif as the curse of his country; since the most zealous in his cause, and the most determined in hostility, seemed equally destined to the remuneration of eternal misery; and having thus given vent to his indignation, he immediately quitted his presence, and ran upon the point of his own sword.

In the mean time, becoming apprized that his associate had withdrawn from the field of battle, Telhah too clearly evinced a disposition to follow his example; which attracting the attention of Merwaun, (whose presence in the action, is now for the first time announced to us) and awakening in his bosom that spirit of revenge for the part which he bore in the conspiracy against Othman, he embraced the opportunity for which he had long watched, to give it gratification, and with the point of an arrow pierced his leg, and fixed it to the stirrup leather. Fainting with the loss of blood, and incapable of preserving his seat on horseback, Telhah called upon one of his attendants to mount behind and support him in his arms; in which position, perceiving that his strength was rapidly on the decline, he desired that he might be conveyed to the city, declaring his conviction that the wound was mortal. He became, however, so faint and exhausted with pain and loss of blood, before he could reach Bassorah, that the slave was compelled to take him from his horse, and lay him down among the ruins of an old building. In this condition he appeared aware of his approaching dissolution, and a horseman who passed along the road, attracting his observation, he requested that he might be called to him. The stranger proved to be one of Ally's adherents. On which the expiring chief desired that he would stretch out his hand while he renewed his pledge of allegiance to that acknowledged lord of all true believers; and this being complied with, the soul of Telhah instantly took wing to the mansions of eternal rest. This circumstance was subsequently, by the soldier, communicated to Ally, who affirmed, that without such a final proof of repentant submission, the Almighty was unwilling to receive the soul of Telhah

into paradise. He fell at the age of sixty-two; had embraced Isslâm at twenty-three, and was couzin to the Khalif Abû Bukker. His son Mahommed was also among the slain in this celebrated battle. A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Having so far digressed, in some measure, from the main subject of his narrative, the historian returns to that period of the action, in which Kaaub the son of Soûr is noticed to have fallen by the hand of Malek Ashtur; when the tribes of Beiauziah and Ezd closely encircling the camel of Ayaishah, with undaunted firmness opposed themselves to her assailants. The invincible resolution exhibited in the demeanor of this determined band, did not long escape the observation of Ally; and he accordingly directed Auddy the son of Hautem, and Aumer Yausser, to unite with Malek Ashtur in an exertion to destroy them. On the other hand, Amrû the son of Yathreby, whose station was on the right of the troops of Ayaishah, perceiving the movement which thus menaced the centre, called out to the soldiers who followed his standard, that these were the murderers of Othman, and that a noble opportunity of revenge was now before them. Having readily assented to obey his directions, he placed himself at their head, and gallantly led them to the charge. The sword of Aumar Yausser, however, soon finished the career of Amrû. The fury of the battle seemed to be now concentrated round the camel of Ayaishah; whose howdedje or canopied litter, pierced in every part by innumerable arrows, exhibited, according to our anthor, the bristly appearance of the porcupine's back. The reins of her camel were alternately held by the Modian Arabs, reciting or chanting pieces of poetry; and it is asserted, that of the Benni Beiauziah alone, not less than two hundred and eighty lost a hand on this occasion. The contest was still maintained with indescribable obstinacy, and, as a proof that the prowess of Ally himself had ample scope for exertion, we are told, that his celebrated two edged sword, zûlfekkaur, was bent with repeated use. Neither are the names of other gallant chiefs passed unrecorded, who fought and bled on this memorable day. Among these, the brave and faithful Malek Ashtur is entitled to distingnished pre-eminence: perceiving Abdullah Zobair holding the reins of Ayaishah's camel, this intrepid soldier rushed upon him and threw him to the earth;

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but Abdullah at the same time forcibly grappling with him, and calling out to his associates, "that Malek was about to put him to death," he was compelled to forego his advantage and consult his own safety; ever afterwards, ascribing his deliverance from almost certain death, to the omission of the surname of "Ashtur," by which he would have been more immediately recognized by the enemy, who crouded to the rescue of their leader.

The day had now attained the hour of noon, when Ally, convinced from observation that so long as the camel continued to exhibit a rallying point to the defenders of Ayaishah, the fate of the battle must remain in suspense, signified his desire to Saud the son of Ul Auss, Mahommed the son of Abû Bukker, Malek Ashtur, and Keyss the son of Saud, that their efforts might be directed to disperse those who surrounded, and to bring down the animal. After repeated and desperate assaults, Malek Ashtur succeeded at length in forcing a passage, and immediately struck off one of the camel's legs. The animal preserved its posture, notwithstanding, erect and unmoved. Another leg was struck off equally without effect, and Malek Ashtur, under an impression of astonishment and awe, was hesitating whether he should proceed, when Ally drew near and called out to him to strike boldly, though the noble animal might appear to be under the care of a supernatural agency. Thus stimulated, Malek smote the third leg, and the camel immediately sunk to the earth. It is at the same time observed that this exploit has been ascribed by Abû Haneifah of Dainoûr to Ayss the son of Sayeibah, a noted citizen of Kufah. At any rate, the litter of Ayaishah being thus brought to the ground, Mahommed the son of Abû Bukker was directed by Ally to take charge of his sister, and protect her from being injured by the missiles which still flew from all quarters. The son of Abû Bukker drew near accordingly, but introducing his hand into the houdedje or litter, and happening to touch that of Ayaishah, she proceeded to load him with abuse and execration, demanding what reprobate had presumed to stretch his hand where none but the prophet's had hitherto been permitted to intrude? Mahommed replied, that though her nearest in blood, it was her bitterest enemy. Recognizing, however, the well known accents of her brother, the apprehensions of Ayaishah were speedily dispelled.

The conflict now ceased; and Ally perceiving that fortune had decidedly declared in his favor, the first object of his attention was to remove Ayaishah from the field of battle to the house of Saffeiah, the widow of Abdullah the son of Kholf ul Khozzâey, one of those who had fallen in a personal contest with himself in the course of the day. His next care was to withhold his followers from pursuing the fugitives and to protect the wounded from further injury. It was then proclaimed that those who laid aside their arms, and retired to their houses, should be safe from molestation; and finally, that all property captured from the insurgents, arms and horses excepted, should be delivered up and restored to the proprietors. Some one among his adherents objecting to the inconsistency of that species of forbearance, which affected to spare the property while the blood of the vanquished was so liberally sported with; and further alleging, that. as infidels, they had forfeited all claim to such an exemption from the laws of war; Ally denied that they were to be considered as infidels, that they had rather sought to escape from infidelity, however mistaken in the means. It was then demanded, if they were not atheists, and to this he replied, that he believed the name of God to be but seldom invoked by the lips of an atheist. And being lastly required to declare by what character those men were to be most properly designated, against whom he had so recently called upon them to take up their arms, he said they were to be considered as misguided brethren, unhappily seduced into rebellion. But as a conclusive argument, he desired the person who had thus presumed to call his conduct in question, to explain upon what principle of law or decorum it would be justifiable to include in the list of bond women, the condition to which all captives from a common enemy were indiscriminately condemned, that person whom they had all agreed to distinguish by the title of "Mother of the faithful." This appears to have silenced every cavil, by awakening the more generous spirit of compassion for the unfortunate.

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The battle of the camel is stated, according to the generality of historians, to have been fought in the second month of Jummaudi,* of the year thirty-six; and the number of the slain, as far as these statements are to be

* Corresponding to the month of December, A. D. 656.

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relied upon, amounted on the side of Ally to three thousand, and on that of the insurgents to seven thousand men. Among the chiefs who fell into the hands of the victors, not the least distinguished, was the obnoxious Merwaun, and with him two sons of the Khalif Othman, Amrû and Sâeid, and Amrû the son of Sâeid ul Auss; all of whom, if the importunities of Aumar Yausser had been attended to, Ally would have immediately condemned to death. An act of sanguinary vengeance, from the stain of which, however repugnant it proved to the future interests of his cause, this Khalif preserved his reputation unblemished; declaring, that he could never prevail upon himself to devote to perish by the sword those, who though become his prisoners, respected the same Keblah, especially when impressed with a sense of contrition for their errors. He further predicted to Merwaun, when brought before him, the accession of his children to the supreme authority, and the calamities which they were destined to bring upon the religion of Mahommed. All which was afterwards too truly accomplished in the persons of Abdulmelek and Sûliman. Having allowed himself a short respite after the toils and anxieties of the field of battle, Ally now entered Bassorah; and proceeding to the principal mosque, there publicly offered up his grateful praise to the pure source of all power, after which he did not, however, forbear to expatiate with considerable severity of censure on the recent folly of the citizens of that place.

At the expiration of a reasonable interval, Ally, communicated by Abdullah Abbas first, and subsequently by Malek Ashtur to Ayaishah, his desire that she would prepare for her journey to Medeinah; which producing, however, no other effect than mutual reproach and recrimination between the parties, and this being a point from which, for sundry reasons, he found it impossible to recede, he repaired in person to the palace of the Benni Hâleb, where she resided. Here he was condemned to encounter the bitterest reproaches from the sorrowing relict of Abdullah the son of Kholf, formerly alluded to; who addressing him as the murderer of the prophet's friends, ardently supplicated that God Almighty would make his children fatherless, in the same degree as her's had been rendered so by his means. The Khalif made her no other reply, than that if he justly merited the epithet which this lady had thought fit to apply to him, the inmates of that house, pointing to one in which Abdullah Zobair and others

of the wounded in the late battle lay concealed, would not have been so long suffered to survive their defeat. Then passing to the apartment of Ayaishah, he required as a proof that her repentance was sincere, that she would immediately prepare for her departure; an alternative against which, he assured her there was no remedy, as his determination was governed by a prediction of her husband's, by whom he had been instructed when triumphant in the war excited against him by one of his wives, to send her home; that home was Medeinah. But whatever were the arguments of which he availed himself, or whatever the reluctance of Ayaishah to comply with his demands, she thought fit at last to consent to the journey, her brother Mahommed being selected as the properest person to conduct her. A retinue, composed of some of the women of Bassorah, apparelled as men, by direction of Ally, formed a part of the escort, particularly employed in attending her person. This circumstance, as the reality continued during the journey to be withheld from her, afforded a constant subject of complaint; until on her arrival at Medeinah, she discovered the delicacy of the imposture, when she became as liberal in her acknowledgements, as she had before shewn herself in her reproaches.

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With respect to the motives by which Ayaishah was actuated in her hostility towards Ally on this and other occasions, it would be unnecessary, with our author, to enter into circumstantial detail. It will be sufficient to remark, that by the Khalif himself, when interrogated on this subject, her conduct was ascribed principally to that unappeasable jealousy, with which she had ever beheld the affectionate and intimate intercourse, which had subsisted, from the earliest period to the last moment of existence betwixt him and her husband; as well as the decided preference with which on every occasion, he seemed studious to distinguish him above all his associates, not excepting his father in law, the just and virtuous Abû Bukker. But there was one striking circumstance among those which he enumerated, sufficient, without exploring for other motives, to produce in the breast of a female, less vindictive than Ayaishah, a considerable accumulation of animosity and aversion. When on a certain memorable occasion,* she had fallen notoriously under the jealous suspicions of the prophet on one of his expeditions, and he appeared irresolute as to the measures he was to pursue, Ally declared without reserve, that if he

* Vide Sale's Korân, Vol. II. page 188 and following, in the note.

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 656. entertained the slightest doubts as to her fidelity, there were women enough in the world to substitute in her place. In short he advised him to separate from her. When, on the other hand, after admitting a variety of circumstances which entitled Ally to the highest distinction among Mussulmans, some of those circumstances not the most delicate in the world, her followers very naturally demanded of Ayaishah what then had impelled her to espouse the cause of his enemies? She burst into tears, and ascribed her behaviour to that inscrutable destiny, by which all human actions are irresistibly influenced to right and wrong. That she was since perfectly sensible of her errors, and that she had now with unfeigned penitence, submitted to the justice of an offended God. Neither was her concern in the war of the camel, if these accounts are to be relied on, ever afterwards spoken of by Ayaishah, without the most sincere and unaffected regret.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

The reduction of Bassorah and its dependencies, being now compleated, the government of that province was conferred by Ally upon his faithful kinsman Abdullah Abbas; at the same time, in consideration of his singular talents, and *exquisite skill in penmanship*, Zeiaud the son of Semmeiah, better known under the succeeding authority of Mauweiah, by the name of Zeiaud ben Ommeyah, was appointed to execute the functions of that government, as the deputy of Abdullah. On a former occasion, it will be recollected, that the province of Yemen had already been bestowed upon Abdullah Abbas; Malek Ashtur could therefore not forbear expressing a sentiment of disgust and disappointment, that the labours of the sword should be his only lot, while distinction and honors were reserved for the sons of Abbas. For this apparent neglect, Malek, under an impulse of sudden resentment, quitted the army; while, on the other hand, apprehensive, that in his present disposition of mind, he might proceed to excite commotion, and detach the people of the country from their yet precarious allegiance, the Khalif set off with the utmost expedition, for the purpose of averting from his cause, the irreparable injury which it was likely to sustain from the defection of this intrepid chieftain. Having fortunately overtaken, he condescended by the most flattering explanations to convince him that the most cogent and important reasons could alone have operated to produce his exclusion from the recent nomination to provincial governments;

that the advantage of his personal services could not be dispensed with in that arduous enterprize, which he had in immediate contemplation, against the haughty Mauweiah, and the abettors of his ambitious projects in Syria; and for this, he accordingly offered to invest him on the spot with the chief and exclusive command of the army; with the entire confidence, by the aid of those talents and exertions, of which he had experienced such repeated proofs, of bringing the affairs of his empire to the most speedy and prosperous issue. Easily won over by these assurances, Malek Ashtur as readily apologized for his abrupt departure, and having been thus entirely reconciled to his patron, he accompanied him to the city of Kûfah; for which, as the future metropolis of his government, Ally had already left Bassorah on the fifteenth of Rudjub,* having long since determined never more to revisit Medeinah.

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Rouzut ussuffâ.

* 6th of January, A. D. 657.

CHAP. VII.

BEFORE we enter more immediately into the subject of the war against Mauweiah, it becomes necessary to pursue the course of the narrative in describing some of the methods put in practice by that artful prince, in order to enlarge the circle of his power; already rendered formidable by an authority long since uncontrouled in Syria, and by the character and influence of many distinguished individuals, whom the circumstances of the death of Othman had either attached to his cause, or placed under his protection. It would appear, that when Obeidullah the son of Saud Sûrrudje quitted Egypt, in order to defend the person of his sovereign, while besieged in his palace at Medeinah, the government of his province seems to have devolved on Mahommed the son of Abû Khozeifah; the latter one of the martyrs in the war against Mosseylemah. It will also be recollected, that on his accession to the Khelaufut, the government of Egypt had been conferred by Ally on Keyss the son of Saud Ebbaudah; and it remains to state, that previous to the arrival of this latter to take possession, Amrû Auss had been employed by Mauweiah, either to seduce or circumvent the son of Abû Khozzeifah; whose person, at a conference near Cairo, to which, under the most friendly pretext he had been invited, he treacherously seized upon, and immediately conveyed into Syria. Here he continued for some time a prisoner in irons; but the consort of Mauweiah, being, as it happened an uncle's daughter, he received from her, concealed in a service of victuals, a file, with which he removed his fetters, and succeeded in effecting his escape. This proved, however, the means of hastening his death; for being shortly afterwards pursued, and discovered in a cave to which he had fled for shelter, he was immediately put to the sword by the officers of Mauweiah, lest the same influence of consanguinity might again operate to rescue him from his fate.

On taking possession of his government, a consideration of present exigencies had, it seemed, prevailed with Keyss, to acquiesce in the partial submission only of a powerful body of the nobles of the province, who, while they readily agreed to the payment of the usual contributions, expressly withheld their final acknowledgement of the authority of Ally, until such time, as he should have brought to justice the authors of the death of Othman. And in this imperfect state of obedience the government of Egypt continued, when the expedition against the insurgents at Bassorah was brought to a successful termination. It became, however, to Mauweiah a matter of serious embarrassment, when he reflected, that while the enterprising spirit of Ally was to be opposed on the side of the Euphrates, he must be no less on his guard against the designs of Keyss from the westward. He therefore determined to try the effect of those talents for intrigue, which formed indeed his highest qualification, in seducing the governor of Egypt from his fidelity; not reflecting, subjoins our author, that the truly brave and good must ever be proof against the shallow arts of cunning and fraud. At a very early period, however, Mauweiah, with these views, transmitted letters to Keyss, in which, after stigmatizing the guilt of those, to whose cruelty and injustice the virtuous and inoffensive Othman had fallen a victim, and in which he maintained that Ally had so deeply and notoriously participated, he professed there was nothing he more anxiously desired than that the son of Saud, who had also too much to accuse himself of with respect to this nefarious transaction, should at last return to a full sense of its atrocity, and unite with him in the prosecution of a just vengeance against the perpetrators. But lest he might be led to suppose that he looked for his support without the most ample and liberal compensation, He now freely offered him not only every thing that could satisfy the views of present ambition, but for the future, when success should have crowned their wishes, the splendid and lucrative government of Arabian and Persian Irâk.

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To these insidious proposals, Keyss appears to have cautiously replied, that the being from whom no secrets are hidden could witness, that as far as he was himself concerned, he had never in any shape, either abetted the adversaries, or assented to the death of Othman; neither was he pos-

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. Rouzut usuffa. sessed of any knowledge that Ally could be justly accused of any share in stimulating the people to that melancholy transaction. At all events, the point on which he seemed so desirous of obtaining his concurrence, was of too serious importance to be determined upon, without very mature reflection. In the mean time, he might rest assured, that nothing should be attempted on his part, obnoxious to the views of Mauweiah. From this answer the latter was at no loss to perceive that he was temporizing, and he accordingly sent to acquaint the governor of Egypt, that he should not be the dupe of his artifices; and that without further procrastination, he must declare himself either his friend or his enemy. Upon this, Keyss, conceiving it no longer necessary to withhold himself from avowing the genuine sentiments of his mind, without further reserve expressed his surprise and astonishment, that Mauweiah should ever have entertained an expectation so absurd, as that he should on any consideration be induced to declare himself against those just and superior pretensions to the sovereign authority, which, not less from transcendent merit, than consanguinity, resided in the person Ally; and the more particularly, when such a declaration should be solicited in favor of a man whose character in every point of view stood exactly the reverse. Heaven therefore forbid that ever he should engage in rebellion against a person so august, or associate himself in a confederacy so truly diabolical as that which he had the presumption to propose.

Thus foiled in his attempt to corrupt the fidelity of Keyss, Mauweiah now changed his plan of attack, which he next directed in order to accomplish an interruption in the confidence which had hitherto subsisted between him and his acknowledged sovereign; in which, he at length too well succeeded. To attain this point, he took frequent occasion to mention in the presence of his court, that however in his public communications, the governor of Egypt might boast of his attachment to the son of Abûtauleb, he had in private given him the most friendly and zealous assurances. But as a further proof, he should only direct their attention to the conduct which he pursued towards Bayezzid the son of Haureth, and the other chiefs of his province, who still openly withheld their allegiance from Ally; but whom he continued, notwithstanding, to treat with kindness and moderation. He then produced a letter, from which he pretended to read an assurance on the part of Keyss, "that when the period of hostilities

"should arrive, he would be the first to join him against all his enemies." These, and other discourses of a similar tendency, were industriously conveyed to Kûfah, and ultimately created in the mind of Ally, some suspicion that the lieutenant of Egypt held an improper correspondence with his adversaries; which he communicated to Mahommed the son of Abû Bukker and his nephew Abdullah Jauffer. These resolved on deliberation, that if he could no longer look with confidence to the fidelity of Keyss, it would be prudent to supersede him; but before he proceeded to such an extremity, they recommended it as advisable, to adopt some expedient of bringing his obedience to the test; and for this purpose, nothing appeared to them better calculated than an order to enforce the immediate submission of the seceding nobles; and in case of obstinacy, to put them to the sword. If he conducted himself with prompt obedience, it would be very well: if, on the contrary, he attempted to procrastinate, there was nothing to prevent his relieving himself from any apprehensions which he might have entertained on the subject, by sending some other person to take charge of the government.

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To this plan, the Khalif subscribed his approbation, and the necessary orders, in concurrence, were immediately dispatched to the son of Saud. The lieutenant of Egypt represented, in reply, the difficulty and danger of carrying such orders into execution at the present crisis, when the strength and influence of the party were so manifestly superior, and their adherents in the province so very numerous. He suggested the further impossibility of attending in the smallest degree to any other object, if his hands were once embarrassed with an undertaking so hazardous; and he concluded by recommending a continuance of the temporizing measures which had hitherto been so successfully pursued: and that the friends of Othman should be suffered to remain without molestation, until a favorable opportunity should arrive for making use of effectual coercion. Unhappily, this recommendation, however apparently dictated by circumstances of sound policy and personal information, had an immediate tendency to confirm the suspicions, which had already made too deep an impression on the mind of Ally; and he was therefore the more easily prevailed upon by the counsels of his nephew Abdullah, or Mahommed Jauffer, to transfer the govern-

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ment of Egypt to Mahommed the son of Abû Bukker; who was, it seems, a brother by the same mother of Abdullah Jauffer's. This measure was accordingly carried into immediate effect, and the superseded chief was constrained to return to Medeinah, loaded with grief and mortification. In this state of mind, Hussaun the son of Thaubet, who at the same period laboured under some trivial circumstance of discontent with Ally, conceived he might venture to assail Keyss with reproaches, for the active part which he accused him of having borne, in the conspiracy against the late Khalif; and for which, he averred that his present treatment was not more than the retribution which he justly deserved. These reproaches, the degraded lieutenant retorted with indignation and contempt, charging the bearer of them, blind as he called him in heart, as well as eyes, to quit his presence without delay, for there was nothing but the consideration of that bloodshed which would be the consequence betwixt their respective tribes, to prevent him on the spot from relieving his shoulders from their burden. In a similar strain, the irritated feelings of Keyss were attacked by Merwaun; with an effect, however, more decidedly unfavourable to the cause which he intended to serve, since it determined him to an immediate reconciliation with Ally, whose banners he accordingly followed to the plains of Seffein; the imprudent zeal of Merwaun on this occasion, giving so much uneasiness to Mauweiah, that he subsequently declared, in terms of infinite disapprobation, that had he sent an army of one hundred thousand men to join the standard of his adversary, he would have done his cause a much slighter injury than it must now sustain from the reconciliation thus precipitated with Keyss.

It appears however, that when Mahommed the son of Abû Bukker had promulgated his letters patent, and seated himself in the government of Egypt, he proceeded, as if in direct contempt of the example of his predecessor, to offer to the party professing themselves to be the friends of Othman, the choice of two alternatives; either to acknowledge the authority of Ally without further delay, or quit the province. But as they resorted to the former pretext of being suffered to suspend their fealty, until affairs should be finally determined, the son of Abû Bukker refused to accede, and immediately detached one of his principal commanders with such a force as he thought sufficient to compel their submission. They made however a brave and resolute defence, and repulsed the officer with

disgrace and loss. A second detachment was marched against them, and experienced a similar discomfiture. The lieutenant of Egypt now conceived it expedient, before matters were precipitated to more pernicious extremities, to report the recent failures to his sovereign; and Ally perceiving that he must for the present consent to dissemble with his enemies, instructed the son of Abû Bukker to give them no further molestation; until time should furnish an opportunity of acting against them with a better assurance of success. Thus rendered sensible by experience of the impolicy of immediate coercion, Ally became aware of the prudent foresight which appeared to govern the conduct of Keyss, and of the insidious arts by which he had been too easily led to incur the odious imputation of having requited with disgrace, the services of a faithful minister; and he therefore omitted no testimonies to convince him of the sincerity of his concern, for having consented to the unjust supersession. At a subsequent period it will be seen, that Mauweiah, when his authority over the Syrians had been confirmed by the inauspicious compromise of arbitration, found means to employ a sufficient force in Egypt, to effect the destruction of the son of Abû Bukker, and subvert the authority of his rival.

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In the preceding pages it hath been already noticed, that, upon the death of Othman, when Ally became possessed of the throne of Mahommed's successors, many of the citizens of Medeinah on a suspicion, either real or affected, that he was deeply implicated in the murder of the third of the Khalifs, withdrew into Syria; where, on their arrival, they exerted every argument to awaken a spirit of revenge and hostility in Mauweiah, and the denizens of that part of the empire. To this, the bosom of Mauweiah was already sufficiently predisposed, from a conviction that no reasonable accommodation could possibly take place between him and Ally; he had therefore the less scruple in immediately and openly declaring against the authority of that prince. In the mean time his attention was unremittingly applied to associate the people of Damascus in his treasonable designs against their legitimate sovereign. One of those expedients, to which he had recourse in order to effect his purpose, was to exhibit every Friday to the people assembled for divine worship at the principal mosque, the mutilated hand of Naylah, and the blood stained robes of her husband, as the detested proofs of Ally's sanguinary machinations. All

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which operated so powerfully upon the indignant passions of the Syrian warriors, that they solemnly abjured the use of the cooling spring, and the indulgence of soft repose, until they had avenged the blood of the unoffending Othman. About the same period, Amrû Auss had quitted his retreat in Palestine, and repaired to Damascus; and conceiving that the device was capable of being turned to much greater advantage, intimated to Mauweiah that he judged ill in exposing these objects too frequently to the public eye. That the robes of Othman and the hand of Naylah instead of being rendered cheap by constant exposure, should be reserved for exhibition on the most solemn occasions only; and particularly for the day of battle, when they were calculated to produce the most violent effect on the minds of the soldiery. Of this hint Mauweiah readily availed himself; the sacred reliques being accordingly deposited in a place of security until one of those occasions should occur, on which it might be useful to exhibit them to view.

Of the motives by which Amrû was actuated, in espousing the cause of the friends of Othman, notwithstanding the recent injuries which he had experienced from the party, it is observed by way of explanation, that when the commotions which preceded and produced the death of the late Khalif at Medeinah were at their height, that chieftain very prudently retired into Palestine; where he continued until affairs had terminated in the accession of Ally. During his residence in Palestine, he is said to have consulted one of the natives of the country, who, according to the absurd prejudices of those and other times, professed to penetrate into the events of futurity, as to the fate of Othman, which he predicted as it was likely to ensue. He further foretold that he should be succeeded by a person whose virtues would be without parallel to the end of time, but who should notwithstanding, be cut off by treason, before he should be able to accomplish the extension of his authority to every part of the empire; and that the sovereign power would then devolve on him who now exercised the functions of government in Syria, alluding of course to Mauweiah. When part of this prediction was fulfilled in the death of Othman, Amrû advised with his sons Abdullah and Mahommed, the one distinguished for his unsullied virtue, and the other for his undaunted valour, by both of whom he had been accompanied into retirement, whether their interests would be best promoted by hastening to the service of Ally at Medeinah, or to

join the standard of his opponent at Damascus. They declared, without hesitation in favour of Ally, whose superior claims, both in point of descent and personal merit, were, they conceived, sufficiently conspicuous to direct his choice. After some deliberation, Amrû proceeded to remark, that Ally had, without dispute, the advantage of all his cotemporaries, in as much as it must be acknowledged he surpassed them all in splendour of talent, and every generous and manly virtue. But there was one reflection which he found it impossible to disregard, in forming his judgment on the occasion. This was, that dazzled by the lustre of his own conscious superiority, Ally seldom condescended to avail himself of the abilities of other men. It was therefore not difficult to conceive, that, however unremitting in their exertions, to whatever dangers they might be exposed in encountering his adversaries, or to whatever sacrifices they might submit in associating with his friends, the attainment of any object of fair and honorable ambition on their part, would continue as remote as ever. To this Abdullah rejoined, that the decision of course rested with himself; but with him there was no question, that an adherence to the cause of Ally led to the attainment of eternal happiness, while an alliance with Mauweiah must finally terminate in error and disappointment. A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. Rouzut ussuffà.

Rejecting the salutary counsels of his sons, Amrû was determined by the bias of his own unprincipled ambition, to which he was probably further impelled by a superstitious reliance on the predictions recently adverted to: and in pursuance of such resolution, he proceeded immediately to Damascus; where, after encountering some further expostulation on the part of his family, he was received on his arrival by Mauweiah, who rejoiced in this accession of influence, with distinguished respect. His two sons he had compelled by an exertion of paternal authority to accompany him, although nothing could prevail upon Abdullah in particular to reconcile himself to the cause which his father had espoused; he even contemptuously rejected the presents of Mauweiah, with a stern message to remind him, that he was but little authorized to display his liberality at the expence of the indigent disciples of Isslâm, over whose property he possessed no right of disposal.

Subsequent to the death of Othman, the province of Jezzeirah, or Upper Mesopotamia, comprehending several cities then of considerable strength and opulence, had, either through the influence of his power or intrigues,

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submitted to the authority of Mauweiah. Before Ally could, therefore, prudently proceed on the enterprize, which he meditated against the Syrian territory, it became necessary that he should adopt some means of securing himself against any diversion in the former quarter. The zealous and faithful Malek Ashtur was the person whom he now selected to preside over, and expel the troops of his opponent from that country. The prefecture of Harran, the principal town, was held at this period, under Mauweiah, by Zohauk the son of Keyss, the Kohrian; and this chieftain, on intelligence of the approach of Malek Ashtur, dispatched for aid to the inhabitants of Rakkah, a neighbouring city not far from the Euphrates; and having received from thence a reinforcement of choice troops, he marched out of Harran to give battle to the invader. He was, however, after an obstinate conflict, which continued one whole day, entirely defeated, and driven for shelter within the walls of the city, which was immediately invested by the conquerors. To raise the siege of Harran, Abdurraihman the son of the celebrated Khaled next advanced at the head of a numerous force, consigned to his directions by the lieutenant of Syria; but Malek Ashtur was no sooner apprized of his approach, than he quitted the siege, and hastened to meet him. Another severe conflict ensued, in which victory again declared for her favorite Malek Ashtur, who pursued the flying enemy until his troops were satiated with slaughter; when he led them straight before Rakkah, to which he now laid siege.

While Malek Ashtur was engaged in his operations before this latter place, Mauweiah, on intelligence of the disaster which had befallen Abdurraihman, resolved to equip a third and more powerful army, of which he gave the command to Aimen the son of Khozzaim, of the tribe of Assud; whom he directed to join Zohauk the governor of Harran, and with united force, after relieving the garrison of Rakkah, to expel the troops of Ally in their turn from within the limits of Jezzeirah. Having effected his junction with Zohauk with apparent facility, the people of the country flocked from all quarters to the standard of Aimen; so that elated by a contemplation of the multitudes by which they were now surrounded, the two generals hastened towards Rakkah, in the entire confidence of victory. The brave and experienced Ashtur, unterrified by the bruit of superior numbers, decamped from before Rakkah, and resolutely led his squadrons to meet the enemy. After a third most desperate conflict,

victory still adhered to the standards of Ally, and the Syrians, disgracefully overthrown, fled in the utmost dismay towards Damascus, leaving the whole country at the discretion of the conqueror, by whom it was pillaged and laid waste without mercy, wherever he found that the natives were adverse to the authority of his sovereign. These signal successes appear to have rendered Malek Ashtur complete master of the territory between the Tigris and Euphrates in this quarter; an event of which he did not fail to adopt the speediest means to convey the intelligence to the Khalif at Kûfah.

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The repeated confirmation which had reached this prince, on recent as well as former occasions, with respect to the determined hostility of Mauweiah, had long since induced him to assemble round his person, all the chief members of the community of Isslâm who acknowledged themselves in a state of allegiance to his authority. And he now, in presence of a general assembly of the people, after expatiating, with all the eloquence which was natural to him, on the dark and malignant falsehoods by which the Syrians had been seduced to declare against him, proceeded to describe from the letters of Malek Ashtur, the unsuccessful exertions which had been made to oppose his authority in Jezzeirah; and, that not yet sufficiently admonished by his repeated and disgraceful discomfitures, the ambitious Mauweiah was again assembling the whole force of his province, for the express purpose of an immediate and direct attack on the person of him whom they had chosen for their sovereign. However, lest any means should be left unexplored, by which this misguided man might yet be brought to reflect on the fatal tendency of his designs, he had it in contemplation, with their concurrence, to address the haughty Mauweiah by letter immediately from himself; in the hope that he should still be able to avert the mischiefs which otherwise impended, by awakening in the mind of his antagonist a just compunction for the past unwarrantable hostilities. This equitable proposal on the part of the Khalif, was received with general applause, with an expression of entire confidence in the justice and wisdom of his views, and the unanimous assurance of the assembly that the dictates of his authority would ever experience from them a spirit of obedience, not less dutiful than had been shewn to the ordinances of the prophet himself. After some further deliberation, a letter, in the fol-

A.H.XXXVI. lowing terms, was accordingly prepared by the pen of Ally. "From
A. D. 657. "Ally the servant of God, and commander of the faithful, to Mauweiah
"the son of his kinsman.* It behoves thee to be apprized, that when the
Rouzut assuffâ. "two distinguished orders, the coexiles and assistants of the prophet, at
"Medeinah, had pledged their allegiance to my authority, it became
"equally binding on thee, however absent from the spot, to submit to that
"authority, since those, who from an impulse entirely voluntary, thus
"united for my elevation, were precisely the same persons that, on former
"occasions, decided for the supremacy of my predecessors, Abû Bukker,
"Omar, and Othman: but when it is moreover considered, that even the
"body of those present, exclusively of the two distinguished orders just
"mentioned, were withheld from taking any share in the proceedings,
"much less, could those who were absent be authorized to dispute such
"elevation. With regard to the death of Othman, that is a difficulty not
"easy to explain: those who profess to give information on such a subject,
"are as blind men; and those who receive it, must consent to be included
"among the deaf. Peradventure, the authors of his destruction were those
"by whom his conduct was criminated, and the party who stood forth in
"his defence were doubtless influenced by a generous attachment for the
"person of the unhappy monarch. However, to shorten the argument,
"the unanimous concurrence of every class of that society, of which,
"although absent, thou art a member, in subscribing to my elevation, should
"have taught thee to reflect, that the man who persists in opposing him-
"self to power thus lawfully constituted, widely transgresses the sacred
"boundaries of truth and justice, and stands confessed, the abettor of his
"own detriment and dishonor; while he, who prudently abstains from
"every proceeding of a tendency to treason and hostility, must be allowed
"to consult his real and substantial welfare. At all events, propriety
"demands that on this subject, thou shouldst freely furnish me with the
"conclusions which have prevailed in thy own mind. Farewel."

Hejauje the son of Orreiah, the ansaur, the person selected for the conveyance of this letter, proceeded without delay to Damascus; and having on his arrival obtained admission to the presence of Mauweiah, appears

* Accordingly as the original word which is here thus rendered, is written with either *S*, it may signify, *magician*, *the desert*, or *relative*; the latter has been adopted, as most consistent in an address, the professed object of which is supposed to be conciliation.

to have discharged his trust, if indeed any such objects could have been seriously proposed by the transmission of such a letter, in a manner but ill calculated to promote the purposes of peace and conciliation. In the course of that conference which took place on the occasion, and probably in remarking on the affected zeal expressed by Mauweiah, to avenge the death of Othman, the envoy of the Khalif could not be restrained from demanding with some appearance of justice, and in a tone of reproach, if he was not one of those men, whom, in the hour of distress, the murdered monarch had implored for aid against the tumultuous factions which surrounded him; but whom, in contempt of every obligation, they basely abandoned to his fate. Enraged at a freedom of speech, perhaps so little expected, Mauweiah commanded him to quit his presence and leave Damascus immediately; for after such a specimen of arrogance, he was not to indulge himself with the expectation, of being the bearer of either letter or message from him; this was reserved for a servant of his own, who should be close upon his footsteps. Hejauje accordingly quitted Damascus with some precipitation, and returning to Kûfah, communicated to his sovereign the circumstances of what had passed between him and the lieutenant of Syria.

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The determined animosity thus manifested to the world, by the dismission of Ally's messenger without a reply, afforded to Wulleid the son of Aukkebah, a degree of malignant satisfaction, which he did not pretend to disguise; and he accordingly gave a loose to his long smothered hatred, by writing to Mauweiah an epistle, in which he stimulated him by every argument of ambition and revenge, to prosecute his hostile designs against the rightful successor of the prophet. The countenance which he received from this personage, appears to have removed from the mind of Mauweiah every remaining trace of compunction; and in the plenitude of the exultation, occasioned by this circumstance, he determined by the method in which he acknowledged the receipt of the Khalif's letter, to evince the utter derision and contempt, in which he held his advances. For this purpose, he caused two slips of parchment of extraordinary length, to be joined together, and having folded them up, and sealed them, without the insertion of a single word, he dispatched the curious packet to Kûfah,

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. with this simple superscription, "From Mauweiah the son of Abi Soffeyan, to Ally the son of Abûtauleb," by a person of the tribe of Aiss, whom he selected as well for his singular audacity, as uncommon powers of elocution, charging him at the same time with the delivery of a verbal message to his competitor.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

The arrival of this man filled the inhabitants of Kûfah with extraordinary expectations, and a variety of conjectures, regarding the object of his mission. Being conducted to the presence of Ally, and having announced himself a messenger from Mauweiah, he produced the singular scroll of which he was the bearer. On its production, the assembly were at first impressed with an idea, that the Syrians had acknowledged the authority of Ally, and that the packet contained the names of such as had pledged their allegiance to him: their surprise and disappointment may therefore be well conceived when, on disclosing the packet fold after fold, it presented nothing more than a slip of paper entirely blank. When Ally proceeded, upon this, to demand if he had nothing to communicate with respect to the disposition of the Syrians; the messenger declared in reply, that of every denomination, there were fifty thousand men assembled about the robes of Othman, whose cheeks and beards had never been dry from tears; nay, whose eyes had never ceased from weeping blood, both day and night, from the hour of that prince's atrocious murder; that they had drawn their swords with a solemn pledge never to return them to the scabbard, nor cease from mourning, until they had extirpated all concerned in that detested transaction; that this sentiment was raised to such a pitch, that they left it as a solemn bequest to their descendants, to prosecute their vengeance to the last extremity; that the very mothers taught it as a lesson, and instilled it as the earliest principle into the minds of their infant offspring, that they were to revenge the blood of Othman. And in short, that the execrations hitherto confined to the common enemy of the human race, were now transferred by the Syrians to the murderers of that lamented prince. Here, Ally desiring to be informed to whom they pretended to ascribe the deed, by which this load of odium had been incurred, was told by the messenger, that he himself was one; on which, the Khalif's endurance being pretty well exhausted, he indignantly exclaimed, "Dust in thy throat, presumptuous miscreant what share had I "in the guilt of Othman's death?" One of the Benni Aiss, who was

also present in the assembly, but whose breast glowed with far other sentiments than those which issued from the lips of his countryman, now called out from among the croud, addressing himself to the messenger, that such a being as he was, reflected but little credit on the discrimination of Mauweiah, who could employ so contemptible a wretch as the organ of his communications; that nothing could be more vile and detestable, than the language to which his slanderous tongue had dared to give utterance: or be a parallel to that audacity, with which he had attempted to intimidate the exalted and princely Ally, and the illustrious associates of the prophet's glory, by the alleged assemblage of a banditti of idiots about the robes of Othman; which, after all, were no more the raiments of Joseph, than the tears on which he had expatiated so effectedly, were the tears of Jacob. But if his master meditated war against the legitimate sovereign of the believers, there was here but one opinion of the issue; for that the arm of an almighty providence would in all exigencies be assuredly extended for the support and protection of Ally, and would never fail to give him the victory over all his rebellious adversaries. A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. Rouzut ussuffa.

At this conjuncture, perceiving that some of his attendants were proceeding to use violence against the messenger, Ally interposed his authority, observing, that with the wise and good, the person of an ambassador would ever be sacred from injury. Which instance of unexpected magnanimity, though in itself nothing very marvellous, seems to have operated like the influence of magic on the messenger of Mauweiah, who immediately stood up, and addressing himself to the Khalif, now declared, that to the present moment, misled by the odious terms in which he was uniformly spoken of by the Syrians, he had ever held him in the bitterest enmity; having however at last tasted the happiness of seeing and conversing with him; having been a witness to his fascinating eloquence; but above all, to this instance of substantial and unparalleled clemency, there was hence forward none upon earth to whom he should bear a more faithful or affectionate attachment. He was now thoroughly convinced of the abyss of error in which the Syrians were immerged, and of the truth and rectitude of that path which was measured by his footsteps, and those of his followers. He then solemnly swore, that for the future he would, voluntarily, never separate from the person of Ally, nor ever acknowledge the authority of any other sovereign to his prejudice; and concluded, by repeating some lines com-

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posed on the spot, which implied the departure of the execrated Mauweiah from the line of rectitude, and the steadiness of Ally to the principles of the true faith. These circumstances were speedily conveyed to the lieutenant of Damascus, and affected him with equal surprise and mortification; neither did he forbear to express his regret that he had been induced, by a consideration of his talents and eloquence, to employ a man, who was capable of furnishing such important information to his antagonist; and whose industry would doubtless, be exerted to aggravate those animosities, which, in a degree sufficiently inveterate, already subsisted on either side.

However, when he found that the return of his ambassador was no longer to be expected, Mauweiah next chose from among the natives of Arabia Felix then resident at Damascus, a certain religious fanatic or devotee, for the purpose of conveying to Ally a letter, conceived in the following offensive terms: "When the supreme being selected his chosen "prophet from among the best of mankind, he gave him also from the "flower of Arabia, those whom he had destined for his auxiliaries in the "divine mission, of which he was the agent. Of these, the prophet's "immediate successor, the righteous Abû Bukker, was, without dispute, "the wisest as well as the most virtuous. Next in succession, followed "the sagacious Omar, and the martyred Othman; all of whom, it appears "to have been the object of thy undeviating study, to impede and embar-"ras in every measure. But thy malevolence towards the latter, seems to "have surpassed thy jealousy of the former, in the same degree as it was "thy lot to be more closely united with him by the ties of consanguinity. "His most virtuous actions were by thee exhibited in the garb of the most "odious criminality; and after exciting, by thy devices, a barbarous con-"spiracy against his authority, it was left for thee to tear asunder the "bonds of nature, and basely abandon him to the most cruel assassination, "in the very quarter of thy own immediate residence. Of thy withhold-"ing from thy injured relative that assistance, which the united obligations "of duty and of blood solemnly demanded, we seek no stronger proof than "that the very authors of the atrocious parricide are at this moment "retained among the most distinguished members of thy court. To "remove the foul suspicion, it is therefore incumbent on thee, and I "solemnly require at thy hands the immediate surrender of the murderers "of their sovereign, that the retribution which they have so justly merited,

" may be returned into their own bosoms. If not, there remains between A.H.XXXVI.
" me and thee, no other alternative than the sword. For it behoves thee A. D.657
" to know, that I shall never cease to pursue the assassins of Othman, by Rouzut
" sea and by land; that I will never taste repose until I shall either have ussuffâ.
" accomplished their destruction, or fallen a victim to my just revenge."

Such was the epistle which Mauweiah conceived himself warranted in addressing to the established chief of his faith, and of which his ambassador adventured himself to be the bearer to Kûfah. To the latter, however, the extraordinary sanctity of his character, exclusive of Ally's sacred regard for the law of nations, was a sufficient pledge of safety; and he was accordingly received on his arrival with every mark of kindness and liberality. At the first public conference to which he was admitted, he bore ample and voluntary testimony to the transcendent qualifications of person and mind, which gave to the princely Ally a claim to the sovereignty, far above that of any of his competitors. But he also knew, that the unoffending Othman had been the victim of injustice, which was the argument on which Mauweiah rested his cause. The perpetrators of the murder were suffered, moreover, not only to reside within the walls of his palace, but even composed a principal part of Ally's court. Nevertheless, if he could prevail upon himself to deliver up to punishment the persons of these obnoxious individuals, every pretext for litigation and hostility would be immediately and entirely removed. To this the Khalif replied, that he had felt himself disposed to give him full credit for superior sagacity and every endowment of the understanding; but he must be allowed to demand what sort of being Mauweiah conceived himself, that the authors of the death of Othman should be placed at his discretion? Perhaps it would be more becoming in him to unite with the associates and protectors of the prophet's exile, in acknowledging that just and legitimate authority from which he had so long withheld his due submission. The friends and family of Othman might then be regularly assembled, and an opportunity furnished to establish their accusations, against such as they affirmed to have participated in the guilt of his death; and a just and rightful Khalif would not fail to determine between them and the accused, according to the dictates of their holy law. At the expiration of a few days, the legate was suffered to take his departure for Damascus, and shortly afterwards an envoy on the part of Ally followed with his reply to the letter of Mauweiah;

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. which as considerably abridged, we shall insert substantially, in the words of the Habeib usseyr.

Habeib usseyr.

"I have received thy letter, and cannot forbear remarking, that all thou "hast thought fit to communicate with regard to Mahommed, that most "excellent of created beings, whose virtues must be known to the extre-'mities of the east and west; and to the character of his distinguished "successors, is already too clear to need the rehearsal of thy pen. To me "indeed it is only matter of surprise, Mauweiah, that in all this marvellous "detail, thou hast cautiously avoided the most distant hint at the trans-"cendent mercies of God, exhibited towards myself and the other members "of the prophet's immaculate family. Thy panegyric upon others, I can-"not perhaps describe more properly, than that it would be just as profit-"able to carry dates to Hidjer, or onions to Kermaun. But in truth, I "should be glad to be informed what object all this superfluous recital is "seriously intended to produce. It cannot surely have entered thy brain, "that the son of Abûtauleb can ever have forgotten the numberless virtues "of the immortal Mûstaffa. What can it possibly avail thee to expatiate "on the spotless character of Abû Bukker? What advantage or what "lustre does it shed on thee, if Abû Bukker and Omar were good, and "wise, and great? If Abû Bukker acquired the appellation of righteous "or faithful, he derived it from the testimonies which he truly bore to the "unrivalled pre-eminence of my family in the advancement of the faith, "and to the ignorance and refractory spirit of our adversaries. With "respect to Omar, is it necessary for me to remind thee, that he established "his claim to the honorable appellation of the "*discerning*," by discrimi-"nating for Mosslems the important distinction between truth and error: "and if we are again constrained to refer to the name of Othman, doubt-"less, if his intentions were just and virtuous he will enjoy his reward; "but whether or not, such is the boundless ocean of divine goodness, that "we cannot despair of his reception to mercy. Again, I ask thee, son of "*Hinda*, what can be thy design in dwelling with such ostentatious zeal "on these illustrious names? Am I constrained to remind thee, that the "repudiated, and the offspring of the repudiated are both pronounced to "be in a state of reprobation; and that the descendants of the reprobate "have been proscribed from interfering in the concerns of the companions "and coadjutors of our immortal prophet? It would become thee better,

"to restrain thyself within the limits of thy condition; to check that A.H.XXXVI.
"over-weening ambition which hath urged thee to obtrude thyself into A. D. 657.
"matters in which thou art in no respect qualified to interpose. For my Rouzut
"own part, I can with conscious pride appeal to the foundation of all good, ussuffa.
"whether among the *Mohaujer* and *Ansaur* I am not entitled to the same
"exalted pre-eminence, as the divine Mûstaffa possessed over all the pro-
"phets. Am I to believe it possible that thou shouldst be blind to the
"superior glory of my kindred in the catalogue of the martyrs? Must I
"bring to thy recollection the names of my couzin Obaidah the son of
"Hâreth, who bled in the field of Beder; of my uncle Hamzah the prince
"of martyrs, who fell at Ohud, or of my brother Jauffer, who died by the
"sword of the infidels at Mûtah? But why should we refer to departed
"excellence, when the very unbelievers associated in my cause must be
"pronounced in all respects so much superior to the most distinguished
"of thy party. In this place, were it not that God hath interdicted his
"faithful servants from the vanity of self applause, I might, perhaps, not
"otherwise unseasonably, introduce some notice of those numerous excel-
"lencies which have shed such untarnished lustre upon my family, and in
"terms from which no true Mahommedan could for a moment withhold
"his belief. The apparent escape from thy recollection of the illustrious
"deeds of my performance has however in some degree rendered the vain-
"glorious recital unavoidable. Once more, son of Hinda, be advised to
"restrain thy ambition, lest I should be provoked to the disclosure of
"odious and fearful truths. Check thy too aspiring soul from the pre-
"sumption of setting thyself on an equality with one of the miraculous
"productions of the Creator's wisdom; with one whom he hath endowed
"with such surpassing knowledge of his mysterious works; with one
"who assures thee, that it is the overflowing of his benevolence towards
"his fellow creatures, that hath alone withheld him from foregoing long
"since all intercourse with man. As to thy presumptuous and insolent
"demand with respect to the murderers of Othman, I tell thee plainly
"that the right of avenging his blood, of all men least resides in thee;
"neither is there any thing in this world further from my intentions, than
"the surrender of their persons to thy mercy. Nevertheless, if the child-

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. "ren of Othman demand justice on the destroyers of their father, they "shall receive it to the utmost limit. But shouldst thou still object "that my influence is too powerful to expect such an act of justice at my "hands, I again repeat, that if thou wilt in the first instance acquiesce in "the united decision of the prophet's most distinguished associates and "auxiliaries, in favor of my authority; and then produce in my presence "those concerned in the death of my predecessor, I pledge myself, that "they shall suffer such punishment as the law of God and the traditions "of his prophet may ordain. But in what language am I to express my "astonishment at the intimation conveyed by the concluding sentence of "thy letter: "that for me and for my friends thou hast nothing left but the "sword"! Son of that savage fiend who devoured the heart of my uncle "Hamzah! from whom didst thou learn, or where didst thou experience "that the race of Abdulmûtlub ever avoided a conflict with their enemies, "or shrunk from the decision of the sword? Check thy impatient ardour "until I approach; thou wilt then too soon behold the glittering of those "scimitars, which are yet reeking to the hilt with the blood of thy brother; "of thy paternal and maternal uncles; of thy mother and most of thy "kindred. For the residue, victory is at the disposal of that Almighty "being, who controuls the issue of events. Farewell."

Habeib usseyr.

Rouzut assuffâ.

This letter was conveyed to Damascus by Termah the son of Auddy. We cannot however omit to observe, that in substance, though it materially differs from that which is recorded by the author of the Rouzut ussuffa, we have chosen to introduce into these pages that which we find in a subsequent writer of established credit, as more concentrated, and direct in its reference to the letter of Mauweiah. But whatever the nature of its contents, the bearer of it acquitted himself of his mission with spirit and fidelity, and pleaded the rights of his sovereign with such extraordinary circumstances of intrepidity, that several writers have conceived them of sufficient importance to be recorded at length; he returned, notwithstanding, without producing any remarkable effect upon the minds of either Mauweiah or his followers; and communicated to the Khalif the result of his embassy, and of the observations which he had an opportunity of making on the state of affairs in Syria. Among the chieftains employed under the authority of Othman in administering the affairs of the distant provinces, and whom, on his accession, Ally had summoned to submit to his government, were Jerreir the son of Abdullah Ul Bekheli, and Aishauth the son

of Keyss Ul Kendi; the former in charge of Hamadaun, and the adjoining mountainous districts; and the latter, in that of Azerbaijaun. Both of these, subsequent to the battle of the camel and the reduction of the insurgents at Bassorah, had, however tardily, submitted to Ally, and were now present on the return of his last messenger from Damascus. A.H.XXXVI. A. D.657. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Notwithstanding the repeated failures which he had experienced, and his entire conviction of the determined blindness and inflexible obduracy of Mauweiah, the mind of Ally continued to revolve on further expedients to induce his antagonist to acknowledge his authority, without resorting to the last irrevocable appeal. He now, therefore, at a consultation with his most confidential adherents, proposed that some one from among the most distinguished of the prophet's companions, should be selected for another embassy to Damascus; to try whether some argument of impartial reasoning might not yet be found, to prevail upon Mauweiah, by a timely submission, to avert the decree which impended over him. Jerreir the son of Abdullah grasping at the proposal with apparent eagerness, immediately offered his services on the occasion; urging that the numerous relatives whom he reckoned in Damascus, would be a sufficient pledge that Mauweiah would never dare to treat his admonitions with contempt. From a selection of this person, however, the Khalif was as strenuously dissuaded by Malek Ashtur, who avowed with little reserve, that the fidelity of Jerreir himself was not yet entirely free from suspicion. Upon this, the latter, angrily demanding by what part of his conduct he had merited the apprehensions, which he seemed disposed to awaken to his prejudice, Malek replied, without hesitation, that when, in the commencement of his reign, Ally had written to require his presence, he did not appear to think it at all necessary to comply with the summons; neither did he, in fact, condescend to quit his government of Hamadaun, until the contest with Telhah and Zobair had terminated in favor of the rightful chief of the believers; when perceiving that he had no other place of retreat, he found himself in a manner compelled to seek the shadow of his protection. Nevertheless, without attending to the reflections of Malek Ashtur, Ally resolved on accepting of the offer of Jerreir; and having furnished him with other necessary instructions for his conduct, he charged him to

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Rouzut ussuffâ and Habeib usseyr.

invite Mauweiah once more to his allegiance; if he found him disposed to comply, it was well; otherwise he was to apprize him that he should no longer delay the denunciation, which, as the prophet's legitimate successor, he was authorized to issue. Although the tardy submission of Jerreir might in some degree have warranted the suspicions of Malek Ashtur, he does not appear to have betrayed the trust reposed in him on this occasion, however he might have been overreached by the temporizing policy of Mauweiah, by whom he was treated, on his arrival, with peculiar and distinguished respect. After a detention of four months, when Mauweiah had secured from the Syrians an entire concurrence with his views, he was at last dismissed, with the following definitive reply. "Let Ally "know from me, that henceforth he may wash his hands of the allegiance "of the Syrians; nay further, announce to him the united determination "of the people of this province to take up arms in opposition to his author- "ity, and to avenge the blood of Othman; and that he must therefore pre- "pare for war, since matters are now arrived at that crisis when every "other appeal must be nugatory and unavailing."

Although it is beyond measure irksome to pursue the author through every tedious digression, the following exhibits the character of Mauweiah in so curious a point of view, that however bordering on the ludicrous, we have not been able to dismiss it altogether from our recital. Subsequent to the arrival of Ally's envoy at Damascus on this occasion, Mauweiah had been induced, at the suggestion of his brother Auttebah, to solicit the counsels and assistance of Amrû Auss; and it is here affirmed, that it was in consequence of this application, that Amrû and his two sons quitted their retreat in Palestine in the manner formerly related. When he reached the Syrian capital, Mauweiah laid open to him, at a secret conference, the true state of his affairs; in which he acknowledged, that among the difficulties with which he was surrounded, there were three circumstances by which he was more immediately and particularly embarrassed: first, was the escape from imprisonment of Mahommed the son of Abû Khozzeifah; next was the menacing posture assumed by the emperor of Constantinople;* and last was the message transmitted by Ally through Jerreir, importing that if the Syrians were any longer withheld from their allegiance, he was to prepare for hostilities. Amrû observed in reply, that with respect to the escape of the son of Abû Khozzeifah, it ought not to

* The emperor Constans the IId. the grandson of Heraclius.

give him any serious concern, since, though he might be able to elude his pursuit, he was not capable of doing him an injury of any magnitude. Neither did he conceive the indications on the part of the Greek emperor of much greater importance, since it would be always in his power to purchase the forbearance of that prince, by the enlargement of such of his subjects as were in captivity in the Syrian territory. But, in his mind, the difficulty which demanded his most serious consideration, was that which arose from the contest in which he was about to be engaged with the son of Abûtauleb; to whom in point of blood and affinity, as well as in personal qualifications of every kind, the whole world seemed disposed to assign a decided superiority over him. "And yet" replied Mauweiah, "he could favor the death of Othman; could stimulate the sedition to "which he fell a sacrifice; could bring about the dispersion of his friends, "and trouble the pure draught of harmony with the noxious weeds of "envy and malevolence. His precedence in Isslam and his consanguinity "with the noblest of the human race," rejoined Amrû, "are, notwithstand-"ing advantages to which thou hast no pretensions." "All this may be "very just," said Mauweiah, "and may be so blazoned to the public; and "yet, with all thy boasted claims to propinquity, and superior sagacity, I "think, if I were so disposed, I am not without sufficient comprehension "of mind to make a dupe of even Amrû." "I am no stranger" added Amrû, "to thy genius for deception, nor to the varied resources of thy "craft; however, while I have thee in my eye, and am aware of thy "intentions, I also think I can venture to challenge the utmost exertion "of thy arts." To this, Mauweiah declined giving any direct or immediate answer, but having for some time engaged his attention on a different subject, he suddenly requested that he would allow him to whisper a secret of the very first importance in his ear; Amrû, without the smallest suspicion, inclined his head, when Mauweiah seized him by the ear with his teeth, and demanded, if, for once, he would not confess that he had been completely outwitted; since, as there was no one present but themselves, the precaution was entirely superfluous, and his simplicity the more egregious.

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Mauweiah then desired that this species of discourse might be discontinued, and that he would henceforth cordially unite with him to remove Ally out of the way, and so render themselves masters of the world.

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Amrû persisted however in maintaining that the barter of his eternal welfare, for the mere prospect of temporal advantage, was with him an obstacle not to be easily surmounted; while it was manifest to all men, that an alliance with him in the hostilities which he was meditating against Ally, must inevitably terminate in the most disgraceful and disastrous issue. But if, after all, circumstances should ultimately compel him to associate with Mauweiah, it appeared but reasonable that the latter should make some considerable exertion to gratify and promote his wishes, as a balance to these obvious hazards. Mauweiah observed, that he did not feel the smallest repugnance to gratify him to the utmost extent of his views, which he accordingly requested he would freely explain. Amrû, without further hesitation, avowed, that when Egypt and its dependencies should be subjugated, the summit of his ambition was to be put in possession of that province. Mauweiah here demanded, how he could be expected to relinquish the province of Egypt, a country not inferior to Irâk itself: to which Amrû replied, that when he was master of the whole world, the territory of the Nile was surely not too much to fall to his share. Mauweiah, for the present however, declined giving him any positive answer on the subject, and here the conference broke off. But the result of the interview being communicated to his brother, it drew upon him the severe censure of the latter, who ridiculed the absurdity of his scruples, in neglecting to secure, at any price, the friendship of such a man as Amrû, whose policy, whose wisdom, and solidity of judgment, were not to be surpassed by any one of the age in which he lived; much more so at the hazard of a vague promise, which, in all probability, it would never be in his power to fulfil. The hint conveyed by this last suggestion, did not escape the intelligence of Mauweiah; the next day he procured another interview with Amrû, at which, after loading him with caresses, he did not fail to gratify him with the promise he seemed so ardently to desire, and which he now confirmed by a written contract, subscribed by all the Syrian nobility.

The friendship between these two personages being thus established on the solid foundation of reciprocal interest, the last expedient put in practice by Mauweiah, in order to indurate the hearts of the Syrians in their animosity against Ally, was to engage the influence of their national chief, Sherjeil the son of Semmet, the Kendian, whom, at the instance of Amrû,

he had now invited to Damascus; and upon whom, during his journey, he contrived to impose the belief, by the discourses of certain of his adherents placed at proper intervals on the route, that Ally had at least openly countenanced, if indeed, by his intrigues to stimulate the perpetrators, he was not the principal cause of the murder of Othman. So that wrought upon by these impressions, Sherjeil on his arrival at Damascus publicly declared to Mauweiah, that if, what he had heard from so many individuals, whose veracity he could not suspect, were to be depended on, and he (Mauweiah) submitted to acknowledge the authority of the son of Abûtauleb, he would immediately drive him out of Syria. To this the crafty Mauweiah replied, by demanding, how he could possibly be suspected of entertaining sentiments in any degree hostile to those, with whom his interests were so closely identified, and than whom he possessed no other source of refuge or protection? But when Sherjeil proposed, in the ardour of resentment and indignation at the suspected guilt of Ally, that Jerreir, who was still at Damascus, should be immediately dismissed to communicate to his sovereign the united and hostile resolution of the Syrians; Mauweiah suggested the expediency of delaying his ultimate dispatch, until Sherjeil should have employed the influence, which he was known to possess throughout every part of Syria, to prevail upon the inhabitants to swear fealty to, and unite with him in avenging the blood of Othman, upon Ally and his adherents.

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* Rouzut ussuffâ.

In concurrence with this intimation, Sherjeil accordingly made a circuit of the whole province, representing the conduct of Ally in the odious colours which suited the designs of the party whose cause he had espoused; he persuaded them, that after wading through the blood of his murdered sovereign, to the usurpation of all the provinces of Isslam, that of Syria alone excepted, the son of Abûtauleb was now also preparing to extend his usurpations hither, and was advancing at the head of an army inured to rapine, for the express purpose of exterminating the unoffending inhabitants. At such a crisis, he proceeded to assure them, that the only person he could point out, as, by his power and abilities, best qualified to oppose the danger, was Mauweiah; and after urging every argument which he could invent for the purpose, he concluded by averring, that their salvation absolutely depended on their associating to avenge the blood of their injured sovereign. By these and similar statements he so far

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succeeded in misleading his credulous countrymen, that they yielded to the delusion, and having made every necessary preparation for war, anxiously expected their final orders to join the standard of Mauweiah. And it was after the co-operation of the Syrians had been thus irrevocably secured, that Jerreir was dismissed for Kûfah, with the definitive reply already noticed in a preceding page.

On his return from this fruitless legation, Jerreir was again exposed to the most violent animadversions on the part of Malek Ashtur; who did not hesitate to ascribe its unsuccessful issue to his egregious credulity, and his entire misapprehension of the importance of the negociation so unadvisedly entrusted to his management; at the same time he very boldly expressed his conviction to the Khalif, that had his choice on the occasion fallen on himself, the matter would have terminated very differently; for that he would either have taken Mauweiah by the throat, and so brought the dispute to a conclusion by the most summary of all processes; or, at all events, have so exposed the character of that *spawn of the devourer of hearts*, as should forever have dispossessed him of the influence which he appeared to have so unworthily established over the Syrians. In vindication of his conduct, Jerreir as confidently asserted, that so far from the success with which Malek Ashtur had so modestly flattered himself, his negociation would, with much greater probability, have terminated in his falling a sacrifice to the vengeance of the Syrians, by whom he was considered a principal in the assassination of Othman. The altercation continued with some warmth, particularly on the side of Malek Ashtur, who persisted in his assertion, that the mission had failed through the credulity and mismanagement of the envoy, whom he again stated to have been grossly overreached by the subtile devices of Mauweiah; neither did he entirely acquit him of indulging a secret attachment for that prince; since he could no otherwise account for his studied representations of the unanimity of the Syrians in the hostile designs against the legitimate authority of Ally; while by exaggerated reports of the numbers and strength of the adverse party, he embraced every opportunity of exciting alarm. Here Jerreir could no longer forbear interrupting him by a demand why he did not undertake the journey himself, and establish these boasted claims to superior talents, by something more than bare and arrogant assertion? On which Malek observed that the matter had been so completely marred

either through his folly or corruption, that the skill or exertion of any other could be now of no avail. At this, Jerreir appearing considerably embarrassed, his accuser proceeded to declare that it only required the Khalif's permission to place him and some others equally entitled to confidence, in sufficient security, until such time as the contest with Mauweiah should have been brought to a conclusion. Not a little enraged at such treatment, Jerreir, the same night, left Kûfah without permission, and with part of his family retired towards Kerkessia, probably the town of that name which lies on the Euphrates.

A.H.XXXVI. A.D.657. Rouzut ussuffâ.

While the practices of Mauweiah had been in some respects extensively successful in adding to the strength of his party, and detaching from that of his antagonist, there were others in which he experienced very mortifying failures. Of these he appears to have been expressly forewarned by the admonitions of Amrû, particularly with respect to the citizens of Medeinah, whom he described under three classes, from neither of which it was reasonable to expect any substantial support. First were those who had long since engaged in the service of Ally, which they were not very likely to relinquish on a simple invitation from Mauweiah, although it was very possible by such a proceeding to render their attachment to their acknowledged sovereign, the stronger and more indissoluble. The next were the remnant of the friends of Othman, so humbled, and so totally destitute of resources, as to make it of very little importance in the affairs of this life, whether they were friends or foes. And thirdly, he adverted to those who had withdrawn from society, and who appeared to regard the future welfare of their souls, as depending on a total unconcern with the disputes of either party. Of course, a letter from Mauweiah was not much calculated to produce any movement, or change of sentiment, among persons of such a description. But if, notwithstanding what he could urge to the contrary, Mauweiah still conceived it advisable to open a correspondence with Medeinah, it behoved him to beware, that, though no advantage should arise, it might not at all events be productive of any injury to his cause.

In the letter, which, according to the resolution to which he determined to adhere, Mauweiah addresses to the citizens of Medeinah, we find him

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. reiterate the accusations against Ally, of his participation in the conspiracy against Othman, and of his having subsequently entertained the conspirators among the principal members of his court and government. That he himself, as the nearest kinsman of Othman, was preparing to avenge his death, and in order to bring the murderers to justice, to demand from Ally the surrender of the delinquents; with which, if he complied, his person should be safe from injury. That the question of sovereignty might then be referred to a committee of electors, on the system recommended by the illustrious authority of Omar. In the mean time that the object of his calling their attention to these particulars, was to apprize them of his determination to commence immediate hostilities against Ally, in the event that he should still persist in protecting the assassins; and to invite all among the good people of Medeinah that continued to cherish the memory of their injured sovereign, to hasten without delay to join the standard of Mauweiah. To this, as well as to other letters of a similar import, which he had transmitted about the same period to Abdullah the son of Omar, to Saud-e-Wokauss, and to Mahommed the son of Mûsslemah the ansaur, he received such replies as were equally mortifying and unfavourable to his views.

Ronzut assuffâ.

The son of Omar, whom it is said he was induced to address at the instance of his brother Obaidullah the executioner of Hormûzan; testified in his answer his astonishment in particular, that Mauweiah should presume to urge him with a solicitation, which tended to imbrue his hands in the blood of the prophet's companions, in mere conformity to the dictates of his own will, and in prosecution of his own ambitious projects, under the too palpable pretext of avenging the blood of Othman. If, in secluding himself from the world, Mauweiah had been led to imagine that he was in any degree actuated by a spirit of animosity towards Ally, he was most grossly deceived: on the contrary, if there was an inducement sufficiently strong to prevail upon him, in any circumstance, to draw his sword in the contest which had destroyed the peace of his countrymen, he was influenced by the strongest private motives to support the just pretensions of that exalted and distinguished prince, in the ranks of whose adversaries, God forbid, that ever he should be numbered. Of that illustrious mortal, whose pre-eminence was as far beyond any thing to which Mauweiah could aspire, as his station on earth, and his merit in Isslâm were more conspi-

cuous and exalted; whose majesty derived from the favour of the most high, was as unimpeachably established, as his claims to the succession were paramount, and his exertions in advancing the banners of his religion were superior to those of all other men; whose affinity with the prophet as much surpassed that which was the boast of others, as he preceded in the example which he had so frequently exhibited in the conflicts of the field of battle; of him, with whom, in the qualifications of the understanding, and the virtues of the heart, the most illustrious of the companions would shrink in the comparison. In short, of the adopted brother of their prophet, the husband of his virgin daughter, the parent of the most unblemished of the sons of men, the favoured youths first destined for the inheritance of paradise. He, with whom no one ever dared to contend with the hope of victory, or to resist with a chance of deliverance. Quitting however this elaborate climax of panegyric, for which, in this instance, like many others, the historian is probably indebted to his own invention, Abdullah is said to have closed his reply, by reassuring Mauweiah, that it was his invincible abhorrence to the effusion of Mussulman blood alone, and no other reason, which had compelled him to shut his doors against the importunities of his fellow citizens. Neither did he forbear to remind him, that at all events, he possessed in his own person claims, which, both in point of merit and lustre of descent, would ever preclude on his part, any acknowledgement of subordination to the authority of Mauweiah. But that no consideration whatever should seduce him from that state of seclusion, to which, in the service of his maker, and in the hope of eternal mercy, he had determined to devote himself. And most happy should he have conceived his lot, had that seclusion been chosen in some sequestered abode, equally removed from the arrogant pretensions, and the ingratitude of mankind. This and similar answers, which he received from the other chieftains, by whom he was generally charged with the prosecution of his own ambitious views under the cloak of avenging the blood of Othman, entirely extinguished the hopes which Mauweiah might have been led to entertain from that quarter; and he was compelled under the bitter reproaches of Amrû, to acknowledge the solidity of those counsels, by which he had been urgently dissuaded from the experiment.

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657.

Rouzut ussuffa.

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. His future measures became, therefore, necessarily confined to his preparations for the war which was now inevitable.

Rouzut ussuffà. *Ally*, on the other hand, having received repeated proofs that all attempts to terminate the dispute by negociation, would be fruitless; and that the ambition of Mauweiah was not to be humbled, nor the animosity of Amrû to be appeased by any other medium than the sword, dispatched orders to expedite the march of the troops who had been directed from all the provinces subject to his authority, to join him in the neighbourhood of Kûfah; in consequence of which, he found himself, in a short space of time, at the head of an army, which, according to our author, for number and strength, was not frequently surpassed in the experience of former ages. The decision of Ally was now ultimately fixed for an immediate commencement of hostilities; but as the earlier Khalifs in general evinced a patriarchal deference to the opinions of a fierce and unconquered people, he called them together for the last time in the principal mosque of Kûfah, and again urged them to a strenuous exertion of their valour, against a faction which had proved itself equally rebellious against his just authority, and the sacred institutes of the Korân. Against a people polluted with the blood of the prophet's companions, and the saints and apostles of their holy religion; which, it was not to be forgotten, they had only embraced from a base principle of fear, or worldly ambition. He was proceeding in his discourse to the assembly, when a person of the tribe of Feraurah, to whom authors have indifferently assigned the name of Areid and Arbidah, insolently interrupted him with a demand, whether he seriously proposed to imbrue their hands in the blood of the Syrians, their brethren and fellow citizens, in the same manner as he had already compelled them to do with respect to those of Bassorah and the followers of Ayaishah; if such was the case, he deceived himself, for he trusted in God, none of those who heard him would support him in the design. Impatient of expressions so insolent and injurious, Malek Ashtur called out to seize the author, who hastened to quit the mosque, and attempted to make his escape from the town; but being overtaken by some of the inhabitants, they beat him to death with their sandals. To mark his disapprobation, however, of this unwarranted indulgence of popular fury, Ally thought fit, afterwards, to order the fine of blood to be made good to the heirs of the deceased from the public treasury. In the mean time, in the

presence of the same assembly, Malek Ashtur intreated the Khalif not to harbour a suspicion, that his friends were to be withdrawn from their allegiance by any such delirious absurdities, as those which had just offended his ears. That the faithful band which stood before him, were attached to his cause by every motive of interest and affection; and had resolved that no consideration should ever induce them to abandon him; not even in death, if fate had so ordained, which heaven forbid, that he should fall in the prosecution of his just vengeance against his enemies; against whom he therefore urged him to proceed with the fullest confidence in the fidelity and unalienable attachment of his followers. The protestations of Malek Ashtur were seconded by some of the most distinguished leaders of the Mûssulman persuasion, among whom are to be found the names of Aumar Yausser, of Sohul the son of Haneif; of Keyss the son of Saud Ebbandah, and of Auddy the son of Hautem Tâï, and many others. There were however, still some exceptions, particularly among the dependents of Abdullah Mûssaoud, who, from a repugnance, as they said, to engage in hostilities against those who professed the same religious observances, expressed a desire to be employed in defending the frontiers, or in extending their conquests among the infidels. In this request, they were indulged by Ally, by whom they were accordingly directed to march towards Kazvein, under the orders of Rebbeiah the son of Hushm, whom he appointed to conduct them.

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About this period it had become, it seems, a practice among the the followers of Ally to imprecate and abuse Mauweiah and the Syrians, not only in common conversation, but amidst the duties of divine worship; of which, however, he was no sooner apprized than he strictly forbad the continuance as repugnant to the natural mildness of his own disposition; and when some of his chieftains requested that he would explain the motives of this species of forbearance towards the acknowledged adversaries of the cause of truth, he answered, that however justly his enemies might be so stigmatized, he deprecated the idea, that his friends should set the example in opprobrium and malediction. On the contrary, it behoved them, when they raised their hands in invocation to heaven, instead of imprecating the divine wrath, to implore that their prayers might be reciprocally heard; that the differences which had torn them asunder might be healed and reconciled; that those who had erred might be speedily restored to the

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. Rouzut ussuffâ. paths of rectitude; that their folly and inadvertencies, might be exchanged for that best species of knowledge, a just sense of duty; and that those who had so long languished in the thirsty mazes of seduction, might be finally conducted to the fountain head of benevolence and truth. These effusions, which appear to derive their origin from a purer source than what is to be discovered in the Mûssulman system of morals, may possibly have been ascribed to the idol of the Sheiahs veneration, to screen him from the charge incurred by his adherents, of being the first to adopt the formula of execration against their adversaries.

Rouzut ussuffâ and Habeib usseyr. It being at last resolved to advance without further delay against the Syrian territory, proclamation was made at Kûfah, that the troops were to march, and encamp at Nukheilah; where Malek the son of Jeib was instructed to distribute the several chieftains with their divisions into their respective stations. In the end of the month of Shavaul,* having appointed Abû Mûssâood the ansaur to be his lieutenant at Kûfah, the Khalif repaired in person to the encampment. Here he continued for several days, until joined by Abdullah Abbas with a reinforcement from Bassorah, which is said to have completed the army to ninety thousand men. Among these were included eighty of the companions of the field of Beider, and eight hundred of those fortunate personages who had either served at the reduction of Mekkah, or submitted to the prophet's divine authority at Hodeibiah. With the whole of this force, Ally now proceeded from Nokheilah, and having halted for the performance of his devotions for the morning, at a mosque by the road side, and for those of noon, in the district of Abû Mûssa, he arrived at sunset of the same day on the banks of the Euphrates; which he must have crossed immediately, as he is stated to have pitched his tents on the occasion on the Sabaut, or canal of Medâein, probably the Neher-e-Melka, about forty miles above Hellah. The following day he entered the metropolis of Noushirvân. From thence, by successive stages, of which we are not furnished with the detail, he continued his progress to the boundary of Arabjan Irak; where his historians have been pleased to lay the scene of a miracle wrought by the son of Abutauleb, in the discovery of a hidden spring of water which had lain concealed for ages, and in the conversion of the prior of a christian monastery, who soon afterwards fell a martyr to his cause on the plains of Seffein.

* April, A. D. 657.

On his departure from Medâein, Ally had established Saud the son of Mussâood, the uncle of the afterwards celebrated Mokhtaur, in the government of that city; and detached Moakkel the son of Keyss with three thousand horse towards Mossûl, with instructions to join him by that route, and that of Nissebein,* at Rakkah, towards which place he now directed his march with the mainbody of the army. The inhabitants of Rakkah, from an attachment to the memory of the deceased Khalif, still adhered to the authority of Mauweiah, and avowing their disaffection to the cause of Ally, refused to obey the orders which he had transmitted them to construct a bridge over the Euphrates, for the passage of the army; by which he was compelled to draw off for the purpose of crossing the river in some other quarter. Intimidated, however, by the menaces of Malek Ashtur, who threatened them with total destruction if they persisted in their disobedience, they were prevailed upon to comply; and the army returning soon afterwards, crossed the Euphrates accordingly by the bridge which they had thrown over the river for the purpose.

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Having thus planted his victorious banners on the opposite bank of the Euphrates, Ally was apprized by Zeiaud the son of Nausser, and Sherreiah the son of Hauny, two of his generals who had been already detached in advance with twelve thousand men, that on their arrival at a station called Souri rûm, they found themselves opposed by a superior force under Abûl Oûr Usselmi; one of the most distinguished officers belonging to the party of Mauweiah, with whom they had determined to avoid an action, until he was in a situation to support them. Upon this information, Malek Ashtur, with three thousand men, was directed to hasten to the assistance of the advanced guard, with discretion to give battle to the troops of Abûl Oûr. He was immediately followed by Haushem the son of Auttebah, with a further reinforcement. With these additional reinforcements, Malek Ashtur succeeded in forming a junction with Zeiaud, and in conformity with the instructions of Ally, a letter was addressed by these associate chieftains to Abûl Oûr, inviting him in cogent language to submit to the legitimate authority of their sovereign.

The delivery of this letter was entrusted to Abû Nadjedah, one of that description of enthusiasts not unfrequently met with in the east, and one whose austerity and abstinence had acquired the utmost consideration with Ally. A person then serving with the troops of Mauweiah afterwards

* Nisibis.

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. Rouzut ussuffâ. related, that being stationed in the advanced post of Abûl Oûr's encampment, and observing one approach, whom he did not immediately recognize, he and his companions, rather in jest than earnest, threw themselves in his way, and detained him. Abû Nadjedah finding himself thus obstructed, began to reproach and abuse them, demanding, if brothers to the Devil as they were, they had not gone far enough in interrupting the path of the truly orthodox, without cutting off the intercourse of all believers indiscriminatcly? To which they answered, that the road was abundantly wide; Abû Nadjedah rejoined, that the road to India and other unconquered regions was equally so; whence was it that they did not rather throw themselves in the way of the infidels? He then informed them that he was a messenger from the general of Ally's forces; Malek Ashtur was the name he bore; peradventure, they might have heard of such a person. And they accordingly conducted him to the camp of their chief.

From his own relation it is further stated, that when Abû Nadjedah approached the tent of Abûl Oûr, he observed two drunken soldiers, who, in that state, had just quitted the presence of their general; and perceiving a carpet spread before the entrance of the tent, he, without any kind of ceremony, spurred his horse upon it. Some of the bystanders reproving him for his rude and disrespectful behaviour, and calling upon him to dismount, he noticed them no further than by remarking that to the impious and the debauched, no respect was due; he then entered the presence of Abûl Oûr, and without saluting, proceeded to tax him with the gross violations of the precepts of their law of which, both himself and his followers were guilty; and of which, the instances of shameful inebriety he had just witnessed, were the most undeniable proofs. Without making any reply, Abûl Oûr sternly desired him to explain the object of his mission. The letter of Malek Ashtur was now delivered, accompanied with such seasonable admonition as the messenger thought himself authorized to introduce on such an occasion, however to little purpose. Abûl Oûr committed a few lines to paper, designedly composed in praise of Mauweiah and the house of Ommeyah, and with no further reply dismissed his unpolished visitant. The latter returned accordingly to Malek Ashtur, who consigned the obnoxious epistle to his own son, with strict charge to preserve it carefully; as he meant it as his justification with Ally for the

measure which he was about to pursue. And upon this he immediately gave directions to prepare for battle. A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657.

On this occasion Malek Ashtur assigned the management of his right wing to Zeiaud, that of the left to Sherreiah; and to the sound of his martial music, proceeded with confidence to meet the enemy, whom he found prepared to receive him. From among those who arranged themselves under his banners, Abûl Oûr singled out Abdullah the son of Mûnzer, whom he encouraged by every argument of pride and revenge to attack the person of Malek Ashtur, the murderer, as he stigmatized him, of the martyred Othman. This man professed himself, at first, degraded, in being placed on a par with such as Ashtur, than whom he presumed to think himself a thousand times superior; but on the repeated importunity of his general, he suffered himself to be at last prevailed on, in an evil hour, to enter the lists with a warrior whom he affected so much to despise. Zeiaud was preparing to assail him, when prevented by Malek Ashtur, who directly approached Abdullah and demanded his name. The reply was, that of this he would soon be sufficiently apprized from the vigour of his arm. On which Malek observed, that the question, on further consideration, was certainly superfluous, since it was very clear from his boasting, that he was one of those slaves of stupidity, the Syrians. He therefore advised him to retire, for that he was in the presence of his superior. Piqued by this retort, the Syrian condescended to a recital of his exploits, and Malek Ashtur did not forbear to acknowledge, that indeed his fame had acquired sufficient celebrity. It was only to be lamented, that such exalted renown was to be seen enrolled among those schismatics, who dared to raise the hand of rebellion against their just and legitimate *Imaum*. To this, Abdullah objected, whether it could be denied that, during the days of the prophet, Mauweiah had exercised the sacred office of recording the effusions of divine inspiration. The truth of which was readily admitted, Malek Ashtur adding, nevertheless, that this was a trust to which he had only forfeited his claim, when on an occasion of dilatoriness in attending to the prophet's summons, he could petulantly require that he might at least be allowed as much time to himself, as was sufficient to satisfy the calls of hunger. He was proceeding as a contrast to the failings

Rouzut ussuffâ.

A.H.XXXVI. A.D. 657. Rouzut ussuffâ.

of Mauweiah, to enlarge on the singular virtues of Ally, when Abdullah interrupted him, by freely subscribing to the truth of all he could advance on that subject; he only begged to remark, that with respect to himself, there was one important circumstance which might perhaps be allowed to supersede all other considerations; he possessed at Damascus in specie and effects, property to the amount of two hundred thousand dirhems,* exclusive of a numerous and beloved family. He now declared, however, that, although his engagements precluded his bearing arms against Mauweiah, he should for the present decline a contest with the determined friend of his rival. And to confirm his assertion, accordingly withdrew.

This did not escape the observation of Abûl Oûr, to whom it immediately occurred, that he had suffered himself to be overreached by the address of Ashtur; he therefore dispatched one of his horsemen, to repeat to him such arguments as he thought likely to reanimate his vindictive passions; and the pride of Abdullah being accordingly stimulated afresh, he returned towards Malek Ashtur, and announced to him, that all animosities between them must be immediately terminated by the sword. A fierce and tedious combat ensued; in which, after considerable exertion of courage and strength, victory declared at last for Malek Ashtur, who passed his spear through the breast of his antagonist. The elder brother of Abdullah, who advanced to avenge the death of his relative, and another Syrian warrior encouraged to enter the lists with Ashtur, were successively destined to yield to the superior prowess of this intrepid chieftain. A third Abdullah, the son of Mûterruf, next approached to tempt his fate, but being recognized by his opponent, the latter demanded what could be his motive to disregard the obligations of hospitality which subsisted between them? The son of Mûterruf acknowledged the existence of such an obligation, and as a proof that he considered it inviolable, declined the contest. He had accordingly turned away to rejoin his associates in the line of battle, when to the surprise of those who beheld him, Malek Ashtur deliberately struck off his head, exclaiming "when thou hast done evil, beware of all "around thee." And to Zeiaud, who naturally requested an explanation of this extraordinary act of perfidy, he alleged that it was no more than a measure of just retaliation; for this same person at the battle of the camel, being about to engage with Kaussem the nephew of Zeid the son of Sûjan, told him, that, as the friend of his father, he could not but request that he

* About 4,583*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

would withdraw; and the unfortunate youth, retiring without suspicion, received his mortal wound from the hand of the traitor. A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657.

Malek Ashtur having given one further proof of superior prowess, intimation was now conveyed to him from Abûl Oûr, that as there were a thousand, such as those who had already afforded him some experience of valour and skill, yet in reserve within the ranks of his army, any further exhibitions of individual gallantry could only serve to protract the final decision of the contest. He therefore proposed that the action should immediately become general. This Malek Ashtur no longer declined, and he accordingly directed his army to close in all points with the enemy. In the heat of the battle he requested that his companions in arms would point him out the adverse general, that he might have an opportunity of surveying the man whom Mauweiah thought worthy of so many distinguished honors. Abûl Oûr, mounted on a grey horse, had at this moment taken his station on an opposite rising ground, and the attention of Malek Ashtur was directed towards him as the person for whom he sought. Having already repeatedly failed in his endeavours to provoke him to a personal conflict, he determined, as a last attempt, to employ a distinguished soldier of the name of Senaun, once more to convey to him the defiance of Malek Ashtur. Abûl Oûr persisted in declining the invitation, and charged the messenger to inform his general, that the man whose folly or disloyalty could influence him first to caluminate, and then to murder his sovereign, was not on a par with the general of Mauweiah; neither should he descend to combat with such an inferior. Being thus compelled to relinquish the object, which, for some time, appears to have engrossed a considerable part of his attention, Malek Ashtur committed the event to the combined effort of his soldiers. The battle continued through the day without apparent advantage to either army; but under cover of the night, that of Abûl Oûr drew off with some precipitation to join the main body under Mauweiah; the general advancing as his reason for quitting the field to the enemy, that he conceived his master's interests best promoted, by retreating before he should have suffered the ignominy of a disgraceful defeat: for which he received the applause of Mauweiah, who shortly afterwards set the whole of his troops in motion towards the Euphrates;

Rouzut ussuffâ.

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. Rouzut ussuffâ. Abûl Oûr being again detached in advance, in order to chuse such a situation as might be convenient for the encampment of the army. After a careful survey, the plains of Seffeine, in former ages covered with superb structures, the monuments of Grecian or Roman grandeur, were fixed upon for the purpose: and as it possessed the important advantage of commanding to a considerable distance the only access to the waters of the Euphrates, Abûl Oûr was also stationed with ten thousand men to guard the communication, with instructions to cut off all supply of that most necessary element from the troops of Ally.

Mauweiah had not long placed his army in this advantageous position, when Ally approached and pitched his camp in the same neighbourhood; and the followers of the army proceeding towards the channel of the Euphrates for a supply of water, found themselves completely intercepted by the force under Abûl Oûr, and returned, with no small disappointment, to communicate this unwelcome piece of information to their chiefs. Under such circumstances, Ally was reduced to the necessity of employing a deputation to Mauweiah, in order to persuade him, if possible, to relinquish an advantage which appeared so inconsistent between kindred, though at present hostile tribes; and which, in fact, as he wished to represent the matter, could have but little influence in adjusting the dispute, which, from quarters so remote, they had drawn their armies together to decide; he recommended to him to withdraw the obstacle, or be responsible for the slaughter which must immediately ensue; at the same time, assuring him that had it fallen to his lot to be possessed of such an advantage, the communication with the river should have been equally free to both armies. An assertion in the sincerity of which, however questionable the policy of such a concession, the acknowledged magnanimity of Ally, as evinced in a variety of instances, will entitle him to full credit. The subject of this message was communicated by Mauweiah to his courtiers, the majority of whom maintained that the advantage which they had so fairly anticipated, was not to be inconsiderately abandoned. That the adversaries to whom they were opposed included a great proportion of Othman's murderers. That the measure which true policy called on Mauweiah to pursue on this occasion, was not less prudent than just, in retaliating upon the oppressors of that injured prince, the miseries to which he had been exposed, when, during so many days in which they held him besieged in his palace, they refused him the smallest

supply of the same necessary element. Independently of these considerations, it was urged moreover, that should Ally, by the means which they thus earnestly recommended, be compelled to decamp in search of a situation more commodious, it could not be considered as much inferior to the disgrace of a defeat. A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. Rouzut ussuffa.

To all this, however, a person no less considerable than the experienced and politic Amrû signified his decided dissent; remarking, that it was absurd to imagine, that, with the warlike legions of Irak at his heels, and the stream of the Euphrates before their eyes, Ally would suffer his army to perish of thirst. That they came to contend for the honors of the Khelaufut, not for the paltry consideration of a skin of water. After much further debate, at the close of which, Wulleid the son of Aukkebah, not satisfied with declaring his opinion, that the approach to the Euphrates should continue to be shut up against Ally and his followers, but further expressing his hope, that on the day of general retribution they would find themselves equally interdicted from the fountain of eternal bliss; Saussa the son of Soujan, the person deputed by Ally on this occasion, with more warmth than prudence interrupted, to remind him of the degradation which he had suffered from Othman, for having dared to perform the functions of the Imaumut when in a state of brutal intoxication; and that such reprobate and abandoned hypocrites as himself were far more likely to be the objects of divine retribution, than the insulted Ally, and the associates of his righteous cause. Enraged at observations so intemperate, the attendants of Mauweiah drew their swords, and would have fallen upon the author, had not their master interposed his commands to respect the character which he bore; not reflecting, observes the historian, that while he discountenanced an act of violence against his ambassador, he felt no scruple in arming thousands against the life of the rightful prince of the believers, and the legitimate successor of the messenger of God. He was then dismissed with the reply, that Mauweiah was resolved not to forego what he considered to be the earnest of future victory.

Although it is not easy to conceive that such an application should have terminated in any other result, the failure is said to have occasioned to Ally considerable vexation and perplexity; perhaps not a little aggravated by the reflection that he had by some means or other suffered himself to be so completely and unaccountably out generaled by his adversary. At any rate the necessities of the army became so urgent as to surpass further

A.H.XXXVI. endurance, no part of the river being accessible to them, but at the dis-
A. D. 657. tance of two Farsangs, nor water procurable under the price of three
Rouzut assuffâ. dirhems* for a leathern bottle. These distresses were represented to their prince by Malek Ashtur and Aishauth the son of Keyss, who requested that they might be allowed with their swords to open the communication; which they engaged to accomplish, or die in the attempt. Having obtained the concurrence of Ally, the two chieftains caused it to be proclaimed throughout the encampment, that the rightful Imaum had sanctioned an attack upon the enemy, provided they did not yield a free passage to the river. In less than an hour upwards of ten thousand men had flocked to the standard of Aishauth, and an equal number to the tent of Malek Ashtur. After disposing of them in convenient order, the two chieftains conducted their troops towards the watering place; Malek Ashtur, in animating language, directing the foot to advance within the distance of a spear's length in front of the cavalry, which followed slowly in their rear, until they approached the channel of the Euphrates. When the moment of attack drew near, Malek Ashtur and his collegue presented themselves bare headed to the enemy, whom they warned aloud to save themselves by quitting the banks of the river, or be the accomplices in their own destruction. Abûl Oûr replied on the other hand, that their object was not of such easy attainment; a little patience, and they should learn to estimate the force of those warriors who were prepared to receive them. On which Malek Ashtur at the head of the cavalry, and Aishauth at that of the foot, immediately closed with the enemy.

A person who attended by the side of Malek Ashtur during this action, subsequently related, that seeing him nearly exhausted with thirst and exertion, he begged the fainting warrior to accept of a draught of water; which he declined, generously averring, that until his associates had allayed their sufferings, he scorned to avail himself of any personal indulgence; and, at the same instant, being assailed by the enemy, he rushed among them, and laid seven of their bravest soldiers in the dust. The thirst of Ashtur and his troops being, however, rendered at last intolerable by the heat of the weather, he directed all such as were furnished with mushuks, or leather water bags, to follow him through the opening which he should

* About sixteen-pence half-penny.

make in the ranks of the enemy, without quitting his person, until they should have filled all the vessels. Which having said, he again threw himself upon the troops of Abûl Oûr, and piercing their line, made good his way to the river, where he took post, while his followers were employed in supplying themselves with water. The conflict now raged with augmented fury in the bed of the Euphrates, until perceiving his troops evidently giving way before the impetuosity of their assailants, and being already beaten from the post which he had been stationed to defend, Abûl Oûr dispatched a message to Mauweiah to apprize him of his situation. The governor of Damascus, mortified by the check to which his troops had been thus exposed, immediately sent Amrû with three thousand horse, either to sustain or cover the retreat of his general. Malek Ashtur no sooner descried the approach of Amrû, and recognized his person, than he exultingly congratulated his followers on the victory which was about to crown their efforts in the cause of truth and justice, against the advocates of error and impiety: and covering himself with his shield, he urged his courser with irresistible impetuosity towards Amrû, who eluded the fury of his assailant by retiring within the ranks of the Syrians. His arrival therefore, so far from retrieving the disgrace of his party, appears on the other hand to have rendered the advantage of their opponents the more signal and decisive. The Syrians were put to the sword in great numbers, many were drowned in the Euphrates; while the remainder fled for refuge to the camp of Mauweiah. The troops of Ally, on their part, establishing themselves in quiet possession of the watering place, and of the approaches to the river, from which they had thus successfully dislodged the enemy.

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Smarting under the reproaches with which Amrû did not fail to load him on the occasion, Mauweiah found himself now reduced to the necessity of applying to his rival for that indulgence, which, in similar circumstances, he had been so recently induced to withhold. For this purpose he selected twelve of the most distinguished individuals of his party, who received his instructions to repair to the camp of Ally, to solicit his concurrence to a free communication with the Euphrates; to which, with a liberality of disposition so congenial to his general character, that prince readily subscribed; desiring the deputies to make known to their employer, that with respect to the fullest supply of either his people or their cattle, they should on his part experience neither obstruction nor molestation. This

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. Rouzut ussaffa. instance of extraordinary magnanimity when contrasted with the precedent exhibited in the conduct of Mauweiah, made a deep impression on the minds of some of the delegates ; and one of them in particular, a chief belonging to the clientage of Abûl Oûr, immediately embraced the opportunity of enrolling himself among the most zealous of Ally's adherents. Neither does there appear to have arisen on this head any further interruption ; the troops and followers of either army passing and repassing to the Euphrates, from thence forward, with equal confidence and freedom of intercourse.

At the expiration of about seven days after the affair of the Euphrates, notwithstanding, Mauweiah proposed to his followers, to employ a detachment on the road leading towards Irak, in order to intercept the supplies of provision. which the people were conveying from that quarter to the camp of Ally. In this he again experienced the decided opposition of Amrû, who reprobated the measure, as a miserable expedient, calculated to produce the same disgraceful issue as that which they had so recently been condemned to witness. Mauweiah contended however, on the other hand, that it would be accompanied with extreme danger to attack Ally upon any direct or obvious plan of hostilities, supported as he was by a great majority of the coexiles and coadjutors of the prophet, and the noblest of the disciples of the Korân ; to combat therefore openly with such men, was to expose themselves to the certainty of defeat, while, by cutting off their supplies, as he proposed to do, the pressure of scarcity and hunger must ultimately produce the ordinary results of discontent and diminution, if not of the total dispersion of his forces. Amrû persisted, nevertheless, in his endeavour to dissuade him from his design, as an useless exposure of his people to destruction, by the superior force, which, on the first intelligence, it would be at the discretion of Ally to direct against them. Having, at all events, determined to carry his plan into immediate execution, Mauweiah ordered Abdurraihman the son of Khâled to proceed without delay, and possess himself of the approaches from the countries on the lower Tigris and Euphrates.

From the son of Khâled, however, he received, if true, no very flattering proof of the obedience which should have animated the chieftains, who followed his standard. He was taxed by this warrior with his gross partiality in selecting him for the post of danger, while the fairest portion of his

Syrian domain was reserved for the enjoyment of his favorites. For his own part, the cause which he had unfortunately espoused had not hitherto produced for him the slightest circumstance of worldly advantage; and he much feared that on a future aweful day, the question which he should be called on to answer, would not be, why he had not avenged the blood of Othman, but wherefore he had chosen Mauweiah in preference to the son Abûtauleb? This instance of refractory spirit, at which he was not a little displeased, compelled Mauweiah to transfer the charge to Zohauk the son of Keyss, who accordingly hastened with one thousand horse to occupy the roads from the Chaldean territory. As it had been foreseen, the people employed in conveying dates, butter, and oil, articles of the first necessity with the Arabians, to the camp of Ally, were very generally intercepted, and required to take their supplies to that of Mauweiah, where they were assured of finding a most profitable market. The men of the caravan positively refused to furnish supplies to the enemies of Ally, though the profit of a dinaur on every dirhem were to be their recompence. Upon which they were, of course, seized with all their property, and conducted to Mauweiah. One of them, nevertheless, watching an opportunity, effected his escape to the army of the Khalif, to whom he communicated the particulars of what had befallen his convoy.

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. Rouzut ussuffâc

The fugitive, in reply to the inquiries of Ally, had described the commander of the division of the enemy by whom he was intercepted, as being of great stature, with full connected eyebrows and distended nostrils, and a scar upon his cheek; and the Khalif seems from this picture to have immediately recognized the person of Zohauk, of whose presumption and annoyance he demanded, which of his brave associates would next undertake to rid the army. Zeheir the son of, most probably, another Keyss, though not unlikely in such a contest, that one brother should be frequently opposed to another, very cheerfully proposed himself for the service; and with not more than five hundred men, if our authority is worthy of credit, attacked and defeated Zohauk, and compelled him, with considerable loss, to rejoin the camp of Mauweiah. This discomfiture appears to have afforded to Amrû a fresh occasion, which he did not neglect, of reproaching his general with the narrowness of that system which seemed to form the basis of all his designs; but in this respect, unless some stronger argu-

A.H.XXXVI. A. D. 657. ment, than that of mutual forbearance, was alleged in support of his opinions by Amrû, most men will probably feel disposed to think very differently from him on such an occasion. These apparent advantages could not, however, prevent Ally from repeating his overtures to Mauweiah, once more inviting him, on friendly terms, to submit to his authority. But, relying on the attachment and superior force of an army now augmented to one hundred and sixty thousand fighting men, all advances of such a nature were henceforward rejected with greater pertinacity and haughtiness than ever, by the governor of Damascus.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

CHAP. VIII.

TO avoid the frequent contradictions and interminable prolixity, with which the occurrences of the war of *Seffeine* have been related by a variety of historians, the author of the Rouzut ussuffâ professes to have accommodated his readers with a translation from the chronicle of Abû Haneifah of Dainûr, as reducing the record of those events within some reasonable compass, at the same time that the work in question appeared to have established the strongest claims to the belief of the orientals. The narrative continues to exhibit, notwithstanding, even to a disposition not more than ordinarily fastidious, a multiplicity of individual exploits so formidably circumstantial, and, at this distance of time at least, so void of interest, that, with many we should perhaps be rather commended than blamed, in omitting them altogether. But as there may be others, nevertheless, to whom such details may not be always irksome, we have been induced to circumscribe such as appear in any degree worthy of recital, within the limits of a separate chapter; to be either perused, or as might probably happen without considerable injury to his store of information, entirely rejected at the discretion of the reader.

A.H.XXXVII. Rabbeia the 1st and 2nd, and Jummaudy the 1st, A. D. 657.

During the period of three months,* comprizing the first and second Rabbeia, and first Jummaudy, which were consumed in insincere and fruitless attempts to negociate an adjustment of differences, the contending armies are stated to have been drawn out in the presence of each other in order of battle, not less than eighty-five different times, and as often prevented from engaging, by the intermediation of the well disposed on either side. But when the first month of Jummaudy was expired, Ally caused

Rouzut ussuffâ.

* In the Kholausset ul akhbaur, we find it stated that Ally and his rival appeared on the plains of Seffeine, in the last month of the year XXXVI, corresponding with June, A. D. 657.

A.H.XXXVII. A. D. 657. Rouzut ussuffâ.

it to be announced to his competitor, that he should give him battle the ensuing day. Accordingly, from the first day of the second Jummaudy* of the year thirty-seven, a series of conflicts, more or less severe, diurnally took place, until the appearance of the new moon of the succeeding month of Rudjub, when hostilities mutually ceased; it being one of those months, during which, even in the obscure period of infidelity, the Arabian tribes considered it unlawful to molest each other.

While affairs were in this posture, two distinguished Mahommedans of the name of Abûderda and Abû Imauma respectively, and both attached to the cause of Mauweiah, could not forbear requiring of the latter, since there could be no just dispute of Ally's superior pretensions to the throne of the Khalifs, to furnish them with some consistent ground of justification for their conduct in drawing their swords against him. To this he replied, that they possessed a very competent plea, in the guilt of Othman's blood. But when they further demanded, whether that unfortunate prince had fallen immediately by the hand of Ally, or remotely by the hand of another, he alleged, that at any rate he protected the murderers; whom, notwithstanding, if he consented to deliver up, he, *Mauweiah*, among all the Syrians would be the first to acknowledge his authority. With these stipulations on the part of Mauweiah, the two chiefs were accordingly authorized to proceed to the camp of Ally; where, however, the nature of their mission was no sooner made public, than they found themselves beset on their arrival, by the best part of the army, to the number of twenty thousand men, loudly proclaiming that they were, all of them, the destroyers of Othman. From which it was not difficult to perceive that it must be little less than impracticable to produce the surrender of such a multitude with arms in their hands; and the delegates therefore thought it convenient to withdraw from the encampment, without persisting in a hopeless errand. For some reasons or other, from a prudent recollection, according to our author, that there was safety in seclusion, they however immediately forsook the cause of Mauweiah, and appeared no further engaged in the war of Seffeine.

Impatient at the delay of his envoys, or at some other circumstance not explained, Mauweiah determined to repeat the overture, with, however,

* From the 13th of November to the 12th of December, A. D. 657.

one very material alteration; namely, that if Ally would agree to the surrender of the obnoxious party, Mauweiah was willing to submit the question of the Khelaufut to a committee of electors, in imitation of the precedent which had been established on the demise of Omar. This proposal, it fell to the lot of Jeib the son of Mûsellamah to communicate to Ally, but being saluted with the execration of that prince, he abruptly withdrew; leaving him an angry assurance, that the period was at hand, when his feelings would probably be put to a much severer trial than what had then appeared to excite such unnecessary resentment. Another of the deputies employed on the occasion, professing that he was not aware of any adequate motive, either of prudence or policy, which could reasonably influence the conduct of Ally, in refusing to deliver up the executioners of the late Khalif to the disposal of Mauweiah; he very explicitly declared that, in demanding the surrender of so many thousands of the bravest soldiers in his army, they seemed to have forgotten that they had required what was out of his power to perform. And with this reply the deputies returned to their general.

A.H.XXXVII. A. D. 657. Rouzut ussuffâ.

The suspension of hostilities continued, nevertheless, if we may rely on the statements of our original, from the first day of Rudjub to the last of Mohurrim of the succeeding year, a period of seven months unmarked by a single act of bloodshed between the contending armies. At the expiration of this period, on the last day of Mohurrim after sunset, Ally dispatched a person to announce in the camp of his adversaries, that he had fulfilled his duty in abstaining from hostilities during the whole of the months prescribed by the law, and the usages of his country; and that on his part, no exertion had been spared to reclaim them from their errors. He now, therefore, for the last time, admonished them to return to their duty, with this solemn assurance, that the God of armies could never befriend the cause of treason and rebellion.

A.H.XXXVIII. Mohurrim the 30th, A. D. 658. July the 7th.

The night preceding the first day of Suffur* was, of course, anxiously employed in preparations for the impending conflict, and when morning appeared, Ally disposed his troops in order of battle. The whole of the cavalry he placed under the orders of the venerable Aumer the son of Yausser, at this period upwards of ninety: his infantry under those of Abdullah Mozzeyl. Aishauth the son of Keyss conducted the right, and Abdullah Abbas the left wing. These were, according to the Habeib

* 8th of July, A. D. 658.

A.H.XXXVIII. usseyr, further subdivided into seven bodies, under the subordinate
A. D. 658. directions of Malek Ashtur, (for whom, from preceding statements, we were
Rouzut ussuffâ. prepared to form far higher expectations) of Hidjer the son of Auddy, Sheith the son of Rebbeia, of Khâled the son of Mûammer, Zeiaud the son of Nausser, of Saueid the son Keyss, and Keyss the son of Saud Ebbaudah. The great standard was consigned to the care of Haushem the son of Auttebah Wokauss. On the other hand, the lieutenant of Damascus committed his cavalry to the discretion of the experienced Amrû, or, according to others, to that of Abdullah the son of Amrû. Mosslem the son of Aukkebah directed the infantry. Obaidullah the son of the Khalif Omar appeared at the head of his right, and Jeib the son of Mûsellamah at that of the left wing. His army was otherwise disposed, like that of his antagonist, into seven subordinate divisions, subject to the orders of the same number of his captains, whose names it would be here unnecessary to recite. His principal standard, notwithstanding what formerly passed between them, was committed to Abdurraihman the son of Khâled.

Before he led them into action, Ally is represented to have addressed his soldiers to the following effect. After comparing the cause in which they were engaged, to the ark of Noah, in which, all who embarked were saved from perdition, while those who declined were precipitated into the abyss; he encouraged them, by the assurance of a participation in the joys of heaven with Mahommed and the saints, to divest themselves of any melancholy impressions, which the prospect of the approaching conflict might have produced in their minds; he recommended to them to address their vows and supplications to the throne of Omnipotence for support and victory; to advance with steadiness and circumspection to meet the enemy, and with an honorable determination never to incur the ignominious imputation of having fled before him; he positively interdicted them, notwithstanding, from the commission of any hostility, until provoked by aggression; from continuing the slaughter when their adversaries should have taken to flight, and from striking at any part of the body which might be naked or exposed. In short, from inflicting the stroke of death in any case, but where their own lives were in jeopardy, and from offering to molest or insult the weaker sex, under any circumstance of provocation whatever. He lastly desired them to rejoice in the rememberance of the advantages with which they had been already distinguished by an all gracious Creator;

to console themselves with the reflection, that they were associated in the destiny of their prophet's nearest relative; and most seriously to consider the shameful dereliction of their duty, in the contest to which he was about to lead them, as the assured pledge of indelible infamy in this world, and of eternal punishment in the next. At the close of his address, he accordingly proceeded to the field of battle, accompanied by his sons, by his couzin Abdullah Abbas, and his nephew Abdullah the son of Jauffer, together with many others of the most distinguished of those who survived of the associates, and protectors of the prophet's exile. A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 658. Rouzut ussuffâ.

The operations of the first day were, however, early terminated by an occurrence, of which, the records of civil war will, perhaps, not unfrequently furnish an example. While the armies were in aweful silence expecting the signal to engage, a person of the name of Khedjel the son of Athaul, presented himself before the ranks of Ally's line of battle, and challenged the followers of Mauweiah to the test of superior prowess in single combat. The proposal was speedily accepted by one who proved to be the parent of the challenger; but as their countenances were mutally concealed by their visors, the combatants, who were on horseback, had fought for a considerable time with equal advantage, when it was agreed to dismount, and decide the matter on foot. Happening, nevertheless, to put off their helmets, the father and son recognized each other, embraced, and immediately rejoined their respective parties without further contest. The armies, with some degree of horror, perhaps, for the result with which such an unnatural conflict might have been attended, quietly withdrew to their tents.

On the morning of the ensuing day, when the armies were again arranged for battle, the intermediate space was occupied by Auttebah the son of Abi Soffeyan, the brother of Mauweiah. In boastful and insulting language, he called on Jaudah the son of Hobeirah, the sister's son of Ally, to meet him in the trial of arms. The challenge was readily accepted; but in the contest which ensued, the strength, courage, and skill of the combatants appear to have been so equally balanced, that, although irritated to a degree of fury by mutual invective, they agreed to separate, in order to conduct their friends and followers to decide the victory; which, on renewing the struggle, declared in favor of the nephew of Ally, his antagonist being ultimately compelled to leave him in possession of the field.

A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 658. Rouzut ussuffâ.

But to describe severally the multiplied exhibitions of individual prowess, which took place during the whole of this protracted campaign, and in the tedious uniformity of terms in which they are to be found in the narrative, would exhaust the patience of the most indefatigable. It will therefore be our object henceforward, as far as possible, to confine ourselves to those actions only, in which the hero of the piece, and the most distinguished of his party, were personally and exclusively engaged.

The battle of the third day was signalized by an attempt against the person of Ally, on the part of Hurreith the favorite freedman of Mauweiah. Notwithstanding the most earnest dissuasions of his patron against an undertaking of so much hazard, this man suffered himself to be blinded by the insinuations of Amrû, that the cautions of Mauweiah arose from a secret compunction, lest an uncle's son should fall by the hand of one of his own immediate dependents; and thus infatuated, he rushed to meet his doom, clad in the armour, and mounted on the horse of his master. His career was however of short duration. Having audaciously defied the force of Ally's arm, that prince hastened to receive him, nothing loath; and with a single stroke of his scimitar, at once put an end to his life and ambition, for he had flattered himself, that the government of Tiberias in Palestine, would have been the reward of success. Mauweiah is stated to have suffered the keenest regret from the fate of this person, whom next to Abdurraihman the son of Khaled, he acknowledged to possess the highest share of his confidence; and he did not fail to reproach Amrû with the influence which he had so officiously exerted in bringing it to pass. Amrû remarked that it was useless to rail at what had happened; that in the advice which he had offered, he was actuated by no unworthy motive; but he conceived it just, that those who enjoyed the noblest distinctions under his government, should be the most conspicuous in their exertions for its defence: and for a similar reason he suggested the expediency of calling upon Abdullah the son of Mûssaudah ul Ferauzy, as the next worthiest to oppose the valour of Ally. Abdullah testifying, however, by his silence, that the enterprize was rather beyond his ambition, Amrû demanded if he could then reconcile himself to the stigma of dishonour; and the splendid presents of Mauweiah further operating to dazzle his understanding, he also consented to tempt his destiny; and approached Ally, disguised in the armour and habiliments of Mauweiah. But the lightning which gleamed from Ally's sword awakened such

dreadful apprehensions in his mind, that he piteously exclaimed, in the utmost trepidation, that he was not Mauweiah; but that he had been compelled by him, in that disguise, to expose himself in a conflict with Ally. The latter, disdaining a contest with the slave of compulsion, told him, contemptuously, to retire; a permission, of which he was not slow to avail himself. Rejoining Mauweiah, he experienced from him those reproaches which his pusillanimity appeared to deserve, but to which he seems to have put a stop, by coldly demanding, if he felt any regard for his own life; and when Mauweiah acknowledged the affirmative, he rejoined that he must then not be surprised if others were influenced by the same feelings; and for his own part he confessed, that he saw nothing very desirable in the most princely possessions, if a conflict with Ally was to be the price.

A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 658. Rouzut ussuffa

The next whom Amrû thought fit to recommend as worthy of assailing the person of Ally, was Besheir the son of Ertaut; and he was accordingly proceeding on this dangerous experiment, when a kinsman interposed by every argument of prudence, and inferiority of personal strength and skill, to dissuade him from his rash design; he declared, notwithstanding, that he was bound to obey the commands of his general, though death itself dwelt on the point of Ally's spear, and perdition in the hilt of his sword. Thus bravely resolved, he advanced towards Ally, and having fortunately contrived to elude the first stroke of zûl fekkaur,* that prince enraged at the failure, forced him from the saddle and dashed him to the earth, without however offering him any further injury. For this instance of forbearance, one reason which Ally assigned was, that destiny had postponed his death; and that if the person who required the explanation should survive long enough, he would probably witness the evils which this miscreant was designed to occasion to his injured family; and in the event it will be seen that Besheir bore a conspicuous part in the bloody tragedy at Kerbêla. On the retreat of this person, the Syrian chieftains appear to have declined, for the present at any rate, all further individual contest with Ally, who accordingly then withdrew to his station in the centre. The operations of the day concluded with the conversion to the cause of

* The name of Ally's double edged sword.

A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 658. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Ally, of Zeberkaï a distinguished warrior in the service of Mauweiah; who had occasionally officiated as almoner to the prophet, and as agent of the public booty, in the reign of Abu Bukker; and having been employed during the Syrian war in that of Omar, he had ever since continued attached to the destiny of the governors of that province. Finding himself unexpectedly opposed to the youthful Imaum Hûsseyne, who, by his fathers permission, had accepted his challenge, he was seized with a sudden compunction at the idea of drawing his sword against one whom he could not but remember, as the object of his prophet's fondest caresses; and he therefore intreated that Hûsseyne would become his intercessor for forgiveness with his father; to which he was accordingly received without great difficulty. The armies retired for the night to their respective encampments.

On one of the succeeding days of this memorable contest, on which it was the lot of Aumar Yausser, at the head of the troops of Irak, to bear a conspicuous share, Amrû, with the choice of the army of Syria, drew out to oppose him. Among these latter, there appearing a standard, the colour of which was symbolical of the party and principles of the house of Abbas, the troops of Ally immediately recognized it as one which had been presented with his own hands to Amrû, by the prophet. Such an impression Ally conceived it necessary to remove, by asserting that this most honorable proof of confidence in superior valour, had been bestowed on Amrû, on the express condition, that he should never fly before infidels, nor fight against the faithful; the first of which he had violated before the prophet's death, and of the latter his contempt was sufficiently demonstrated by his appearance in arms against his brethren, on the present occasion. Aumar Yausser and Amrû engaged however the whole of this day without claiming the advantage on either side.

On one of the following days, Ahemmer, the mowlaï, or confidential freedman of Abu Soffeyan, and one of the most intrepid warriors of the age, came forward, and gave defiance to Ally. Saussah the son of Soujan endeavoured to check his presumption, by imprecating the vengeance of heaven on the man who employed such a dog as he was, to insult the chosen servant of God. Ahemmer called out, notwithstanding, that his challenge was directed to Ally, and to no other person; and that he should never quit that spot without the head of the son of Abitauleb, or the

loss of his own. Apprized of his insolent menaces, the Khalif hastened to inflict the chastizement which he seemed to provoke, by these arrogant defiances; and immediately seizing him by the shoulders, he dashed him to the earth with such furious violence as to fracture every bone and limb of his body. Ally resumed his station. Kerreib the son of Abrâhah, of the race of Ziyezzen, of hideous visage and gigantic stature, and of whose extraordinary strength it is given as a proof, that he could obliterate the impressions on a dirrem with his thumbs, was the next who placed himself in a posture of defiance, in the presence of Ally's followers, three of whom had successively fallen by the more than brutal force of his arm; when the forbearance of that prince became exhausted, and he determined without further delay to put a period to his triumphs, and avenge the immolation of his brave companions. He accordingly approached, and threatening him with the severity of divine wrath which was now at hand, he admonished him to avoid it by an immediate and seasonable recantation of his errors. With insolent defiance, Kerreib replied, that with the trusty sword which he brandished in his hand, he had laid many such as Ally in the dust; and at the same instant making at him a well directed stroke, the Khalif received it on his buckler, and immediately returning it with unerring force and precision, clove him from the crest to the saddle bow.

A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 658. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Ally again withdrew to his station, directing his son Mahommed by Haneifah, to remain however on the spot for a short time, in order to answer to the demands for vengeance, which were likely to proceed from the relatives of the slain. Shortly afterwards, as he had foreseen, an uncle's son of the fallen warrior, accordingly rode up, and imperiously demanded, whither the cavalier who had slaughtered his kinsman had withdrawn himself. The son of Haneifah informed him in reply, that *he* had been deputed to represent the person whom he sought. A contest immediately ensued; in which, after a struggle of some duration and obstinacy, the youthful warrior succeeded at last in unhorsing, and bringing his antagonist to the earth; and in the same manner, not less than eight more of the kinsmen of the deceased were successively compelled to yield to the superior valour and martial skill of the gallant son of Haneifah. Of

A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 658. Rouzut ussuffâ. the latter, it is said that, when afterwards questioned by his friends as to the motives which could have actuated his father, in exposing him to such repeated assaults on this occasion, while he appeared so scrupulous with respect to his brothers Hussun and Hûsseyne; the generous youth replied, that nothing could be more reasonable than that the hands should be employed for the defence of the eyes, which, as he explained it, was the distinction in which he and his brothers possessed the regard of their parent.

During one of the subsequent days of the war, Abdurraihman the son of Khâled, in the usual posture of menace and defiance, presented himself on the plain. To his summons cheerfully answered the fearless Malek Ashtur, who with one tremendous stroke of his scimitar, divided his helmet to the scull. Stunned by the blow, although no further injured, Abdurraihman rather disgracefully withdrew; and appearing before Mauweiah, freely confessed that he felt himself no longer capable of supporting his scheme of vengeance against the destroyers of Othman: the fermentation of whose blood, as far as he could judge, was not likely to subside, but in the total annihilation of those who had undertaken to avenge it. Mauweiah observed in reply, that his ardour for battle seemed to be very easily extinguished, since so childish an adventure was sufficient to drive him from the field; he should rather have called to his recollection the cruel insults endured by the injured monarch whom they were associated to avenge; and above all to bear in mind, that with the resolute and brave, God was always present. To which, with as little reserve, Abdurraihman was heard to rejoin, that such remarks might well proceed from Mauweiah seated on his couch of state, a remote spectator of the storm, while the sword and spear were left entirely to his friends. He now called upon him in one instance at least to afford the world a proof of the sincerity of his professions; to disrobe himself of his unmanly silks, and clad in the habiliments of a soldier, for once assay the perils of the conflict. These severe hints were received by Mauweiah with apparent good humour. Calling for his helmet and armour, he proceeded towards the embattled front of the enemy, of whom he defied the boldest to enter the lists with him, directing his challenge in particular to the tribe of Hamdan. This was accepted by Saueid the son of Keyss, the ansaur, who accordingly advanced from the ranks of Ally's troops, and discovering the quality and

identity of his antagonist, eagerly rushed to engage him; but conceiving himself unequal to a contest with this veteran chief, Mauweiah precipitately withdrew to his tent, speechless with consternation and shame. A.H.XXXVIII. A.D.658. Rouzut ussuflâ.

After this abortive exertion of spirit on the part of Mauweiah, which as coming from the pen of an adversary we are not warranted perhaps in admitting to our belief without a considerable reserve on the score of inveterate prejudice, Malek Ashtur came forward, calling for an opponent in the trial of arms. The person who presented himself to accept the challenge, appears to have been Obaidullah the son of the Khalif Omar, unconscious that he was opposed to his uncle. Upon nearer approach, he demanded the name of his antagonist, as he should not condescend to measure his sword with an inferior. "Men call me Malek the son of Hâreth," replied Malek Ashtur; on which, after a short pause, Obaidullah observed that had he previously recognized him for his uncle, he would not have been the person to assail him; at all events, he must intreat his permission to retire. Malek Ashtur cautioned him to beware of having it said, that the son of Omar had basely shrunk from a contest with his equal. Obaidullah rejoined, that life imported him far more than the clamours of a sensless populace; he should be the rather more gratified in the saying, *God has preserved*, than as a lifeless corse, that they should ejaculate, *God have mercy upon his soul.* In short, that of two alternatives, he would rather forfeit the opinion of the world, than imbrue his hands in the blood of his relative. Upon this Malek Ashtur permitted him to withdraw, admonishing him for the future, not to enter the lists with an opponent, to whose person he was a stranger. Rejoicing at his escape, Obaidullah now presented himself before Mauweiah, by whom he was desired to account, if possible, for the extraordinary symptoms of alarm, of which he did not even yet appear sufficiently recovered; for to him it seemed, that in courage and personal strength he and Malek Ashtur were much upon a par. To this, having received for answer, a demand why he did not himself make the experiment, Mauweiah ventured unfortunately to boast, that he had already met a person not inferior to Ashtur in any respect; alluding to his aukward adventure with Saueid; Obaidullah again observed, that this was very true, but he supposed that he would not presume to deny, that they were no sooner about to engage, than he fled before his antagonist like the fox from the assault of the lion. Here Mauweiah swore by his God, that

A.H.XXXVIII. when it suited his convenience to meet the son of Abitauleb himself, it
A. D. 658. should be seen that he would not shun a contest with him. In the midst
Rouzut ussuffâ. of the altercation, as if fortune was determined to bring his sincerity to the test, the ears of Mauweiah were suddenly appalled by the voice of Ally, loudly inviting the son of Hinda to spare the effusion of Mahommedan blood, by meeting him but for one short instant in a trial of arms; that if he was victorious the world would be his own without a rival; but wherever the victory rested, the public, at least, would be relieved from the pressure of those calamities with which it had been so long afflicted. Perfectly aware that the speech of Ally was exclusively addressed to himself, Mauweiah preserved, notwithstanding, the most profound silence; nor could he be prevailed upon to unseal his lips, by either arguments or expostulations; though the son of Omar adjured him to attend to the invitations of his rival, as he valued his fame as a warrior, and his character as the heir of Abû Soffeyan; and to embrace the opportunity of exhibiting to the world a glorious proof, that his pretensions to superior prowess were established on the justest foundations.

Neither the representations of Obaidullah, nor the reiterated calls of Ally were, however, capable of producing any impression on the behaviour of Mauweiah; he persisted in the most obstinate silence. And Ally perceiving that threats and invitations were equally unavailing, directed his career upon the front of the Syrian army, which after throwing into disorder from right to left, he returned to his station. The remarks of the son of Omar were now pointed with keener severity to the disgraceful apathy of Mauweiah; on which he did not forbear to observe, that whatever credit they might still have been disposed to give him, (although the result of his meeting with Saueid afforded a tolerable proof that his boasted pretensions were little to be depended on) yet the trembling limbs, and livid countenance with which he heard the proposals of his more warlike rival, were demonstrations too palpable, not to remove the delusion altogether: and what further means he had in reserve for the prosecution of his designs, he must, for his own part, confess himself at a loss to conjecture. Much offended at this freedom of language on the part of a dependant, Mauweiah desired Amrû to notice the remarks with which the son of Omar presumed to insult his presence; but Amrû declaring himself of a similar opinion, that in declining a personal conflict with Ally, he had done wrong,

Mauweiah thought fit to observe, that doubtless he also entertained his views on the sovereign authority; otherwise he would have forborne to urge him to the hazard of a contest, from which he had not yet seen any one return with life. Amrû solemnly disclaimed all views of this nature, although peradventure his pretensions might be individually considered not less warrantable than those of some other persons; but what would be the opinion of the world, when it should be known, that on such on occasion, the haughty and ambitious Mauweiah had so passively endured the taunts and provocations of his couzin. To this Mauweiah made no reply, but turning the matter off with a smile, betook himself to other considerations.

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The author has, however, taken care to provide his readers with an immediate proof, that his hero was not less an object of terror to the other Syrian chieftains, than he was to Mauweiah himself. For having in the interim exchanged his armour, and otherwise disguised himself, Ally again appeared, daring them to the combat. Unconscious of the identity of his opponent, Amrû ventured to advance a few steps, and Ally desirous of drawing him to a more convenient distance from the protection of his followers, continued to curvet round his person, as if apprehensive of approaching too near; which encouraged him to proceed a little further, concluding that this cautious circumspection, in no shape indicated that ardent and intrepid courage, which distinguished the son of Abûtauleb. He therefore advanced in his career, repeating certain lines which imported to the chiefs of the army of Kûfah, and the destroyers of Othman, that speedy discomfiture and havoc, which he was about to carry among them, though a thousand Abûl Hussuns* were numbered in their ranks. Ally replied in responsive measure; and in terms which rather unexpectedly announced to Amrû, the antagonist to whom he had so rashly opposed himself. Without a moment's delay or reflection he gave his horse the reins, and with whip and spur, urged him to escape within the protection of the Syrian line. Ally pursued with eagerness, and making a well intended longe, the point of his lance passed through the skirt of Amrû's coat of mail, which brought him head foremost to the earth; unfortunately, not wearing drawers, and his heels in the air, that part of his person

* Appellation of Ally as the father of Hussun.

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became exposed which we shall forbear to particularize. In this situation Ally scorned to do him any further injury, and suffered him to escape with the contemptuous remark, that he was never to forget the circumstance to which he was indebted for life and safety.

Thus escaped from the jaws of death, Amrû appeared in the presence of Mauweiah, with whom a conversation passed, which, though ill suited to the gravity of history, has however not been thought unworthy of relation. Mauweiah. "I give thee credit Amrû for thy ingenious contrivance; "though I believe thou wilt be the first on record that ever escaped the "sword by so scandalous an exposure. To the day of thy death it there- "fore behoves thee to be grateful to those organs, to which alone thy "safety has been owing. Art thou not ashamed of being thus the accom- "plice of thine own infamy?" Amru—"Put a check to thy loquacity "Mauweiah, hadst thou been in my place, thy pride had been completely "humbled, and thy wives and children, at this moment, widowed and "fatherless; when Ally dared thee to the field, did I not see thee pale and "deprived of motion? From a man of thy doubtful courage, these sarcas- "tical remarks on my actions are therefore equally unseasonable and "unbecoming." Mauweiah, (laughing)—"Pray how didst thou contrive "to breathe, Amrû, in a posture so uncouth, with thy legs swinging in the "air; I fancy thou wast little aware of the disgrace about to befal thee, "or thou wouldst surely have provided thyself with a pair of drawers." Amrû—"My conduct is no further singular than that when I perceived "the superior strength of mine enemy, I thought it prudent to retreat." Mauweiah—"I do not pretend to aver that there is any thing peculiarly "disgraceful in yielding to such as Ally: I only maintain that it was "scandalously so, to make a pair of colour staffs of thy legs, and to expose "thyself so shamefully to him and all the world." Amrû—"It cannot "surely be surprising, that when he recollected me to be his uncle's son, "Ally should have been induced to spare me." Mauweiah—"Nay "Amrû this is too arrogant to be borne, remembering, as I do, the pro- "phet's declaration, that Ally was of the same descent with himself, even "to father Adam. Now we all know that the father of Ally was a chief "of the illustrious race of Haushem; whereas thine was no more than a "common butcher, of the tribe of Koraish." Amrû—"Great God! "these sarcastic remarks are to me far more intolerable than the pain

"inflicted by the swords and arrows of the enemy. Had I remained A.H.XXXVIII.
"quietly at home, without involving myself in thy quarrel, and bartering A.D.658.
"my eternal welfare for worldly profit, I should never have been destined Rouzut
"to listen to such speeches, nor have subjected myself to the endurance ussuffâ.
"of all this burden of labour and anxiety." Such, without embellishment, was the conversation which has been ascribed to these two celebrated men on this very ludicrous occasion; and which, as an illustration of manners, however deplorably it may fall short of the manly and exalted sentiments conveyed in the ingenious fabrications of the illustrious historian of the Roman republic, we have ventured to admit into these pages. But as if our author were unwilling to part with his reader on such easy terms, he insists upon furnishing him with another relation of the meeting betwixt Amrû and Ally; with whom the former had pledged himself to hazard a personal conflict, as the price of his restoration to the presence of Mauweiah, from which, in consequence of his importunities and the freedom of his remarks, he had been punished by an expulsion of some days. The result was, however, similar to what has been already described, and subjected Amrû for a long time afterwards to the scorn and derision of Mauweiah.

For two sections further are we compelled to accompany our author, in his tedious and not very interesting descriptions of various individual conflicts which took place during this protracted campaign. Among the Syrians, one of the most distinguished for hardihood and deeds of blood, was Gherraur the son of Ul Adehem; who now repaired to the intermediate space mutually assigned by the contending armies for these martial exhibitions, and after a boastful recital of his own exploits, concluded by a general defiance to the followers of Ally. Aware of the undaunted courage and ferocity, which this person was acknowledged to possess, none of the Khalif's troops for some time appeared disposed to enter the lists with him; until as he was parading to and fro, he happened to cast his eyes upon Aiaush the son of Rebbeiah the Haushemite, of whom he demanded, if he felt so disposed, to try the effect of a career or two with him. Aiaush readily acceded to his proposal, on condition that they should each dismount; since they might on foot contend with greater security, while it

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would not be so easy to elude the stroke of him who possessed the sharpest sword. This was a method to which Gherraur observed that he did not experience the slightest difficulty in subscribing. They accordingly quitted their horses, and most furiously assailed each other with their scimitars; the adverse hosts resting on their arms the while, to behold the combat. Such, however was the impenetrable fabric or temper of their armour, that every exertion to strike with effect proved utterly unavailing, until at length marking an interstice in the mail of his antagonist, Aiaush watched his opportunity, and inflicted so deadly a wound with the united strength of both his arms, that Gherraur immediately fell, amidst the tekbeirs and loudest plaudits of the friends of Ally, and to the equal confusion and sorrow of the adverse party.

Finding, from those who attended his person, that Aiaush was the successful combatant in the arduous struggle, Ally immediately required his presence; not indeed to applaud and reward him as he might perhaps have fondly anticipated, but to reprobate his conduct for his presumptuous infraction and disobedience of orders, after the injunctions which, equally with Abdullah Abbas, had been so strictly laid upon him not to quit his station in the line on any pretext whatever. Aiaush endeavoured to vindicate himself by alleging the reflections to which he would have been exposed, if he had declined the invitation of his adversary in the face of the whole army. Ally desired him to recollect how much more meritorious it was to abide by the precepts of his Imaum, or hierarch, than by listening to the suggestions of a declared enemy, to involve himself in destruction. Addressing, however, a short prayer to the Almighty, he supplicated that his mercy might be extended to Aiaush, and that the merit of his exploit might not be rendered totally unavailing. On the other hand, Mauweiah apprized of the fate of Gherraur, proposed to make that man the wealthiest among the wealthy, who should avenge him on his destroyer. Two warriors of the tribe of Benni Lehim announced that they were ready to be the executioners of his vengeance; and having been assured of a reward of twenty thousand dirhems* each, they jointly approached the station of Aiaush, whom they dared to the combat. The latter apprized them that it was not in his power to engage them without

* About 458*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

the permission of his general; to whom, in the mean time, he found means to report the circumstance. Ally, after affirming with an oath, that it appeared to be the determination of Mauweiah that none of the Benni Haushem at least should be suffered to breathe upon earth, commanded his friend to dismount and put off his armour: and having given his own to Aiaush, he directed him to personate his sovereign, and occupy his station until he should return. Mounted on the horse of Aiaush, and clad in his armour, Ally proceeded thus disguised to meet the challengers. Supposing him to be no other than the warrior whom they sought, they demanded if he had obtained the requisite permission; and as his answer implied that he was always warranted in attacking the oppressors, and that the cause of Ally had the support of Omnipotence, one of them immediately assailed him. With a single sweep of his scimitar, the Khalif severed the upper from the lower half of his body; and such, adds the historian, was the keenness and temper of the steel, and the rapidity and precision of the stroke, that the man thus divided in halves, continued fixed in the saddle; the spectators concluding that Ally had missed his blow, until on the movement of the horse the two parts of the body, on opposite sides, fell to the ground.

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The hope of golden reward wrought so powerfully, notwithstanding, with the survivor that he summoned still sufficient courage to sustain the assault of Ally, so that he was also dispatched to share the fate of his companion. The destroyer of the Benni Lehim became now identified; and Mauweiah bitterly complained that every measure on which he had been led to repose any reliance, seemed hitherto destined to terminate in disappointment and disgrace. To this, in retaliation perhaps for his recent sarcastic remarks, Amrû dryly observing, that in this instance unfortunately the Lehimians and not Mauweiah were the sufferers, the author has accommodated his readers with another colloquy between these celebrated chieftains. Mauweiah—"Silence Amrû, thy remarks are at present "unseasonable." Amrû—"I will at least supplicate that they may be "received to the mercy of heaven, although on that subject I have ample "reason to despair." Mauweiah—"If they shall not find mercy, how "wretched, Amrû, will be thy destiny?" Amrû—"Even so, for had not

A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 658. Rouzut-ussuffâ. "my indiscreet ambition to possess the government of Egypt prevailed "over every other consideration, my steps would at this moment have "been directed towards paradise." Mauweiah—"Never didst thou utter "a greater truth. Thy greediness in that point hath so totally blinded thy "understanding, as to have involved thee in a labyrinth of errors, from "which thou wilt not easily extricate thyself. Thou hast indeed proved "thyself a wonderful compound of duplicity, ambition, avarice, and art." Happy had it been for Mauweiah, observes the author in this place, if he had not been himself a slave to the very passions and vices of which he here so very modestly accuses Amrû; or if he had been that simple and artless character, under the appearance of which only, he had contrived to impose so egregiously upon the world. We are then informed that the armies now engaged in general conflict, until the radiant luminary which rules the day descending to the obscure chambers of the evening, consigned them as usual for a short interval of repose to their tents; neither side, as yet, claiming any material advantage over the other.

In the course of one of the following days, Othman the son of Wâeil, whom with his brother Hamzah, the historians of this war have agreed to place in martial virtue, on a level with the bravest of the age in which they lived, and on either of whom, whether at home or in the field of battle, Mauweiah reposed his firmest reliance, presented himself on the accustomed space, and demanded an opponent. Aiaush the son of Rebbeiah already noticed above, again quitted his station, and obeyed the summons. A short conflict gave the victory to the son of Rebbeiah, who, with a dexterous sweep of his scimitar, struck off the head of his adversary; and Hamzah was preparing to avenge the death of his brother, when again we find Ally exchanging his armour for that of Aiaush, and in that disguise presenting himself to his assault. A single tremendous stroke of zûlfekkaur separated one half of the head and shoulders of the illfated warrior from his body, to the surprise of the spectators; who, deceived by the disguise, ascribed the glory of the exploit to the humbler merit of Aiaush. The next who presented himself under the same fatal impression to the avenging steel of Ally, was Amrû the son of Aiss, of the tribe of Benni Lehim, also reckoned among the bravest of the age in which he lived. As he seemed at first disposed to amuse himself by a display of skill in the management of his lance, Ally thought fit to remind him that this was a day of serious practice, not of childish amusement; which, stimulating the ardour of the

Syrian, he rushed upon the prophet's rightful successor with all the fury of revenge. It was, however, speedily allayed. One unerring sweep of zûlfekkaur separated the upper portion of his body, which fell clean to the earth from the inferior half which remained fixed on the saddle. These circumstances, however, bear so striking a resemblance to those already related in a preceding page, that they may be probably referred to the same occurrence, described with a little variation. But such, at any rate, was the extraordinary appearance exhibited by the mutilated carcase of the Lehimian, that it forcibly attracted the attention of Âmrû Auss; who incontinently exclaimed, that such a wound could only be inflicted by the arm of Ally, and by his alone. Mauweiah, nevertheless, professing to discredit the assertion, Amrû proposed that he should order a general charge; adding, that if the disguised warrior kept his ground without shrinking, he required no other proof of his identity; if not, he should acknowledge his error. Accordingly the whole collected force of that part of the battle united in an assault upon the person of Ally, by whom it was sustained with immoveable firmness; nor could he be induced to withdraw until three and thirty of the enemy had successively fallen by his hand. The loyal and intrepid Malek Ashtur then interposed, intreating that he would cease to contend any longer with a misguided multitude, whose unhallowed attempts he would himself be responsible to chastize. He continued however for some time to resist the importunities of his friend, appealing to the example of the prophet; who in the battles of Ohud and Honeyne, did not conceive it beneath him to engage in a personal contest with his enemies; and urging the termination of those ills, which his faithful followers had been compelled to endure, that would be the unquestionable result, if Mauweiah and his associate Amrû would meet him hand to hand.

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Suffering himself to be prevailed upon at last, however, by the repeated solicitations of Malek Ashtur, Ally withdrew to his station; and his intrepid friend now substituted his own endeavours to provoke Mauweiah to a personal contest, which the latter affected to disdain, on the plea that he was not his equal. Malek Ashtur next directing his attention to some other prey, fixed upon Jundeb the son of Abi Rebbeiah whom he dared to attest his prowess. This person had hitherto in vain solicited the hand of Mareiah, one of the daughters of Mauweiah; and being observed to hesitate with regard to the challenge of Malek Ashtur, Amrû undertook to engage that the object of his love and ambition should be the reward of a successful contest: a pros-

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pect so flattering to his hopes irresistibly led him to tempt his fate. He accordingly approached his warlike antagonist, who smiled with contemptuous ire at the information which he dared to announce, that the hand of the princess of Damascus was to be the price of his head. At the first onset Jundeb passed his lance under the arm of his opponent, who retained it in that position with a force which all the exertion of the Syrian was unable to relax, until it was divided in twain by the sword of that faithful advocate of the cause of Ally. Thus disarmed of the weapon on which he seemed to have rested his chief dependence, Jundeb endeavoured to save himself by a sudden flight, but was soon overtaken, and his ambition forever appeased by the unerring arm of his pursuer. Prosecuting his advantage with an impetuosity which struck terror all around him, the Syrians dispersed before Malek Ashtur like a flock of sheep; and he had made his way to the person Mauweiah, whom he was preparing to rid of his cares forever, when a soldier, of the tribe of Benni Jammia, interposed, and yielded his own a sacrifice to save the life of his general. Mauweiah rejoicing in the escape, hastily withdrew himself from the scene of danger.

Among the occurrences which distinguished another of the days of this memorable war, the demeanor of a certain Mohaurek the son of Abdurraihman, has been selected for particular relation in this place. Entering the lists on the part of Mauweiah, this Syrian proclaimed the ordinary challenge to the troops of Ally, and required an equal combatant. Fatally for himself, Moumen the son of Abdullah, of the tribe of Mûraud, became the first to repel the proud defiance; and falling in the conflict, the ferocious Syrian struck off his head, placing it with its lips kissing the dust: then stripping the lifeless corse, he barbarously and indecently exposed it in that state to the view of both armies. Exulting at this early specimen of success, Mohaurek again haughtily measured the field, daring the adverse line to a further trial of arms. His appeal was next answered by Mosslem the son of Abdurreiah, of the tribe of Ezd, who, as well as two other warriors who generously endeavoured to avenge his death, shared the fate, and was condemned to the same brutal and unmanly exposure with his predecessor. The arrogance of the Syrian became now above all restraint; the soldiers of Ally being in truth more powerfully deterred from a contest with him, by an apprehension of the infamous and brutal exposure after

death, than by the prospect of death itself. This brutal treatment of the slain was probably levelled as an insult to the unsullied purity and honorable feelings of the son of Abûtauleb; whose particular abhorrence of a proceeding so savage could not have been unknown to the enemy. Accordingly the disgraceful circumstance became no sooner known to the Khalif, than he hastened to disrobe himself of his ordinary garb, and in a disguise which sufficiently concealed his identity, presented himself to the vaunting Syrian. Spurred to his fate by a spirit of presumption, and ignorance of the quality of his illustrious opposer, he did not hesitate to attack the person of Ally, by whose scimitar he was instantly cloven from the shoulder to the chine. The Khâlif then dismounting from his horse, struck off his head; but in contrast to the practice of the fallen miscreant, he placed it on the earth face upwards, to the contemplation of heaven. In the same manner seven more of the Syrian warriors, who assailed the person of Ally, became the victims of their own rashness, and successively shared the fate of their predecessors.

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Observing that matters had taken this serious reverse, the love of life was not less powerful in intimidating the Syrians from the hazard of a contest with the intrepid unknown, than the apprehensions of a scandalous exposure had recently proved in deterring their adversaries: and Mauweiah also finding that the same panic had irresistibly seized the bravest of his soldiers, called upon one of his slaves of the name of Hâreth, distinguished for superior strength and hardihood, to summon the whole of his force, in order to terminate the mischiefs of which this strange cavalier was the occasion; an undertaking, he added, worthy of his unrivalled prowess. "Alas my lord," said Hâreth, "though convinced from observation that "the united force of your army would be insufficient to compel him to "retire; and though all who make the attempt be doomed to perish, yet "since my life appears to have no further value in your esteem, and a "refusal on my part might produce a degree of affliction on yours, I am "prepared to evince my obedience, though inevitable death be the issue. "Better I should perish a thousand times, than my lord should suffer a "moment's uneasiness." "God forbid," replied Mauweiah, "that I "should consent to thy destruction; so far from it, that I do not wish thee "the slightest injury. Set thy mind at rest, I will endeavour to find a "remedy in prevailing upon some other to undertake the enterprize." In

A.H.XXXVIII. this, however, he was rather less fortunate in his research, than his slave
A. D. 658. was in the exemption: not one in the whole army appearing disposed to
Rouzut ussuffa. engage in the perilous attempt. Ally no longer at a loss to conjecture the reason, put off his helmet, and pronounced with a voice of defiance that he was Abûl Hussun; and this producing a tumultuous murmur among the Syrians, he disdainfully withdrew; the slave of Mauweiah exulting in the sagacity which had enabled him to estimate the danger from which the forbearance of his sovereign had so seasonably contributed to rescue him.

In one short section, with a brevity of which we cannot often accuse him, our annalist proceeds to dispatch the events of three successive days of battle; the third of which was fatal to Obaidullah the son of the Khâlif Omar, who fell by a mortal wound from the lance of Hurreith the son of Jauber the Hanefite, while conspicuously engaged at the head of the troops of Mauweiah; although the death of this prince is an honor equally contended for by the tribes of Hamdan and Hazramowut. His fate is at the same time described by the compiler of the Habeib usseyr, with some variation of circumstance; he is represented to have fought this day at the head of two thousand horse, in complete armour; and previous to the wound which occasioned his death, to have called on Imaum Hussun who attended his father's person, as the offspring of the spotless Fatima, and the prophet's grandson, to propose himself for the Khelafût; as the only sure means, from the nature of his pretensions the justice of which was equally undisputed by all parties, to put a stop to the effusion of blood. This measure so repugnant to the sentiments of filial respect and affection which animated the bosom of Hussun, was immediately rejected with scorn and indignation; subsequent to which, the son of Omar received that wound which forever closed his career.

The twenty sixth day from the recommencement of hostilities was rendered memorable by the fall of the aged and respectable Aumer Yausser. On this occasion the armies had been led into action before sun rise; and the venerable warrior, now upwards of ninety-one, was seen to address himself with more than ordinary earnestness, and disregard of danger, to the business of the day, though dissuaded from an unnecessary exposure of his person by the Khâlif himself. In one of the repeated charges into the thickest ranks of the enemy, from which he was not to be restrained,

the only person of eminence recorded to have fallen by his hand, was a brother of Zûl Kullaa, the Homeirian, who became the victim of his rashness, in endeavouring to arrest the progress of this veteran chief. Fatigued, however, with exertion beyond the compass of his years, and fainting with thirst, Aumar called for water; by some accident or other they procured him a cup of milk and water, called by the Arabs zabbauh, which he no sooner observed, than repeating the tekbeir, and taking a draught of the grateful beverage, he related to his attendants a prediction of the prophet; that he should fall by the hands of rebels; that he should receive his mortal wound in that part of the body which is neither subject to the protection of the angel Gabriel, nor of Michael, but betwixt both; and that his death would be at hand when he desired water, and they should bring him milk and water; from all which he assured them that he should not survive the day.

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According to others, he desired his followers to observe the banners which floated among the squadrons of Mauweiah; with these, he said, he had on three memorable occasions in the service of his prophet, combated the adversaries of the true faith: and yet that the time was come, in which he might with a safe conscience assure his soldiers that it was a sacred duty to assail those who were associated under the shadow of the same banners. For his own part, he was not disposed to conceal from them, that this day was destined to be the last of his life; but for such a circumstance he intreated them to be under no concern; rather to commit his fate to the disposal of that benignant being, in whose mercy, the advocates of the cause of a just and virtuous prince would find a sure and everlasting asylum. So saying, he gave his charger the lash, and plunged with desperate violence into the hottest of the action. After having successively charged them, with a contempt of danger which could not fail to render him an object too conspicuous not to attract the attention of the enemy, he was at last surrounded by the Syrians; and one of them, at a moment when he was off his guard, transfixed him with a lance below the short ribs. Fainting under the anguish of his wound, he yet summoned sufficient strength to withdraw to the protection of his own party; and then renewing the draught of milk and water, bore testimony to the truth

A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 658. Rouzut ussuffâ. of the prophet's prediction, and immediately expired. Information of the melancholy event was speedily conveyed to Ally; who hastened to the pillow of the departed warrior, and placing his head upon his knees, proceeded to lament his fate, in a strain which bespoke his own sorrow and the transcendent merit of him whose loss he deplored. He further pronounced that that man was no true Mahommedan, to whom the death of the venerable Aumar was not a serious private affliction; and having implored the mercy of his creator for the departed spirit of his friend, on that day when risen from the dust an account of his actions should be required of him, he related, as a proof of the intimate friendship which subsisted between him and their revered and illustrious prophet, that he never observed three persons in company with the latter, to whom Aumar did not make a fourth, nor four to whom he did not make the fifth. Not once, repeated he, but most frequently had the lamented Aumar secured a claim to the mansions of eternal bliss, the gates of which were doubtless at this moment thrown open to receive him; while he could undertake to announce for his destroyers, as well as for his calumniators, and those who had stripped him of his armour, an abode in everlasting misery. From this latter circumstance it would, however, appear, that the body of Aumar had originally been left on the field of battle; but being afterwards recovered, received the rites of sepulture from the hands of Ally himself, who did not fail to do justice to the virtues of his departed friend.

It is at the same time further related, that the day on which he fell, the person of the venerable Aumar Yausser was pointed out to his followers by Mauweiah, who promised a purse of dirhems to any one that would bring him his head. Soon afterwards, Wulleid the son of Aukkebah, and a certain Eben ul Joun Ussegoony, appeared in his presence with the head of the fallen chief, each claiming for himself the merit of having killed him. Unable to judge between them, Mauweiah referred them to the decision of Abdullah the son of Amrû. To direct him in his decision, Abdullah desired that they would respectively describe the manner in which this exploit had been performed. Wulleid affirmed generally, that he had assailed and killed the aged warrior, without stating the particulars of the combat; on which Abdullah pronounced without hesitation, that he at any rate was guiltless of the deed, and turning to Eben Usseggoony, he required his statement of the case. This person proceeded accordingly to

relate, that his lance having penetrated the armour of Aumar Yausser, the latter was unhorsed in the conflict; and exclaimed, that he must despair of deliverance, whose contrition and humiliation was destined to take place in the presence of the two archangels already named. An exclamation, of which, unless it attested the conviction of the dying chief, that the hour of dissolution was too late for repentance, we cannot pretend to explain the allusion. In this situation, however, according to the statement of Ussegoony, Aumar looked incautiously to the right and left, and thus afforded an opportunity to strike off his head at a single blow; "take thy reward" said Abdullah, "and at the same time my congratulation on the "prospect of eternal punishment." "Wretched is my lot then if I kill," cried Usseggoony, throwing away the purse of dirhems which had been delivered to him, "and equally wretched if I am killed." As a sequel to the death of this venerable personage, we are also informed, that when it was mentioned to Mauweiah by Amrû, as a circumstance to be regretted, that Aumar had fallen by the hands of their soldiers, the former demanded why the matter should give him such concern? "Surely," cried Amrû, "thou art not aware of the prophet's prediction, that he should be cut off "by rebels." "Say not that our men were his destroyers," rejoined Mauweiah, "he was the murderer of Aumar Yausser, who engaged him "in the war, namely, the son of Abûtauleb." On which occasion, Abdullah the son of Amrû, who was present during the conversation, shrewdly remarked, that the guilt of Hamzah's blood, by a similarity of reasoning, must rest with the prophet who conducted him to the field of Ohud; not with Wahaushy, by whose spear he fell. A remark which is, however, by others ascribed to Ally himself, when the saying of Mauweiah was afterwards reported to him.

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The contest had now continued for a period of eleven months; in which, according to the best informed historians, though with the exception of the months interdicted by the laws and usages of Arabia, the armies were daily brought into action; yet the dread of total extirpation which reciprocally prevailed, had hitherto deterred the parties from committing their cause to the hazard of a general and decisive battle. One day, however, towards the conclusion of the campaign, Ally is represented to have prepared for

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the conflict with more than usual solemnity. Clad in the prophet's mail and turban, and mounted on the prophet's horse Reyah, with his whip mumshouk in hand, he announced to Malek Ashtur his intention to combat that day, under the old and venerated standard of Mahommed; by whom he acknowledged to have been forewarned at the period of his death, of the hostilities in which he was to be involved, and of the injuries which he was destined to experience from the men of Syria and Damascus. He then directed it to be proclaimed to the army that all who were ambitious of devoting themselves in the service of their God, should immediately prepare for serious action. Accordingly the troops drew out in formidable strength, and the standard of the prophet, now worn to shreds, being produced to them, the appearance of the venerated relic called forth the tears and sobs of the illustrious companions who had so often fought and conquered under its shadow: such as were within reach, kissed it with enthusiastic devotion, while others pressed it to their eyes. Those at a distance were content to fix their looks upon it with feelings of reverence and loyal affection; and in this disposition the various tribes received instructions from Ally to direct their attack respectively upon the opposite squadrons in the adverse line. Mauweiah, on the other hand, was not inactively employed; twelve thousand of the best warriors of the Koraish and other tribes of Hejauz assembled round his tribunal, listened with faithful zeal to the arguments which he repeated to stimulate them to blood and slaughter. Nevertheless, when Ally, sword in hand, at the head of his numerous veterans impetuously rushed upon them to the cry of *Allah hû akbar*, they found themselves incapable of withstanding the assault; and were accordingly thrown into immediate confusion, the ensigns of Mauweiah appearing at this moment to verge on total discomfiture and defeat. Observing them give way in all directions, Ally reproachfully proclaimed aloud, "Men of Damascus whither do ye fly? are ye "yet to learn that victory and defeat are the alternate chances of war?" Awakened to a sense of shame by this seasonable admonition from the lips of an enemy, the Syrians are said to have immediately rallied and recoiled on their adversaries: and thus recovered from disorder, the tribes of Auk and Aishaur, who had been the first to give way on the occasion, were commanded by Mauweiah to post themselves in front, in order to receive the further onset of Ally's troops. The former of these tribes,

observing that the Hamdanites occupied the part of Ally's line of battle which was opposite to them, made a solemn vow that they would never quit the field while one of their opponents remained to dispute it; the same resolution was adopted and announced by the Hamdanites, and occasioned a dismal slaughter among the bravest of both armies; heads now rolled about like tennis balls, and streams of blood polluted the field in all directions. But in the issue, the Syrians suffered a total defeat, and retired in the utmost confusion.

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In these circumstances Ally forbore to continue the slaughter, and forbad his followers to pursue the flying enemy, notwithstanding the expostulations of his generals; who urged the impossibility of terminating the war with success, if, from a sentiment of absurd and mistaken lenity, he thus persisted in debarring them from the prosecution of an advantage, acquired by so much blood shed; and assured as he must feel himself, that had fortune placed them at the mercy of Mauweiah, they could have nothing to expect but the indiscriminating vengeance of the sword. To this Ally briefly replied, that the conduct of Mauweiah, so long as it was distinguished by a total disregard of the precepts of the Korân, and the recorded traditions of the prophet, could scarcely be considered as an example for his guidance; that at any rate he was determined not to tread in the steps of a man, who, if his mind had in any respect been influenced by the unalterable principles of truth and wisdom, would never have compelled him to engage in these unnatural hostilities. These arguments, however, so amiable in theory, and so injurious in practice, could not fail to operate most prejudicially to the interests of this otherwise princely chief. And we are therefore not to be surprised that in the sequel, finding that their blood and exertions were to be thus perpetually lavished in vain, he lost, at an important crisis, the support of the greatest part of his army.

But whatever motives actuated this impolitic forbearance on the part of Ally, the unexpected prolongation of the war, and the havoc made in the ranks of the Syrians in the ordinary course of battle, disposed Mauweiah once more to recur to the more congenial plans of negociation and intrigue. He therefore transmitted to his adversary a letter in the following terms. "I am persuaded that if either of us had formed a conception, "that the contest would have proceeded to these calamitous extremities, it "would never in any shape have broken out between us. Let us be

A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 658. Rouzut ussuffa. "advised by experience to say nothing of what has passed, and to terminate "our differences by an immediate peace. Our hopes with respect to the "issue of the war may still be supposed to be much upon an equality; "perhaps our apprehensions of death and dissolution are not less so; but "we can neither of us be ignorant of the numerous list of just and virtuous "men, who have already fallen victims to these cruel animosities. I "formerly proposed that the government of Syria should be confirmed to "me, with an exemption from any stipulation of allegiance. That proposal "I now repeat, from the sole desire to rescue the remnant of our followers "from the total extirpation of the sword. Neither is there any circum-"stance to warrant the extremity to which our animosities have been "carried: sprung from the same illustrious stock of Abedmenauf, our "descent is equally noble, and must necessarily preclude any preten-"sions to superiority of the one over the other." To this Ally immedi-ately made the following reply. "I have received thy letter, Mauweiah, "and am perfectly aware of its contents, as well as of the malignity, injus-"tice, and contumacious insolence of thy pretensions. In contradiction to "what thou art disposed to think, I affirm, that at this moment, my anxi-"ety to contend with thee, in the field of battle, is infinitely more ardent "than ever, and that it is more likely to increase than diminish. I deny "thy insolent assumption, that our hopes and fears are in any shape upon "a par, since the distinction between us is as wide as that which separates "the advocates of conviction and truth, from the slaves of doubt and "hypocrisy; and in the same proportion as the zeal of my followers to "secure the solid compensations of a blissful futurity is greater, than that "which animates the adherents of treason and rebellion, to possess "themselves of the contemptible vanities of this world. I reject with "indignation thy proposal to hold the government of Syria, without "acknowledging my authority: neither am I aware of any recent advan-"tage, of which thou canst boast thyself, that should in any shape operate "with me to recede from my former resolution on this point. That we "are equally the descendants of Abedmenauf, I shall not pretend to deny; "but unless thou canst prove that Ommeyah was like Haushem, or that "Hurreb was on an equality with Abdulmûtleb, I shall never admit that "there is no distinction in our claims; or that the son of the repudiated "should even breathe a whisper of placing his pretensions on a par with

"him who conducts himself under the guidance of divine favor. Neither "my precursor in embracing the true faith, nor my associate in sharing the "prophet's exile, what are the merits, or the virtues, on which thou canst "presume to contend with me; who am at once the prophet's couzin, the "brother of his affections, the heir of his knowledge, and the legitimate "successor to his power? With me, who, possessing with the prophet the "same relative situation that Aaron enjoyed with Moses, had long since "been invested with the same prophetic and universal powers, if it "had not been ordained that those sacred functions were to be forever "closed in his divine mission. Perhaps I may further be compelled to "demand, considering the advantages with which an all beneficent being "has chosen to distinguish me, on what grounds it can possibly be "attempted to compare the offspring of the base and sordid, with my "noble and generous progeny? Let it not, however, for a moment pos- "sess thy imagination, that I am in any shape wearied of the contest. "Be it rather thy conviction, that had the tribes of Arabia forborne to "enrol themselves in my righteous cause, the horrors, the calamities, to "which they would have been exposed, would have furnished a more "fearful example than has hitherto been recorded in the annals of the "world."

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CHAP. IX.

A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 658.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

IN concurrence with the testimony of some of the most respectable historians, our author professes that he has been led to introduce the correspondence which closes the preceding chapter, as having taken place previous to the conflict of that night, towards the conclusion of the war which has been since distinguished by the appellation of the *lailut ul hurreir*, the night of sparring, or as it has been, perhaps, more literally translated, the night of snarling. He accordingly proceeds to state, that Mauweiah, finding from the reply of his adversary that he must divest himself of all hope of accommodation, was again constrained to commit his pretensions to the decision of the sword; and on a subsequent day both armies once more appeared on the field in order of battle. Previous to the commencement of the action, the powers of Ally's eloquence were again employed to assure his followers, that those, who on this day should devote their lives to the cause of God, would ensure to themselves a futurity of endless happiness. He appealed to that Almighty being, who held at his disposal the life of the son of Abitauleb, for the purity of his motives, when, from a sincere conviction of the dangers which assailed their common faith, he felt himself compelled to engage in this disastrous contest; for nothing less could have induced him to exchange the tranquil enjoyments of domestic repose, for the turbulent and destructive scenes of war. But the task of restoring the misguided associates of Mauweiah's ambition to the genuine principles of true religion, was now become an object of absolute and indispensable necessity. With respect to the motives which influenced the conduct of his adversary, he made no scruple to trace them to the rancorous spirit of revenge which reigned in his bosom, and survived the period of his infidelity, towards the veterans of the fields of Beider and Ohud; in which Mauweiah was of course among

the most inveterate and resolute opponents of the Mahommedan legislator. This vindictive spirit he was that day determined to satiate in their blood, though he had the truths of revelation to warn him that he should be disappointed. A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 658. Rouzut ussuffà.

To this address the adherents of Ally, through their more eminent leaders, briefly replied, that the slight remains of doubt, which formerly prevailed in their minds, had been entirely removed by the death of Aumar Yausser. That fatal event had sufficiently convinced them that the cause of Mauweiah and his followers was that of profligacy and rebellion; that their attention was now fixed upon him with a more determined loyalty than ever; and that they accordingly stood prepared to carry his orders into execution with equal firmness of body and constancy of mind. Having warmly applauded these expressions of zeal, Ally, at the head of two thousand horse, selected from those of Hejauz aud Irâk, and who immediately attached themselves to his person on this occasion, advanced sword in hand, to assail the enemy. When he had approached within a convenient distance, he signified to his gallant followers, that he was about to lead them to the charge; and exhorting them to preserve their ranks united as one man, he immediately rushed upon the adverse line. Animated by the example of their intrepid leader, this body of cavalry bore with irresistible impetuosity upon the Syrians, whom they threw into irrecoverable disorder, dying their horses hoofs in the blood of the slaughtered. The fury of such an assault appears for the moment to have deprived the troops of Mauweiah of the power of action; which compelled the latter chief to observe to his friend Amrû, that in order to secure the lustre of to-morrow, it seemed expedient to submit with patient resignation to the misfortunes of to-day. "True," said Amrû, "and yet as far as I can judge, this day "death is truth, and life is error. But another similar charge from Ally "and his cavalry, and not a vestige of our troops will survive to relate "the story." The battle continued, however, to be maintained with unabated fury; the cavalry dismounting to combat on foot, and at last even on their knees with their swords and daggers. The exploits of Malek Ashtur were recorded in the blood of many a Syrian, and many a gallant adherent of the cause of Ally was destined that day to receive the stroke of death.

A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 658. Rouzut ussufà. So numerous indeed were the casualties among the followers of that prince, that the war-inured Ashtur himself, was seen to weep aloud; although these emotions of yet unextinguished humanity were ascribed by the hardened veteran, to a sentiment of generous regret, that among the multitude selected around him to perish in the cause of their sovereign, he alone seemed still destined to be excluded from the glory, to which he had so long and ardently aspired.

The setting of the sun, which had usually terminated the conflict, seems on this occasion to have produced no cessation to the exertions, nor abatement to the fury of the combatants. The business of blood and vengeance suffered but little interruption from the confusion and obscurity of the night; in the course of which, Ally is stated, with his own hand alone, to have killed not less than five hundred and twenty-three of his adversaries; having at each mortal sweep of zûlfekkaur, repeated the tekbeir, which was committed to memory by one of his attendants, and considered a competent proof of the extent of the execution. It is even recorded by the compiler of the Moadjem-e-kebbeir, or greater history of the Persians, that Mauweiah himself should have asserted, that during the lailut ul hurreir, Ally killed with his own hand, more than nine hundred of the bravest men in the Syrian army; and that he should moreover have acknowledged, that on this fearful night, such was the extremity of his despair, that he actually deliberated on the choice of two alternatives; either to employ the mediation of Abdullah Abbas with his kinsman, for permission to retire to Mekkah for life, or to fly for protection to the Greek emperor, and intreat an asylum in one of the islands of the Mediterranean. But that he had been determined to abide the issue, by the very seasonable recurrence to his recollection of those lines of the poet, which inculcate the advantages, and the necessity of a persevering firmness of mind in the field of battle, of all human operations the most precarious in its events. The slaughter of this memorable night has been variously estimated, by different writers, from three and thirty to six and thirty thousand, including those who fell on either side; while the lowest estimation gives two thousand and eighty-one as the number of the slain on the part of Ally, and seven thousand, or nearly that, on the part of Mauweiah.

The conflict appears to have been maintained with still unabating violence, until the sun had reached a considerable elevation above the horizon on

the succeeding day; when, observing the symptoms of exhausted powers, and despondence, which generally prevailed among his troops, Mauweiah called upon Amrû for that boasted expedient, which he professed to have in reserve for the hour of need; for that unless he could devise some plan to avert the mischief, they appeared to be rapidly verging towards defeat. It was at the termination of the conflict of the lailut ul hurreir, according to some historians, that the fruitless correspondence took place, which appears at the close of the preceding chapter; and on the failure of which, Mauweiah consulted with Amrû on the means of dispelling the storm. But according to the historian of Damûr, hostilities were mutually suspended in the forenoon of the ensuing day, for the purpose of burying the slain; on which occasion, having awakened the attention of his principal commanders to the crisis at which affairs had arrived between them and their adversaries, now driven to the last extremity, Ally directed them to prepare for the final contest of the morrow; of the event of which, his confidence in the decision of a just and unerring judge, would not, he alleged, permit him to entertain the smallest apprehension. A knowledge of these aweful preliminaries produced, from Mauweiah, that appeal to the experience and skill of Amrû, to which we have just alluded. The latter then disclosed the device which he said he had long conceived for such a crisis. It was, either to communicate to the tribes of Hejauz and Irâk, of whom the troops of Ally were chiefly composed, proposals of such a nature, as, whether acceded to, or rejected, would produce dissentions, and ultimately a separation among them; or, what he further less ambiguously explained, to dispose them to a termination of hostilities, by an immediate and striking appeal to the sacred sections of the Korân. An observation which dropped from Aishauth the son of Keyss on the same day, and which was industriously conveyed to Mauweiah, pretty clearly indicated, however, that a termination of the sanguinary contest was becoming equally desirable on both sides; Mauweiah on his part affecting to pronounce, in confirmation of what had been reported to him of the son of Keyss, that if an action was allowed to to take place on the day following, there would be nothing to prevent the Greeks and Persians from covering with pillage and desolation the fairest countries of Isslâm.

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A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 658. Rouzut ussuffâ. In conformity with the suggestions of Amrû, accordingly, before sun rise the following morning, Mauweiah had caused all the copies of the Korân which could be procured, amounting to the number of five hundred and fifty, to be affixed to the points of the lances of the most conspicuous divisions of his army; and in this guise he awaited the approach of his assailants. In the uncertainty of the twilight, the soldiers of Ally at first conceived, that what they saw appended to the spears of the adversaries, were the streamers of their standards; but as the day advanced and objects became more definable, they began to form conjectures of the reality. Of this, however, they were not long suffered to remain in ignorance; three chieftains, in advance of the centre and wings of the Syrian army, intreating them aloud, and in the name of God, to forbear from further hostilities; unless they were determined to devote themselves to destruction, and their wives and children to an ignominious bondage among the Greeks and Persians. "Behold," said they, "the sacred volume of the law of God is "interposed between us." Soon afterwards Abul Our the Selmian, mounted on a white horse, placed himself conspicuously between the adverse lines; and holding a copy of the Korân above his head, called to the men of Irâk, that he adjured them by the sacred word of God, who was the judge of their differences, to submit to be governed by its dictates. No longer at a loss to comprehend the object of this extraordinary exhibition, the Arabian tribes, and those of Irâk, were cautioned by some of the chiefs more sincerely attached to the cause of Ally, against being misguided by an artifice so gross; since a similar appeal to the sacred volume, long since made on their part, had been contemptuously rejected by the enemy, whose blood was accordingly on his own head. At any rate, that the worst that could happen from the exercise of a similar discretion, was to place their lives equally and lawfully at the disposal of their adversaries; an advantage of which they were at perfect liberty to avail themselves on either side. Khâled the son of Mûammer, and Hûsseyne the son of Mûnzer, two powerful chieftains, declaring however, that they would alone be determined by the opinion of Ally, the matter was accordingly referred to the decision of that prince.

Thus called upon to decide Ally felt himself impelled to remark, that of all others, peradventure it might be allowed, he was himself the most competent to institute an appeal to the sacred record of the law of God;

and that in this competency, his faithful adherents were in an eminent degree the partakers. But, so far from a sincere intention, on the part of his adversaries, to be governed by a conscientious submission to the ordinances of that sacred record which, on this occasion, they had taken an opportunity to display, he could consider it in no other light than as a specious device to shield them from approaching destruction; at a crisis when they despaired of success in the prosecution of the war in which they had engaged him. He was, however, not to be imposed upon by such an artifice; and he should therefore continue the course of hostilities against them, until they manifested some more satisfactory demonstration, than he had yet discovered, that they were disposed to abide by the decrees of a most holy and omnipotent God; to whose unerring justice he had resigned his cause. These arguments however availed him but little. With a few exceptions, the most distinguished of his followers had now yielded to the bribes of Mauweiah: had become totally averse to the renewal of the late sanguinary conflicts, and anxious to retire from a scene of calamity, alarms, and blood, to a life of tranquility and rest. Thus predisposed, it will not be surprising that they should have united in their clamours to induce their sovereign to accede to the invitation of his antagonist; but lest he should remain in doubt of their ultimate designs, they presumed to remind him, that a refusal to comply with a similar appeal had on a former occasion armed them against the life of his predecessor; and in terms less equivocal avowed, that if he persisted in rejecting the proposals of Mauweiah, they were prepared to arrest his person, and deliver him over into the hands of his enemies. These importunities were further reinforced by the introduction of one of Mauweiah's legates; who, with a copy of the Korân in his hand, addressing himself to Ally, announced, that he was called upon by the Syrians to join with them in submitting to the dictates of that sacred volume, than which they acknowledged no other test for their differences. Aishauth the son of Keyss, whose authority extended over the greater part of the Arabian tribes, and who is openly accused of having received large sums of money from Mauweiah, here interposed, and declared himself to his sovereign in nearly the following terms. "With "a zeal equal to what has uniformly governed our conduct on former "occasions, we are still ready to testify our obedience to thy commands; "but to me it occurs, that in inviting thee to refer our dispute to the

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"decision of the sacred record, the views of Mauweiah appear to be directed "by the purest principles of justice and truth." "That I am better "acquainted with the scope of the divine writings," replied Ally, "than "either Mauweiah or any other man whatever, God is my witness; but "this can be of no importance, where the question merely relates to an "artifice, devised by the contrivance alone of the designing and fraudulent "Amrû."

The subject of this inauspicious conference had, in the mean time, been circulated to the army; which, excepting the brave and faithful Malek Ashtur, who, with his division, continued his exertions on the right, began now to recede in entire squadrons, from their stations in the presence of the enemy. So base a dereliction of duty seems to have discovered to Ally at once the extent of his misfortune. He clasped his hands together, and exclaimed in an agony of vexation and disappointment, "the son of Hinda "has vanquished." In this situation the embarrassments of Ally were further aggravated, by the importunities of Eben ul Melkoûd, and those fanatics and reciters of the Korân, to whom was afterwards applied the appellation of *Khouauredje*, schismatics or seceders; and who had now the audacity to declare that he must either close with the proposals of Mauweiah, or be reconciled to their espousing the cause of his adversaries. Having extorted a reluctant assent from their insulted sovereign, they next insisted on his conveying his orders to Malek Ashtur, to discontinue the attack in which he was ardently engaged on the right. Completely overruled in his authority, any further opposition to the will of these factious malcontents would have been, perhaps all things considered, unavailing; and he accordingly dispatched Yezzeid the son of Hâny, to summons that zealous and undaunted soldier to his presence. Malek Ashtur, however, positively disobeyed a mandate which appeared to him so unseasonable, at a crisis when victory was about to declare in his favor; and a reply to this effect had been communicated to the Khâlif; when the shouts of Ashtur and his followers becoming every moment louder, and the dust which attended their movements spreading a general obscurity through the atmosphere, the Khouauredje did not scruple to express their suspicion, that Ally had clandestinely authorized him to continue hostilities, in defiance of his engagements. Ally protested his innocence, and to remove all possibility of doubt, he directed Yezzeid to repair to Malek Ashtur once more, and

enjoin him to retire without delay; for a cruel revolution had taken place in the fortune of his master. On receipt of this last message, the gallant veteran anxiously demanded if this unlooked for event had not been produced by the display of manuscripts, which he had seen in the morning; and being answered in the affirmitive, he confessed, that the instant the extraordinary exhibition met his view, he had fully anticipated that impulse of disunion, and discord, which it was so obviously the intention of the enemy to create among them. But conceiving that any further exertions on his part would tend to little purpose, he reluctantly ceased from hostilities; and conveyed himself to the presence of Ally, and of the principal citizens of Kufah and Bassorah, by whom he was encircled. These he did not fail to reproach, in the bitterest terms, with the baseness and treachery of their conduct, and with the indelible infamy which they had drawn upon themselves; since if they had not permitted the insidious contrivance of the enemy to suspend their exertions, they would at this moment have been in possession of a signal victory. It was, he said, however, not yet too late; and he most earnestly intreated them to consent to a renewal of hostilities, and he would engage, without much difficulty, to terminate the ambitious views of the Syrians. To this they very briefly replied, that they were determined not to be, in any shape, his associates in guilt; and Malek Ashtur, continuing to revile them in consequence, with aggravated asperity, they loudly recriminated, and began to exercise their whips upon his horse. This was however a species of discipline, under which he was little disposed to be a patient sufferer; and he was accordingly proceeding to retaliate, with severe vengeance; when, perceiving too clearly the solicitude of the Khouauredje to close with the overtures of Mauweiah, Ally was compelled to submit to necessity; and he accordingly directed Aishauth the son of Keyss to circulate his final orders, that the signals for battle should be withdrawn. While Aishauth was announcing these orders to the tribe of Rebbeiah, he was accosted by Amrû the son of Azeinah; who resentfully demanded if he meant this as a proof of his partiality for the Syrians, without reflecting that he had so recently wallowed in their blood; and with that, scornfully struck his horse on the neck with his sword. Aishauth then told him, with apparent indifference, to put up his sword and moderate his zeal, for that the Syrians had only employed an

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Rouzut assuffâ. While this was the posture of affairs with Ally, Mauweiah employed the interval in explaining to his followers the nature of that step which the protracted duration of the war had led him to adopt; and that finding either party still equally persuaded of the justice of its cause, he had made an experiment on the disposition of his enemies, by an appeal to the sacred code of their religion; to which, if they attended, it was all he desired. If not, that he and his adherents would be completely acquitted to their own consciences. In these sentiments, Jeib, or perhaps Habeib the son of Mussellamah, was deputed on the part of Mauweiah, to propose to Ally, since the book of their law, with all its excellencies, did not possess the faculty of speech, the nomination of a person on his part to arbitrate their differences, while he should on his side appoint another; entering at the same time into a reciprocal engagement, to abide, without alternative, by the decision of these two persons; or, more explicitly, if in their judgement, the Khelaufut should be finally allotted to Ally, that Mauweiah should subscribe to it without demur; and *vice versa;* stipulating moreover, that if the succession to the supreme dignity should be adjudged to the lot of a third person, they were to consider themselves further bound to relinquish their respective claims in favor of such person. These proposals were accordingly communicated to Ally, in the presence of his principal commanders; of whom Aishauth the son of Keyss, and Hussun the son of Mûnzer, immediately pronounced them to be perfectly just and reasonable; while others entreated him to reflect that their best and bravest soldiers had already fallen in the contest, and to bestow some compassion on those who survived.

Mauweiah had not, however, entirely confided to the justice of his cause; he was well apprized of the preponderance, which the tribes of Yemen possessed in the camp of Ally; and he had accordingly addressed a letter to Aishauth the son of Keyss, by whose authority they were principally governed, in which, among other persuasive arguments, he engaged, on the conclusion of a treaty of peace, to pay him the sum of one hundred thousand dirhems.* The integrity of this man was not proof against such golden considerations. He assembled the different tribes of Ezd, Rebbeiah,

* About 2,292*l.*

and Aishauriah, and engaged them, whatever might be the issue, to abstain from all further hostility; exasperating them at the same time against Malek Ashtur to such a degree, that they avowed their determination to tear him to pieces, if he persisted in opposing their designs. Of one thing, at any rate, there appears but little doubt; these tribes unanimously agreed that if hostilities were renewed, not one of them would escape destruction: in which opinion they were further supported by the declarations of the Benni Bukker and Benni Wâeil, who united in representing that all parties were completely tired of the war, and equally acknowledged their inability to continue the contest any longer. While the discontented tribes were engaged in these conferences, Abdullah the son of Hâreth of the race of Tâï, so distinguished for his rigid and steady course of devotion, that for the space of twenty years he is stated to have performed his morning prayers on the ablutions of the preceding evening, or in other words, that he continued his devotions through the night, and who had received no less than sixteen wounds during the conflict of the lailut ul hurreir, now entered the tent of Ally; from whom he experienced those respectful attentions, which his character for exemplary piety might be supposed to command. To the Khalif's inquiries, as to the state of his wounds he had replied, that he was persuaded the remaining period of his fragile existence, would not extend beyond the limits of one day; and he had been cheered by him with the consoling assurance, that whatever might be the issue of his present sufferings, he should experience a glorious resuscitation to a life of endless bliss, among the illustrious companions of his prophet, and the martyrs of his faith; and an infallible reception to the mercies of his creator. When he proceeded to explain the object of his visit. He told Ally that he had heard, with equal concern and indignation, of the embarrassments which he had so unexpectedly experienced from his once faithful associates, and that they were urging him to the conclusion of a treaty with Mauweiah. He now solemnly cautioned him to beware of yielding to their counsels, and of consenting to a suspension of hostilities. The Khâlif replied to him in nearly the following terms. "Where alas is the army, and where the ally, with "which I am to continue the war with Mauweiah? Hast thou forgotten, "that with the virtue and authority of forty prophets, three years were

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Rouzut "years more elapsed before he felt himself authorized by a numerous acces-
ussuffâ. "sion of proselytes, to enforce his principles by the sword. Let such a band
"of friends but appear to support me, and it will peradventure be found,
"that I am not averse to commit the justice of my cause to the fate of
"arms: but until such a period shall arrive, I must confine myself to the
"exercise of that patience, of which the prophets and their successors have
"furnished me with such frequent examples. At the same time, I am
"not disposed to conceal from the pious Abdullah, that these untoward
"events were long since predicted to me by our prophet, and that I have
"accordingly resolved to lay the injuries which I have suffered from the
"perverse follies of these men, before the throne of that unpartnered being,
"from whom there is no appeal. But to degrade me from the functions of
"the hierarchy, or imaumut, I am equally and firmly resolved that no cir-
"cumstance in my conduct shall ever happen to furnish the slightest
"pretence." On which, Abdullah, or Obaidullah, for the name is thus indifferently transcribed, embraced the occasion to make his solemn protestation, that as rightful Imaum established in truth and wisdom, between God and his worshippers, he acknowledged no other than Ally; and he denounced the direst mischiefs on those miscreants who presumed to traverse his authority, while he anticipated every species of happiness, here and hereafter, for such as evinced their loyalty to his government.

The contrivance of Amrû being thus far crowned with success, the Arabian and Syrian chieftains assembled in an intermediate space between the two encampments, to consult the sacred inspirations of the Korân; on a recital of which, they came to the formal resolution, that the question of the Khelaufut should be submitted to arbitration. The Syrians, in consequence, immediately proceeded to declare, that Amrû was the person on whom they devolved the trust of arbitrating in their behalf; while Aishauth the son of Keyss, and those who adhered to his interests, announced their choice in favor of Abû Mûssa, the Aishaurite. To this latter, Ally immediately and strenuously objected; candidly acknowledging that he possessed no reliance on either his judgment or discretion, and demanding that Abdullah Abbas might be nominated to arbitrate on his part. The Khouauredje here swore that they made no distinction of interests between Ally and the son of Abbas; and that from this last proposal

they were sufficiently convinced, that in fact he entertained the expectation of being the arbiter of his own claims. Their object was, however, as their declaration proved, to fix upon a person whose relative situation was, as nearly as possible, equally removed from himself and Mauweiah. On which Ally not unseasonably demanded, why the same principle had not been applied, when the choice of the Syrians was allowed to fall upon that person, who of all men, was most intimate in the confidence of Mauweiah. They replied, that every man conceived his own opinions the best; their opinion was in favor of Abû Mussa, on whom they had accordingly thought it advisable to devolve their suffrages in this important question. Ally now proposed Malek Ashtur, as the person to whom he was willing to confide his claims; but to him, Aishauth, who seems to have placed himself at the head of the Khouauredje on this occasion, urged the strongest objections, demanding on what principle they could look for an impartial decision from the incendiary of all these mischiefs? The Khalif still contended that there was nothing unprecedented in his selection of Ashtur, for who could justly suspect that he would decide against the dictates of the law of God? "Ashtur," said Aishauth, "will decide according to the "dictates of his own violent propensities. His study will be directed to "obtain a sanction for the exercise of his sword; and to stimulate the "people to mutual hostility, until he shall have attained his object."

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No arguments, however, on the part of Ally, or of his more intelligent adherents, and of Ehnef the son of Keyss in particular, against the incompetency of Abû Mûssa; and of the necessity, at any rate, of selecting some one for his collegue of adequate ability, to enable him to contend with the superior talents of Amrû, and to secure him in some degree from being seduced from his duty by the intriguing spirit of that artful chief, could prevail with the Khouauredje to recede from their choice. They continued inflexible in their resolution, and accordingly dispatched messengers to summons Abû Mûssa from that retirement to which, dismissing all interference with the public business, he had long since devoted himself. When it was announced to him that the rival parties had come to an accommodation, he devoutly thanked his creator; and when he further learnt, that *he* had been chosen to arbitrate their differences, he expressed an entire

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resignation to his destiny, and accompanied the messengers to the camp of Ally. On the arrival of Abû Mûssa, sensible of the total want of information under which he laboured, each of those associates, whose attachment to the cause of their sovereign continued unimpeached, proceeded in his turn to advise and admonish him of the caution and circumspection, with which it behoved him to conduct himself in the important duties entrusted to his charge. Offended at what might might appear to him an overstrained exertion of zeal, he desired, with some displeasure, that if the slightest suspicions were entertained, either of his discretion or integrity, they would select some other person in his stead. On which Malek Ashtur sternly demanded, if he was not the man who, on occasion of Imaum Hussun's visit at Kûfah, presumed to interrupt his address to the people, by recommending to them to abide by their domestic concerns; and denouncing an attachment to the cause of Ally, as a seditious conspiracy against the public good. To this, Abû Mûssa replied, that circumstances had widely altered since that period. That the fire which then inflamed his bosom was long extinguished; and that in the present instance, he was their avowed friend, and with them engaged to wade through that sea of troubles with which they were surrounded.

The question of the Khelaufut being thus far advanced towards the proposed adjustment by a treaty of peace, and a decision by arbitrators, Ally with the nobles of Irâk on his side, and Mauweiah with the most distinguished Syrians on the other, assembled in conference betwixt the two encampments; in order to discuss and arrange the articles of the treaty with all the necessary forms. Obaidullah the son of Abi Rauffia, the Khalif's secretary, being employed to commit the articles to writing, proceeded to insert the preamble in the following terms. "This is the "instrument of a treaty of peace between Ally the son of Abitauleb, com-"mander of the faithful;" but was here interrupted by Mauweiah, who exclaimed, that he was not of a principle so abandoned, as to have engaged in hostilities with Ally, against the positive conviction that he was the legitimate sovereign of the believers; in which he was immediately supported by Amrû, who insisted that the obnoxious term, *ameir ul moumenein*, should be erased, and the name of his master simply substituted by the secretary in its place. Ehnef the son of Keyss, on the other hand, intreated that Ally would not submit to the erasure of a term, by which the nature of his

authority was so clearly expressed; and to which, if he once gave his assent, there was reason to apprehend that it would never be restored to him. Upon this Ally, acknowledging the power of God, and the unerring truth of his prophet, proceeded to state that a circumstance exactly similar had once before occurred to him when he was no more than the subordinate agent of another; referring to what passed at Hodeibiah on the confines of the territory of Mekkah, when he was employed to draw up the treaty between Mahommed and Sohail the son of Amrû. On which occasion he had opened the preamble with, "This is the treaty of peace which Mahommed the "messenger of God concludes with Sohail the son of Amrû," (or agreeable to others, "with the people of Mekkah,") when Sohail interposed, and told him to strike out the words "messenger of God," and substitute, "Mahommed the son of Abdullah;" for if they knew him to be invested with that sacred character, his entrance into Mekkah would never have met with any opposition on their part. Ally continued to relate, that refusing to comply with this injunction, the prophet desired him to withdraw the term; adding, that such a day would at a future period happen to himself; and the secretary was accordingly instructed to proceed with the treaty, in conformity with the wishes of Mauweiah in nearly the following terms.

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"This is the treaty of peace between Ally the son of Abi Tauleb, his friends "the people of Hejauz and Irâk on the one part, and Mauweiah the son of "Abi Soffeyan, with the Syrians, the adherents of his cause on the other; "who have declared and agreed as follows. The decisions of the Korân, "from the commencement to the conclusion, shall be the basis of all our "proceedings, neither will we in any case deviate from its sacred contents; "and further, we engage that our exertions shall be zealously employed to "restore those usages, of which the Korân shall enjoin the restoration, "and to abolish all things of which the sacred code shall dictate the "abolition." It is then recorded that Ally and his followers on the one part had agreed that Abdullah the son of Keyss, or Abû Mûssa the Aishaurite originally so designated, should be the guardian and arbitrator of their claims, while Amrûl Auss was invested with similar powers, on the part of Mauweiah and the Syrians. Ally and Mauweiah exacting, at the same time, from their respective arbiters a solemn engagement, confirmed by oath, that their decisions should be implicitly governed by the ordinan-

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ces of God, without, in any instance, presuming to transgress the dictates of his holy word; that in points wherein this was found to be silent, or to afford them no information, they were to refer to the traditions of their legislator; and lastly, that in assigning the dignity of the Khelaufut, their judgment should be governed by a rigid attention to the principles of their holy law. Abû Mûssa and Amrû being furnished by Ally and Mauweiah, on the other hand, with a corresponding engagement, that their decision should not be receded from, provided such decision appeared to be in strict conformity to the doctrines of the Korân, and the already mentioned traditions of the prophet. It was further stipulated, that accordingly as these two persons should be governed in their decision by the principles of true religion and a clear conscience, they should at no period be molested either in person, family, or property; that in case of the death of either previous to the determination of their award, the parties of Ally and Mauweiah, according to circumstances, should proceed to the nomination of some other person of equal integrity and love of justice, to succeed to the charge. Moreover should it prove in the event, that the arbitrators were not governed in their decision by the dictates of the Korân, and the institutes of the law, the Mahommedan community was to be considered as entirely absolved from this engagement; and the lives and property of the defaulters at the mercy of the public; to the end that, to the hour of death, every member of the profession of Isslâm, whether in his family, or property, or clientage, should be completely secured against the approach of evil or injury of any description whatever. It was also declared, that should the arbitrators protract their decision to the month of Ramzaun, at which period their functions were to expire, it would then be at the discretion of the contracting parties to recur to hostilities. And finally, that the whole force of Isslâm should be united to suppress the attempts of any party that by violence or any other means should presume to oppose or impede the execution of these engagements. The treaty thus concluded, they subjoined to it as follows. "Witnesses to these presents are, Hussun "and Hûsseyne, sons of Ally, Abdullah the son of Abbas, and Abdullah "the son of Jauffer son of Abi Tauleb." It was further subscribed by Aishauth the son of Keyss, and others of the most distinguished of Ally's followers, as well as by several of the principal commanders of the party of

Mauweiah. And it was dated about the third watch of Thursday the thirteenth of the month of Suffur, of the year thirty seven.* A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 658.

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In this place it is to be acknowledged that we find ourselves involved in considerable embarrassment by a reference to the date of the treaty thus circumstantially recorded. The generality of writers, and particularly the author of the Kholaussut ul akhbaur, of which a pretty correct copy is now before us, agree in fixing the arrival of the contending armies at Seffeine in the conclusion of Zilhudje; the last month of the year thirty-six. The war continued with various intermissions for eleven months, which would bring us to the close of the year thirty-seven. But if the date exhibited in the treaty, as here transcribed, is to be considered conclusive, the period of the war must be reduced to something less than two months; although the continuance of actual hostility is extended at the lowest calculation to one hundred days. And more than one of the months, in which war was prohibited by the usages of the Mosslems, has been alluded to, as having produced a temporary suspension of hostilities. The dates in the margin have been accordingly arranged under these considerations, and we confess that for the present we do not feel ourselves sufficiently convinced to deviate from them.

Of the above treaty some further particulars have been recorded by Abû Haneifah of Dainûr, which perhaps it will not be entirely superfluous to introduce. When Malek Ashtur was called upon by Aishauth the son of Keyss, to affix his signature as a witness to the treaty, that intrepid soldier emphatically replied, that rather than his name should be attached to such a deed, he wished his right hand cut off, and his left palsied. Aishauth insisting, however, that he should not be satisfied until he subscribed to it; "and who art thou," said Ashtur, "or of what importance thy satis-"faction; satisfied, or dissatisfied, follow thy own inclinations." As many of the most illustrious of the Arabian chiefs were present at the conference, and among others, Audy the son of the celebrated Hàtem Tâï, Aishauth professed that he was only withheld from returning such an answer as he deserved, by the respect which he entertained for their presence. "My tongue and my sword," rejoined Malek Ashtur, "are both "sharper, the point of my spear more piercing, and my kindred more "illustrious than thine in every respect; I am moreover the faithful friend "of *my* sovereign, and the true sovereign of *all* believers, while I impeach

* 30th of July, A. D. 657.

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"thee as among the bitterest of his enemies:" to which he added certain expressions so acrimonious and offensive to Aishauth, that he was irritated beyond forbearance, and laid his hand on the hilt of his sword, Malek Ashtur immediately following his example; but Ibrauhim the son of the latter, having drawn his sword, the father suddenly recollected himself, and admonished him to forego his vengeance; while he further addressed Aishauth in the following terms. "If there had existed a single virtuous principle in "thy composition, thou hadst never proved thyself an apostate; for can "it ever be forgotten that after a profession of the pure doctrines of Isslam, "involuntary as it was, thou hadst the obsequiousness to return without "difficulty to the grossest idolatry and infidelity; and to complete the "measure of thy dishonor, it was only from a cowardly apprehension for "thy personal safety, that thou didst at last find it convenient to become a "Mûssulman." The altercation was, however, put a stop to, by the interference of Ally, who expressed to Malek Ashtur his desire that, like himself, he would for the present dissemble with these men; for the prophet, he said, had long since forewarned him of the injuries which he was to experience from Aishauth, and of the cruelties which his children were destined to suffer from the sons of that disloyal man; alluding to the attack made upon Imaum Husseyne by Mahommed the son of Aishauth at Kerbêla, and to the merciless inveteracy of Isshâk another of his sons, on the same fatal spot, in cutting off his communication with the water from that unfortunate prince; as will be seen on a future occasion.

It is further stated that when the circumstance of Malek Ashtur's refusal to acquiesce in the treaty was communicated to Ally, he swore by his creator that this unwelcome transaction was equally repugnant to his own sentiments; neither did he at any time wish that his followers should have acceded to it. But after those on whom he depended for support had united to promote it, he had no alternative but acquiescence; and that having once signified his assent, he did not conceive it consistent with his situation to retract that assent. "Would to God, however," said he, "that among "the number by which I am surrounded, I could see but a single person "like Malek Ashtur to obviate the designs of my enemies, and to relieve "my mind from the pressure of so many anxious cares;" or perhaps from the hateful obligations under which he had been trammeled by the treaty. In the mean time, Aishauth undertook to explain to the several

Arabian tribes in the encampment, the terms of that peace which had been just concluded. When he came to the tribe of Uzzah, and the scope of the treaty had been made known, two brothers of that tribe exclaimed with a loud voice, that they acknowledged no arbitrator for their differences but God himself; and forthwith rushing sword in hand to attack the Syrians, they were immediately cut to pieces. And when in the same manner he had communicated the contents of the treaty to the tribe of Mûrâd, Salah the son of Sheffeik, one of the most honorable and virtuous men among them, expressed his dissent in terms of similar disapprobation. Neither were these sentiments of dissatisfaction confined to a few similar instances, but apparently extended through all the tribes of Ally's party; most of whom, feeling themselves either insulted or betrayed in the transaction, were not sparing in the reproaches which they bestowed upon Aishauth, whom they justly considered as the principal promoter of this inauspicious measure.

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On this subject we are further informed that the copy of the treaty destined to be lodged in the hands of the Syrians, was written by the Khalif's secretary, Obaidullah the son of Abi Rauffia already mentioned; the counter part for the people of Irâk in the interests of Ally, being transcribed by Aumeir the son of Ibaud ul Kellebi, the secretary of Mauweiah, and attested by the principal leaders of Ally's party, and *vice versa*. When the copies had been thus completed, a soldier from among the troops of Ally, belonging to the tribe of Rebbeiah, suddenly mounted his horse; and having called for a draught of water, in a transport of rage and disappointment rushed upon the camp of Mauweiah, and wounded several of the Syrians; after which he returned, and again refreshing himself with water, conducted himself in the same frantic style towards his fellow soldiers of Ally's party. This he is said to have repeated several times, alternately exclaiming with a loud voice, that he considered himself equally absolved from the authority of Ally and Mauweiah, and from any treaty of arbitration which they might have thought proper to conclude, as he should acknowledge no arbiter but God. In his last career which happened to be against the troops of his own party, he was killed, and is recorded as the first who suffered death of the faction of the Khouaruedje.

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We cannot dismiss the subject, although already sufficiently dilated, without adverting to the number of these who fell a sacrifice to the demon of civil fury, and the animosity of rival ambition, in the multiplied conflicts of the war of Seffeine. According to the author on whom we have principally drawn for the materials of these pages, the estimate of those who perished on the part of Ally has been calculated at eighty thousand; or, unless considerably reinforced at subsequent periods, eight out of nine of all that accompanied him to the war. The loss on the part of Mauweiah is estimated still higher, and little less than one hundred and twenty thousand men. These casualties are, however, with greater probability, reduced by other writers, and by the author of the Taurikh gûzzeidah in particular, on the side of Ally, to twenty-five thousand men. Of those who fell on the part of Ally, the name of the venerable Aumar Yausser, the general of his cavalry, has been already mentioned. Others that shared the same fate, were Aweiss Kerreny, Khozzeimah the son of Thâbet, surnamed Zu shihaudetein, for reasons already explained; Abdullah Muzzeil ul Khozzâi, the general of infantry according to some statements; and lastly Haushem the son of Auttebah, the nephew of the celebrated Saud-e-Wokauss, and Abul Hesheim the son of Ul Tehaun, whom the prophet thought worthy to preside over the order of Ansaur; together with many more, including seventy of the veterans who fought under the standard of Mahommed at Beider, or Beidra. On the the side of Mauweiah, the historian happily relieving us from a further recapitulation of uncouth, though celebrated names, the most distinguished of those who fell, appear to have been Zul Kullaa the Hûmeirite, and Jousheb the son of Zi Zûllûm, both sufficiently renowned in the annals of those times.

The negociation having thus terminated, Ally and his competitor respectively withdrew from the scene of hostilities, the one towards Kufah, and the other to his capital of Damascus; it being previously agreed upon, that the two arbitrators, accompanied by several of the most distinguished of either party, should proceed to carry into execution the principal design of the treaty, to Doumut ul jundel, a station said to be situated mid-way between Arabian Irâk and the province of Syria. Sherreiah the son of Hauny, with five thousand men, was selected on the part of Ally to conduct the arbitrator of his cause to the place of conference, accompanied by the faithful Abdullah Abbas, authorized to discharge the functions of

religion; and perhaps to operate as some kind of check upon the proceedings of a person of whom he had not concealed his distrust. On the other hand, Amrû, on the part of Mauweiah, was attended by a considerable force, under Abul Our the Selmian, and Sherjeil the son of Semmet the Kendian. It is, however, stated on the authority of some other annalists, that the arbitrators were accompanied to Doumut ul jundul by an escort limited to eight hundred men, one half on the part of Ally, and the other on that of Mauweiah. Whilst on the journey, both Abdullah Abbas, and Ehnif the son of Keyss, were unremitting in their admonitions to put Abu Mussa on his guard against the seductions of the subtle Amrû, but more particularly to be most cautious not to anticipate that artful politician in the declaration of his award. All which he faithfully promised to observe, and thus contrived for the present to dispel their apprehensions. But being a man of extreme simplicity of mind, it is perhaps not surprising that he should have been ultimately overreached, as will presently be seen, by the intriguing talents of Amrû.

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Having accordingly reached the place of destination, Amru embraced the earliest opportunity of holding a conference with Abu Mussa, to whom, with affected humility, he did not scruple to express every public acknowledgement of inferiority; lamenting the cause by which they had been so long separated, and professing a hope that heaven would withhold its blessings from any circumstance that might hereafter contribute to set them again at a distance from one another. This was the preliminary step to which he submitted, in order to secure his influence over the mind of Abu Mussa; which he did not fail to promote by the most abject demonstrations of deference, by paying him his daily court, resting on his knees before him, and listening to his suggestions with an air of attention, which bespoke the reverence of a disciple. Whenever an opportunity offered he condescended to hold his stirrup while mounting his horse, and in short, he omitted nothing that the most obsequious servility and the grossest flattery could accomplish, to persuade this man to believe himself, what he pronounced him to be, the first and most exalted among the professors of Isslâm, and in wisdom and experience second to no person whatever of the age in which he lived. After all which we may perhaps be permitted

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to observe, that if the intellects of Abu Mussa were of so obtuse a description, as to be imposed upon by means so wretched, his simplicity must indeed be acknowledged to have been very nearly allied to idiotism; and it is therefore not to be marvelled at, that Ally should have demonstrated so strong a repugnance, to confide his cause to the discretion of such a being.

Be this however as it may, a considerable part of the prescribed period had now elapsed, and the material point of the arbitration but little advanced towards a conclusion, when those on the spot, becoming wearied with the delay, ventured to expostulate with Abu Mussa and Amrû; and to express their apprehensions lest the term of the treaty should be suffered to expire, before they could pronounce on the great question of the Khelaufut; which must unavoidably plunge them once more into the calamities of civil war. The arbitrators conceived it necessary to accelerate their deliberations in order to appease the clamour; and Amrû thought the season arrived when he might venture to prepare the way for the execution of his plans. Having procured a secret interview with Abu Mussa, he declared to him, with apparent frankness, that in consequence of the acknowledged priority of his reception to the prophet's councils, and of his extensive experience in the vicissitudes of life, he was determined in every respect to square his opinion by *his* maturer judgment. The immediate result of this affected candour was to produce from Abu Mussa the confession that he had already formed a plan, which was equally calculated to promote the public good, and conciliate the favor of heaven; and in which if he united his concurrence, his eternal salvation would be the reward. Amrû requested that he would explain the nature of his plan; "distinguished as he is," Abu Mussa proceeded to observe, "by the most "unblemished virtue, entirely unconcerned in these unhappy disputes, and "unpolluted by the blood of any man, why should not the reins of govern-"ment be entrusted to Abdullah the son of Omar?" "What," replied Amrû, "hast thou to object against Mauweiah?" "that he is not qualified "for the Khelaufut," said Abu Mussa. "Dost thou acknowledge," rejoined Amrû, "that Othman was unjustly destroyed?" "Certainly," said Abu Mussa. "So certainly," continued Amrû, "is Mauweiah the "*wully*, or representative of that injured monarch: and shouldst thou "happily be prevailed upon to acquiesce in his elevation to supremacy, it "will be easy to elude the censures of the people, by alleging thy convic-

" tion of that circumstance ; and the authority of the sacred Korân itself, A.H.XXXVIII.
" which affirms that the representative of a murdered prince shall be the A. D. 658.
" successor to his throne. But in addition to his other claims, is he not Rouzut
" also the brother of Habeibah, one of the prophet's beloved wives ?" ussuffâ.
" I prithee Amrû," said Abû Mûssa, " not entirely to divest thyself of the
" fear of God, and to recollect, that if the right to the Khelaufut rested
" upon nobility of descent, the people must in all justice have concurred
" in submitting to the sovereignty of some one or other of the race of
" Abrauhah the son Ussubbah the Hûmeirian, through whom is con-
" tinued the illustrious lineage of Tebbâ, whose authority extended to the
" extremities of the east and west. Independent of these considerations,
" the ancestry of Mauweiah can in truth bear no competition with that of
" Ally ; for what reasonable comparison can be urged between the son of
" Abi Tauleb, and the offspring of Abu Soffeyan ? but after all, in point of
" consanguinity, if the designation of wully could be applied to any one in
" particular, it should in justice be bestowed upon Amrû, one of the sur-
" viving sons of Othman himself, rather than upon Mauweiah. At all
" events," concluded Abu Mussa, " if thou canst be prevailed upon to
" concur with my views, we will raise the son of Omar to the Khelaufut, and
" reestablish the system of his father." Here Amrû attempted to evade the subject, by representing the son of Abdullah as not less distinguished in any respect than the father ; and by demanding why he should not concur in the elevation of this person to the throne of the Khalifs. Abu Mussa did not pretend to deny to the son of Abdullah the merit of every accomplishment; but he had suffered his character to be contaminated by the share which he had taken in these sanguinary disputes. " Come," said he to Amrû once more, " let us place the unblemished father on the
" throne of the prophet's successors." Amrû persisted, nevertheless, in maintaining that Abdullah Omar was incompetent to the trust; and that that man alone was worthy of the Khelaufut, who liberally distributed with one hand, while he regaled himself with the other. Here Abu Mussa thought fit to remind him, that exhausted by the calamities of war, the community of Isslâm had devolved to them respectively the trust of arbitrating their differences ; he therefore admonished him to beware of plunging them again into the same scenes of tumult and death, and without further argument, to produce some expedient which might contribute to

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heal the dissensions which had so long destroyed the repose of their anxious fellow citizens. The deep laid scheme of Amrû now began to disclose itself; and he put a period to the conference by declaring that these distractions were not to be appeased by any thing less than the absolute removal from authority of both Ally and Mauweiah; and the reference of the question of the Khelaufut to the suffrage of a committee of electors, as had been practiced on the demise of Omar. To all which, without further discussion, Abu Mussa appears to have agreed.

To guard him, however, against the insidious design of which he seems to have entertained some suspicion, Abdullah Abbas, at a private visit to Abu Mussa, expressed his apprehension lest the cunning of Amrû should have already betrayed him into some inconsiderate resolution; but whatever it might be, he now most seriously admonished him not to allow any consideration to prevail upon him, to be the first to pronounce his decision to the public; since the perfidy of Amrû was too notorious not to excite the justest apprehensions, that if the advice, which at such a crisis he was irresistibly impelled to give him, should be disregarded, the declarations of that consummate deceiver would be found diametrically opposite to his engagement; which would give birth to disorders beyond the reach of human skill to remedy. Abu Mussa assured him in reply, that the measure which they had concurred to adopt, was of such a nature as to secure them against the contingency of any disagreement in opinion, on the subject.

The ensuing day Abu Mussa and Amrû, attended by a numerous concourse of people, proceeded to the place appointed; when Amrû was desired by his collegue to ascend the tribunal prepared for the occasion, and announce to the public the concerted result of their deliberations. "Heaven forbid," observed the crafty Amrû, "that I should so far forget "myself, as to take precedence of a person so much my superior in age "and virtue." Abu Mussa in concurrence with the importunities of this obsequious friend, accordingly ascended the tribunal; and, after performance of the customary duties of his religion, in an offering of praise and adoration to the throne of Omnipotence, and an invocation of blessings on the memory of his prophet, proceeded to announce to the assembly; that the restoration of peace to the community, and of order to the distracted condition of affairs, depended without alternative, on the resolution to which they had agreed, of absolving both Ally and Mauweiah from the

functions of supreme government, and of transferring the question of the Khelaufut to the decision of a competent meeting of electors. "Accordingly," continued he, taking off the ring which he wore upon his finger, "I remove Ally and Mauweiah from the Khelaufut, in the same manner "as this ring is removed from my finger." He then quitted the tribunal, and was replaced by Amrû, who addressed the assembly in the following terms. "This respectable personage as ye must have all witnessed, has "entirely divested his superior of the supreme authority. Mark the differ-"ence." Then encircling his finger with a ring which he held in his hand, he further pronounced, "I, for my part, have established my sover-"eign Mauweiah in that authority with the same solemn publicity as I "place this ring on my finger."

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This extraordinary and unexpected result having excited an universal clamour of surprise and indignation in the assembly, Abu Mussa proceeded to reproach Amrû with the perfidy and falsehood of which he was guilty in this shameless violation of the engagements into which they had entered. "Would to heaven," cried Abdurraihman the son of Abu Bukker, "thou "hadst been in thy grave Abu Mussa, rather than such an award should "have proceeded from thy lips." "Nay," said Abdullah Abbas, "the "crime rests not with Abu Mussa, but with that guilty miscreant who "called him to such a trust." Shorreiah the commander of the escort, proceeded to discipline Amru with his whip, but suffered himself to be appeased by the people; although he never afterwards ceased to lament that instead of his whip he had not used his sword against the person of the detested deceiver. Others of the assembly loudly declared, that they acknowledged no arbiter but God, disavowing any competence in either Amru or Abu Mussa to decide on such a question. Some of the people of Irâk, at the same time, evinced a disposition to draw their swords; and would have immediately commenced hostilities at the very foot of the tribunal, had they not been prevented by the interposition of Auddy the son of Hautem, who called upon them to recollect, that "war without the "sanction of their Imaum was against the law."

At all events the result of this memorable conference, produced universal disgust and dissatisfaction among the people of Hejauz and Irâk; but more particularly among the Benni. Haushem, who repeated to one

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another on this occasion, the verses composed by his uncle Abbas in praise of their hero Ally, at the period when they were called upon to pledge their allegiance to Abu Bukker. From some of the theologists, if we may be permitted so to designate the readers of the Korân, who formed a part of the assembly, Abu Mussa experienced the bitterest reproaches; while they did not forbear to tell him, that the princely Ally was but too thoroughly acquainted with the stupidity of his character, when he demonstrated so decided a repugnance to his appointment. Others, more violent, menaced his life, and would probably have carried their threats into execution, if he had not seasonably made his escape to Mekkah. Amrû, with Abul Our and his followers, proceeded to Damascus, where they did not fail to congratulate Mauweiah on the successful issue of the conference, and on his accession to the Khelaufut. Abdullâh Abbas, and Shorreiah, with far different impressions in their hearts, repaired to Kufah, where it remained for them to communicate to their sovereign those circumstances of mortification and disappointment, which they had been constrained to witness at Doumut ul jundel. We are here referred to the authority of Hâfiz Abrû, and the compiler of the Mustekcy, or curious history, for the assertion, that it was in consequence of the result of this inauspicious conference that Ally, by his example, established the illiberal precedent of imprecating from the mumbers, or tribunals of public worship, the names of such persons as were hostile to his interests; it being on this occasion directed by his authority that the liaunet, or curse of God, should be denounced from the pulpit against Mauweiah and Amru, and Abul Our the Selmian, Jeib, or perhaps Habeib, the son of Mosselamah, Zohauk the son of Keyss, Wulleid the son of Aukkebah; and lastly against Abu Mussa, who had thus, either through treachery or imbecility, so shamefully compromised the interests of his constituents. Such a proceeding produced immediate retaliation on the part of Mauweiah; who enjoined that the names of Ally and his principal adherents should be pronounced with a similar malediction throughout the territories subject to his authority.

CHAP. X.

ALTHOUGH our details must continue to be drawn from the inexhaustible stores of the Rouzut ussuffâ, yet the defect of arrangement in the materials of that work, will some times constrain us, in digesting the order of events, to apply to other sources, where they are at hand. We shall therefore proceed to trace the remaining circumstances of the Khelaufut of Ally, according to the succession in which they are related in the Kholaussut ul akhbaur. A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 659. Rouzut ussuffâ.

It is generally understood, that at the period when Ally consented, with whatever reluctance, to the mission of Abû Mûssa to the congress at Doumut uljundel, Herkous the son of Zeheir, and Zerriaut the son of Mâlek, both remonstrated against his confiding to Abû Mûssa what it was in the power of God alone to determine, and indeed against his deputing any one on his part to arbitrate with his adversaries. Ally demanded in reply, on what possible grounds he could be justified in violating his engagements, or in the infraction of a treaty so deliberately recorded and confirmed by the signatures of so many distinguished persons. On which Eben ul Kowaï lushkery, the Eben Melkoud formerly alluded to, with the whole of the schismatics, henceforward designated Khouauredje, vociferating with loud clamours, "that they would have no arbiter but God!" and having repeatedly assailed his ears with this sentence, they proceeded to declare, that if he persisted in adhering to the appointment of Abû Mûssa, he was guilty of a crime of which it behoved him to evince his speedy repentance. In short, that his troops had now sufficiently reposed from their exertions, and that it only required his orders to reassemble them for an immediate renewal of hostilities with Mauweiah and the Syrians; which they urged him to expedite without further delay. Ally denied that any guilt was

A.H.XXXVIII. attached to the simple mission of Abû Mûssa, although the circumstances
A. D. 659. which gave it birth must be allowed to have originated in the most
Rouzut ussuffâ. deplorable imbecility. He then called to their recollection his fruitless endeavours to warn them against the designs of the Syrians, in the artful contrivance of exhibiting at the points of their lances, the sacred pages of the law; and of their total disregard to his assurances of victory, if they would be prevailed upon to continue the conflict but for one short hour longer. His entreaties and his views were equally despised and superseded. Zerriaut here declared, that unless he immediately put a stop to the departure of Abu Mussa, and receded from the project of arbitration, they were prepared to turn their arms against himself; "at all events," said Ally, "it behoves thee to repent thyself, for I perceive that thou art destined to "perish by my lance." "In that respect," replied Zerriaut, "I am pre-"pared." Ally continued, however, to assert his innocence in all this matter, and that the guilt, if any, rested exclusively with themselves; when one of the bystanders observed to him, that it was impossible not to perceive that the party was become extremely formidable, that they had already gone the length of denouncing him an infidel, for his compliance with this obnoxious treaty, and that if he did not seasonably retract, it was very evident that they meditated hostilities against him. To this he conclusively replied, it would be found that he was not unprepared to repel any aggression either against his person or authority.

These discussions between Ally and the Khouauredje were still occasionally renewed until the result of the conference at Doumut ul jundel was published at Kufah; when the schismatics openly avowed their satisfaction, insolently professing that those sacred obligations which had hitherto rendered the person of their sovereign inviolable, were now forever cancelled, since he had virtually subscribed to his own degradation. Under these circumstances, one day while he was performing the duties of the imaumut in the principal mosque of Kufah, one of them suddenly rose and exclaimed, "*no arbiter but God.*" In which he was seconded by the clamours of the whole party, by whom this sentence appears to have been usurped as the parole or test of their principles. On this Ally is stated to have addressed them in the following terms. "The sentiment "which you have chosen to express, I admit to be founded in truth, but as "erroneous in its application, as your object in adopting it is iniquitous;

" being no other than to avail yourselves of some pretext, to set at nought A.H.XXXVIII.
" the commands, and proscribe the authority of your rulers; which never- A. D. 659.
" theless, so long as it is directed to the destruction of foreign enemies, Rouzut
" the accumulation of their spoils, to the security of your highways, to ussuffa
" the vindication of the weak against the powerful, and of the injured
" against their oppressors, is equally necessary to the welfare and existence
" of society, whether it is administered by the virtuous or by the wicked.
" Let it however be understood, that from me there are three things
" which ye have a right to expect. The first is, that I should not exclude
" you from your mosques. The second is, that so long as you support my
" authority, I should not withhold from you your due proportion of the
" spoil. The last is, that until ye provoke me by your aggressions, I
" should not engage in hostilities against you."

The schismatics were, however, not to be dissuaded from their design. Their leaders proceeded to confer together at the residence of Abdullah the son of Wâheb urrauheby, (the monk) by whom they were formally apprized, that it became not a society of men, professing a belief in God and a day of retribution, to hold themselves exempted from examining, or attending to, all things which concerned the general welfare. Neither was it worthy of such a society to withhold the dictates of immutable truth, as they bore upon every relation of life. Such being his opinion, all he should further observe, was, that their brethren having unfortunately entered into an engagement to refer their differences to the arbitration of two particular persons, with the reliance that such a decision would be given, as was conformable to the sacred principles of the Korân; the arbiters thus chosen, had proved by the result of their deliberations, how unworthy they were of the trust reposed in them, and how little their conduct was to be influenced by those principles. He, therefore, that was disposed to escape from an unexampled calamity, must abandon, without delay, a place which was become the abode of darkness and impiety. Herkous the son of Zeheir solicited them by similar arguments to leave Kufah; while Hamzah the son of Seyaur, another of the conspirators urged them in the first place, on the necessity of investing the management of their designs in some competent individual; of whose prudence

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and talents they might avail themselves, to conduct them through the difficulties in which they were about to engage. This latter proposal received the immediate approbatiou of the whole, and accordingly a tender of the supremacy in all their concerns was made to Yezzeid the son of Hûsseyne, one of the enthusiasts devoted to the party. It was however declined by him, and ultimately accepted by Abdullah Wauheb, who affectedly disclaimed all other motives in conforming to the desire of his associates, than what derived their source far beyond all earthly considerations; beyond all the plans of selfish or worldly ambition. He then presented his hand, and received from them their proffers of allegiance, declaring that he considered himself thus solemnly pledged before hëaven, to promote the observance, and enforce the prohibitions of the law; to withhold the truth from no man; and to be strictly governed in his proceedings by the maxims of the orthodox belief. With respect to those misguided persons, who could submit themselves to be imposed upon by the dictates of an arbitration, which set truth and justice at defiance, he now protested in the presence of that God, than whom there was no other in existence, that even though he found himself alone and unsupported, he was determined to combat against them, until he should obtain the glorious reward of martyrdom.

It was accordingly determined on, after some subsequent deliberation, and on the suggestion of Yezzeid the son of Husseyne, another of the illustrious family of Tâï, since it would expose them to premature pursuit if they quitted Kûfah in a body, and as Medâyein, which was originally proposed as the place of rendezvous, was in many important points exceptionable, that they should take their departure from a place which was become now so odious, in numbers so inconsiderable, as to avoid observation, and assemble at the bridge of Neherwaun. A letter was at the same time transmitted to the adherents of the party at Bassorah, inviting them to join their friends at the station fixed upon for the general rendezvous. All which being previously arranged, the malcontents proceeded, as had been recommended, in parties of two and three, towards Neherwaun, gradually accumulating as they advanced, until they became at last a very numerous assemblage under the same Yezzeid.

Among those who had associated themselves with the insurgents on this occasion, happened to be Zeid the son of the respectable Auddy ben Hau-

tem, who hastened with all the expedition in his power to Medâyein, in the hope that he might still be able to overtake and reclaim his infatuated boy. Not finding, however, any trace of the Khouauredje at Medâyein, he thought it prudent to acquaint Saud the son of Mûssâoud the Thâkefite, and uncle of the celebrated Mokhtaur, who at this period presided over that city under the authority of Ally, with what he had discovered of the designs of the revolters; urgently advising him to pursue and circumvent them wherever they could be found. On his return towards Kûfah, Auddy was intercepted by a party of the Khouauredje, which was proceeding with Abdullah Wauheb towards Neherwaun; and his person would have been seized, but for the interference of two of their chiefs, through whose intercession he was allowed to continue his journey. In the mean time Saud the son of Mûssâoud had marched with five hundred horse in search of the insurgents; and at Kerkh, which at a subsequent period formed one of the suburbs of Baghdâd, at the hour of evening prayer, came up with the party under Abdullah, which as yet consisted of not more than thirty men. These he immediately attacked, and might probably have annihilated, had it not unfortunately occurred to some of his followers that it was advisable to forbear from putting these people to death until they should be regularly authorized from the seat of government; for which purpose they accordingly desired that he would immediately dispatch an application to Kufah; so that he was constrained to suffer the rebels to escape, while he returned with his detachment to Medâyein; Abdullah Wauheb proceeding without further molestation to Neherwaun, where he found his associates assembled in great force. Much about the same time five hundred of the malcontents of Bassorah left that city and directed their course towards Neherwaun; but Abdullah Abbas receiving intelligence of their departure, he caused a detachment of troops to proceed in pursuit of them, and endeavour to bring them back. They were overtaken at the bridge of Tuster, but were suffered nevertheless, through the intervention of night, to continue their march unmolested; compelling all they fell in with on their way towards Neherwaun to abjure the award of the arbiters, and putting those to the sword who refused to comply with their menaces.

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Rouzut ussuffa.

The movements and designs of the Khouauredje, and their junction at Neherwaun, could not well remain much longer a secret from Ally; but

A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 659. with his usual moderation, before he had recourse to measures of coercion, he endeavoured by letter to recal them to their allegiance; with no other effect, however, than that of exposing himself to the mortification of an insolent reply, which the leaders of the insurgents, Abdullah ben Wauheb and Yezzeid ben Hûsseyne transmitted to him in the following terms. "The rage which thou hast presumed to express against thy creator can "injure none but thyself. On our part we shall only inform thee, that "the day on which thy assent was given to the treaty of arbitration, con- "firmed thee an infidel. Nevertheless, prove to us by thy repentance, "that thou art returned to the true faith, and we may take thy proposals "into consideration. But if thou art determined to adhere to the princi- "ples of guilt, we thus solemnly adjure thee to resume the path of recti- "tude, with the assurance, that a righteous God will never befriend the "advocates of duplicity* and treason.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

This reply from the Khouauredje, rendered every advance towards accommodation on the part of Ally hopeless; he determined, notwithstanding, to connive at their insolence, and leave them to themselves; until he should have chastized the ambition of Mauweiah, against whom he was now preparing with fresh vigour for the renewal of hostilities. For this purpose he again quitted Kûfah, and encamped at Nokheilah, requiring his captains to prepare forthwith for another expedition into Syria. The Kûfians seemed disposed on this occasion at least, to support his views without reluctance; while the couriers whom he dispatched to the different provinces hastened the march of the various contingents, which he had ordered to join him. Among others, his faithful kinsman Abdullah Abbas, with seven thousand of the troops of Bassorah, repaired to the camp at Nokheilah, where, from the continual arrival of reinforcements, the strength of the army was soon completed to eighty thousand men. In the mean time, intelligence which reached him of the enormities committed throughout Irâk by the insurgents, against all who refused to abjure the arbitration of Abû Mûssa and Amrû, compelled Ally for the present to suspend the execution of his designs against Mauweiah; the insurgents having put to death the person whom he employed to ascertain the truth of the reports

* Of apostacy from his principles perhaps; else the allusion might more pertinently come home to themselves.

which had been circulated of their proceedings. These atrocities produced from his captains a representation of the imprudence of engaging in a distant enterprize, while such miscreants were left to prosecute at discretion their designs of blood and pillage against their defenceless fellow subjects; with so strong a presumption, that their schemes of violence and outrage would at no distant period be extended to Kûfah itself. Under these considerations they conceived it the wisest plan, in the first instance, to march against the schismatics; and should a reasonable admonition fail to recal them to a sense of duty, the sword of avenging justice might be employed to dissipate their air-built projects; after which relieved from their apprehensions of any treacherous attempts during their absence, they would be able to proceed with greater confidence against his enemies in Syria. A.H.XXXVIII. A.D.659. Rouzut ussuffâ.

The prudence of these counsels was too obvious to be disregarded, and a resolution was immediately adopted to attack the Khouauredje; for which purpose the army was accordingly directed to advance towards Neherwaun, a position on the Tigris, some leagues above the confluence of that river with the Euphrates. Having arrived by successive marches within a league of Neherwaun, Ally encamped his troops. Here he renewed his endeavours to reason the schismatics into a sense of duty, first by deputing Abdullah Abbas, and Abû Ayûb the Ansaur, to investigate and allay their discontents; and lastly when this had produced but little impression upon the minds of these obdurate rebels, he approached in person to a spot in the vicinity of their camp, within the compass of his voice; and from thence addressed them aloud, in substance as follows. "If ye remain still uninformed, that, when I agreed to submit my claims "to arbitration, it was expressly stipulated on my part, that the arbitrators "should decide in strict conformity to the dictates of the Korân; ye cannot "have forgotten that I forewarned you of the fraudulent design with "which the Syrians diverted your attention, by exhibiting the sacred "pages of the law at the points of their spears; and that when you pertinaciously rejected every other mode of deciding those claims, I as publicly declared that my consent was given on the express condition, that "the exertions of these arbitrators should be directed to revive those "ordinances of the Korân which had been suffered to fall into neglect, "and to extinguish every doctrine of which the sacred code prescribed the "abolition. Accordingly, since the two men selected to adjust our

A.H.XXXVIII: A.D. 659. Rouzut Assuffâ.

"differences, have chosen to decide in conformity to their own selfish "propensities, and in direct hostility to the sacred word of God, their "judgment must be considered entirely null, and the question has reverted "to its orginal ground. I am however yet to learn, to what causes are to "be ascribed these hostile and rebellious proceedings on your part." The Kouauredje briefly replied, by acknowledging that when they acceded to the plan of arbitration they also had betrayed the cause of truth, and become infidels. Of their conduct on that occasion, they had however long since manifested their sincere repentance. If by a similar compunction, he could establish his claims to forgiveness, they were prepared to submit themselves once more to his authority. "If," rejoined Ally, "notwithstanding my precedence in Isslâm, in my participation in the "prophet's exile, and in my exploits against the enemies of true religion "to ensure the favor of Omnipotence, I could be so base as to give testi-"mony to my own impiety, I should indeed deserve to be included among "the most besotted of mankind." He concluded however, by a request that they would appoint from among themselves some person on whose conduct and principles they could rely, in order to hold a disputation with him; pledging himself to conform to their desires, if fairly argued into a conviction of his errors; and expressing a confidence that they were still possessed of a sufficient reverence for the judgments of an avenging deity, to return to their duty, provided he was himself victorious in the controversy.

To this they appear to have subscribed; and Abdullah the son of Ulkoua, was chosen on their parts to support the disputation with Ally. This was opened by the latter, who demanded to know, what occurences had arisen, after consenting to his assumption of the throne of the prophet's successors, after combating in his service, and giving every other proof of obedience to his authority, to justify those measures of rebellion and hostility, in which they were now engaged; and how it came to pass, that in the war of the camel nothing could be observed in their conduct that bespoke a similar disposition? To this Abdullah replied, that on the day of the camel there was no treaty of arbitration. "May I request to be informed," said the Khalif, "which is best qualified to point out the principles of "truth and salvation, the prophet or thyself? "The prophet without "dispute," said Abdullah. "Perhaps then," added Ally, "thou art not

"aware of that passage in the Korân, which was communicated to him A.H.XXXVIII.
"on occasion of the conference with the men of Nedjraun; and no one A. D. 659.
"pretends to doubt that God has marked *them* as a perverse generation." Rouzut
"Nevertheless," observed Abdullah, "the passage exclusively applies ussuffâ.
"to that people; but at any rate, in according thy assent to an adjust-
"ment by arbitration, thou hast thyself become the author of those doubts
"which have arisen against thy pretensions to the Khelaufut. Since
"therefore thou hast fallen into the dilemma through thine own abetment,
"our suspicions with regard to thy claims have not by that circumstance
"been rendered the less warrantable." Ally continued however to reinforce his arguments by further portions from the sacred code, and Abdullah with equal constancy to elude them, until he was compelled at last to acknowledge that all he had advanced was perfectly consistent with truth; that Ally was without a blemish in every respect, the solitary instance alone excepted, by which he had authorized the appointment of Abû Mûssa and Amrû, and by which he had proved himself, as he said, either an infidel or an apostate from his principles. Ally desired him to recollect that Abû Mûssa only had been appointed by him, that Amrû was the choice of Mauweiah. "Abû
"Mûssa is an infidel," said Abdullah; "wilt thou inform me," replied Ally,
"at what period he became an infidel; whether during his journey to Dou-
"mut ul jundel, or during the discussions at that place on the subject of
"the arbitration? during the discussion," said Abdullah. "Then," continued Ally, "since Abû Mûssa is acknowledged to have been a true
"believer at the period when he received his appointment, and became a
"traitor to his principles by his conduct only in the discharge of the trust
"reposed in him, wherein does the circumstance imply any degree of guilt
"on my part? If, for example, the prophet should at any time have had
"occasion to employ a person to admonish an infidel community to the
"worship of the true God, and that person should have perverted his
"mission to other purposes, in what respect could it impeach his employer;
"any more than the imbecility or perfidy of Abû Mûssa can be imputed
"to my charge, or justify that effusion of Mussulman blood for which
"you are responsible?" Perceiving that the discussion appeared likely to terminate to their disadvantage, the leaders of the Khouauredje here

A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 659. interrupted the conference, by desiring that Abdullah would cut short all further argument with this man, and withdraw to his party. After which they closed every avenue towards accommodation by immediately preparing for battle.

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Convinced at length that his dispute with the Khouauredje, would yield to no decision but that of the sword, Ally proceeded, on his part also, to dispose of his troops in order of battle. His right wing being consigned to the charge of Hidjer the son of Auddy; his left to Sheyth the son of Rebbeiai, and his cavalry to Abû Ayûb the ansaur, whose tomb is near Constantinople. The general direction of the infantry was entrusted to Abû Ketaudah. The schismatics on their side, placed their right wing under the orders of Yezzeid the son of Husseyne, and their left under those of Shorreiah the son of Abi Oûffy. Herkous the son of Zeheir undertook the direction of the cavalry, and Abdullah the son of Ulkoua, just mentioned, that of the infantry. Abdullah ben Wauheb, the chief of the insurgents, as well as Ally, most probably taking his station in the centre. The armies thus confronted, Ally placed his standard apart under the protection of a body of two thousand men, and caused it to be proclaimed that all such as repaired to that standard should find pardon and security, and that all who departed quietly for Kûfah would be entitled to the same indulgence. This appears to have succeeded in producing all the effect that could be desired; one of the leaders of the Khouauredje, Ferdah the son of Noufil Eshjai, with five hundred men, immediately retiring towards Dezhkouh; others took the road to Kûfah; while a considerable body passed over to the standard, and experienced the protection which had been held out to them. By these unlooked for desertions, the force with Abdullah ben Wauheb was soon reduced to less than four thousand men; with which, however, he did not hesitate to assail the far superior numbers of the Khalif's army, which had been directed to expect the attack without moving. This circumstance probably encouraged the audacity of the insurgents, who advanced to the charge with such extraordinary resolution, as to make a considerable impression in the ranks of their opponents; but ultimately separating into two divisions, they diverged towards the right and left wings. In this effort Shorreiah was engaged by Keyss the son of Saud, who struck off one of his legs; notwithstanding

which he continued his exertions until his antagonist put an end to his existence. A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 659.

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In detailing the circumstances of this battle, the author proceeds to relate, that among others of the Khouauredje who had distinguished themselves on former occasions in the cause of Ally, one in particular, Ehness ul Taï, had exerted himself with conspicuous gallantry in the conflicts at Seffeine. This person now presented himself at the head of the troops of his party, and having recited aloud certain verses in praise of his associates, urged his career with impetuous fury against the opposing line of Ally's troops, which he entirely penetrated to the rear. He was however pursued and brought to defend himself by Ally in person, by whose sword, after a gallant resistance, he was levelled in the dust. In the mean time Herkous ben Zeheir, who had watched an opportunity to attack the person of Ally, now spurred his horse against him; and was already prepared to strike, when that prince anticipated the blow, and clove his helmet to the scull; dropping the reins, his horse bore him senseless from the field of battle to a deserted spot on the bank of the Neherwaun river, into which, about the close of the action he was thrown, and thus perished. His couzin Malek the son of Ulwessauh, attempted to avenge the death of his kinsman, but supplied another proof of the resistless might of Ally's arm. Rendered desperate by the fate of his associates, Abdullah ben Wauheb, to whom, in contempt probably, these writers have also assigned the appellation of urrauheby, the monk, who was in fact the fermenting principle of the conspiracy, and acknowledged chief of the insurgents, now called aloud to the son of Abu Tauleb, by which appellation he chose to address him, demanding to know how long he proposed to exhibit these proofs of over bearing violence, against his inferiors in strength; and daring him to try the vigour of a warrior's assault in a contest with his equal; "For," said he, "I have pledged myself by an oath never to leave this "spot until I have either made thee a sacrifice to my vengeance, or fallen "in the prosecution of it." Smiling at this arrogant ebullition, Ally disdainfully replied, that with a competent experience of that prowess which he dared to defy, he could not but consider the language, to which he had given expression, as extremely misapplied; he should therefore ascribe

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it to an effort of despair; and that having dismissed all further regard for life, he was compelled to hasten his destiny, by hazarding a conflict with superior manhood. Abdullah had by this time approached within convenient distance; when with a single stroke of his scimitar, Ally dispatched him to the abode of the wretched.

The death of this man was immediately followed by the almost entire destruction of the remainder of the Khouauredje; of nearly four thousand of whom, that had shared with him the dangers of the battle, not more than nine persons escaped the carnage; which by a sort of miraculous coincidence also constituted the number of the slain on the part of the victors in this unequal contest; according to the express prediction of the Khalif, who had announced previous to the commencement of the action that day, that of his own soldiers destined to fall in the approaching conflict, the number would not exceed the order of units, while on the part of the enemy not ten persons would escape with life. Of the nine individuals who thus escaped the slaughter, two are represented to have fled into Khorassaun, and from thence after a short interval to the region of Neimrouz, where they became the origin of the Khouaredje of Seïestaun. Two more took refuge in Yemen, of whom the schismatics of that country are the descendants; two retired into Omman, and two into Jezzeirah. Of the two latter, Authem the historian of Kûfah is stated to affirm that many of the descendants existed in his days on the banks of the Euphrates: the ninth fled into the district of Telmouezzin, of whom no memorial has been preserved. Three of the insurgent chiefs have been already accounted for. Yezzeid ul Hûsseyne, the fourth, is said to have been transfixed in the course of the battle, by Abû Ayûb, the ansaur; at any rate, if the report of the latter to his sovereign is entitled to belief. Neither can we omit to observe, that Hauny the son of Khettaub and Zeiaud the son of Hefzah, are both of them said to have contended for the merit of having killed Abdullah the son of Wauheb; which appears to be countenanced by the acknowledgement of Ally, that they had contributed to hasten the fate of that rebel, since they had both assailed him with their lances.

Through one more circumstance of this battle, though perhaps not very material to relate, we must reconcile ourselves to attend the author. Previous to the commencement of hostilities on this occasion, Ally is said to have stated to his followers, and for the truth of his assertion, to have

appealed to that God who splits the barley corn for vegetation, and who from the exhaustless stores of his benevolence, has clad his creature man in the garb of existence, that the prophet had long since preadmonished him of the events in which he should be engaged with this misguided faction. Namely, that he should be at war with a band of miscreants whose secession from the principles of truth to the mazes of error and falsehood, would be as irrevocable as the flight of an arrow from the bow of the archer; that, as a mark by which he should be able to distinguish such a sect, there would be found among the individuals of which it was composed, a person to one of whose shoulders, in place of an arm, would be suspended an excrescence of flesh, resembling the breasts of a woman, covered at the extremity with bristles, like the whiskers of a cat. On the same subject, Obeidah of the tribe of Selman is said further to relate, that he was in the Khalif's train, when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Neherwaun; and that a person brought intelligence, while Ally was engaged in public worship, that the insurgents had crossed to the opposite side of the river. When Ally had finished his devotions, he observed that the report was unworthy of belief, since he was too well assured that they would never pass the river; for that destiny had marked the scene of their destruction on this side. Accordingly when the insurgents met their fate on the very spot which the Khalif had indicated for that event, he directed that they should search for the body of Zul Thedeiah, the man with the breast. The people employed in the search, at first returned and reported that no person answering to such a description was to be found among the dead. Ally directed them, notwithstanding, to renew their search, insisting with an oath, that the body of Zûl Thedeiah was on the field of battle. They again proceeded to examine the slain; until under a heap of forty dead bodies, they found the carcase of Zûl Thedeiah, of whose identity they had immediate proof; for they found, on inspection, depending from his shoulders, a fleshy excrescence, such as Ally had described, which, on drawing out, became extended to the length of his other arm, and on being disengaged immediately shrivelled up to the resemblance of a woman's breast. Of the Khouauredje, however, who were left for dead on the field of battle, four hundred were discovered, in whom the vital spark was not yet extinguished: these, by the Khalif's direction, were restored to their relatives. The more valuable property of the slain, he

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A.H.XXXVIII. directed moreover to be delivered up to those who possessed the claims of
A. D. 659. inheritance; consigning to his victorious soldiers the cattle only and arms
Rouzut ussuffâ. of the vanquished.

Having thus terminated with equal rapidity and success, his expedition against these insurgents, Ally endeavoured to avail himself of the facility with which the victory was achieved, as an argument to stimulate his troops, now that a beneficent providence was so evidently disposed to favor their exertions, to accompany him, as they had originally pledged themselves to do, against the provinces of Syria. Some of his most distinguished captains, among whom we again find the name of Aishauth the son of Keyss, representing, however, that their quivers were exhausted, their arrows broke, and their swords impaired, with frequent use; and requesting that he would reconduct them to Kûfah for the purpose of replacing their equipments; after which they would be able to second his views with greater confidence, to the effectual extirpation of his enemies, he was constrained to give way to their remonstrances, and accordingly proceeded on his return to Kûfah; in sight of which, at Nokheilah, in due time, he again resumed his station. From hence he permitted all such as required it, to repair to the city; but lest the expedition, on which his faculties appeared to be so ardently fixed, should be exposed to any further delay, they were laid under a positive restriction not to remain there beyond the period of one day. The next day, accordingly, with the exception of a very few of such as were still under the influence of a more honorable sentiment of loyalty, the camp was almost entirely deserted by the whole army; which preferring the inglorious ease of a quiet life, to the honorable fatigues of a distant enterprize, seemed but little disposed to rejoin its colours. Under these circumstances, Ally felt himself constrained to enter the town; the citizens in vain endeavouring to apologize for their conduct, while he did not attempt to suppress his indignation at the repeated proofs of disobedience and ingratitude, which he had experienced from them on this and other occasions. The tone of serious resentment, in which he expressed himself, seemed for a moment to awaken a sense of compunction; they became profuse in their concessions, renewed their protestations of attachment, and once more declared themselves ready to follow wherever he chose to lead them.

These expressions of returning duty wrought upon the Khalif to accept of their acknowledgments, although he determined to bring their sincerity to an immediate proof. For this purpose Haureth the Hamdanian, one of his captains, was directed to proclaim, that all such as were animated by the genuine spirit of loyalty, should repair, on the morrow, to a suitable place of rendezvous in the neighbourhood, which would be pointed out to them. So little, however, was this spirit to be depended on, that, when Ally proceeded the following day to the encampment designed on this occasion, he found that no more than three hundred persons had been possessed of sufficient zeal to obey this last summons to join his standard. He declared, however, that had the number amounted only to a thousand, it might have been entitled to some consideration; but with the handful which he saw assembled, that it would be folly to tempt his fate. After remaining here for several days, a prey to sorrow and disappointment, he was at length urged by Hidjer the son of Auddy, and Keyss the son of Saud, to enforce his orders for the expedition into Syria; and if the people continued to disregard his authority, to suffer them to punish the disobedient. The proclamation was accordingly repeated; while Miaukkil the son of Keyss, made a circuit of the adjoining towns for the purpose of reassembling the troops; but, before the latter could return from the service in which he was thus employed, his master was destined to be enrolled in the illustrious catalogue of the martyrs.

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It has been already noticed in a former page, that Ally had, unfortunately, conceived it expedient to remove Keyss the son of Saud Ibbaudah, from the government of Egypt, and to transfer that province to Mahommed the son of Abû Bukker. On the arrival of his successor, the son of Saud relinquished his authority without a murmur; suggesting, at the same time, with very disinterested zeal, the necessity of temporizing with the party in that country, which had not yet been prevailed upon to pledge their allegiance to Ally's government; and pointing out by name those persons whose attachment it would be advisable to conciliate, if it was considered of importance to retain the subjection of that opulent province. Keyss had, however, no sooner left the country, than his prudent counsels were forgotten; the son of Abû Bukker, though admonished by repeated defeats, persisting in the employment of force, to compel the allegiance of the obnoxious party. There resided in Egypt at this period, a person who

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bore the name of Mauweiah the son of Khodeiah, who had long nourished the most violent animosity against Ally's person and government; and who, encouraged by the general discontent, which was excited by the result of the inauspicious conference at Doumut ul jundel, had embraced the opportunity of exciting the most serious commotions in the province; under the still specious pretext of avenging the blood of Othman, by which a multitude of the lawless rabble of the country were persuaded to join his standard.

The dangerous situation to which his government was reduced, was now communicated by the son of Abû Bukker to the Khalif; who at last resolved to avail himself of the determined valour and military skill of the faithful Malek Ashtur, in order to appease these troubles. This gallant chieftain had been sent at the termination of the war of Seffeine, to preside in Jezzeirah, the upper part of the peninsula, between the Tigris and Euphrates; but hastened on the first summons to attend the orders of his sovereign on this occasion. To him, in confidence, Ally lamented the immature years of the son of Abu Bukker, and the deplorable incapacity and inexperience which, contrary to expectation, he had betrayed in the management of his government. He then signified his intention of superseding that prince; and requested his advice, as to the person whom he thought best qualified to supply his place. Malek gave his opinion without reserve, that no one was better qualified for the trust than the neglected Keyss ben Saud; for whose immediate reinstatement a mandate was accordingly issued by Ally. This was, however, resolutely declined by Keyss, on the plea of his former unjust and unmerited removal; but he appears to have accepted of the government of Azerbaijaun, to which he was now nominated, as some reparation for the injury. In the mean time, the Khalif proceeded to explain his views more clearly to Malek Ashtur, by avowing that, all things considered, he looked upon himself as the most competent to restrain the Egyptians; and more particularly, because in the instance of almost every other person, he was under the necessity of furnishing instructions for every case that arose; whereas with respect to him, such a precaution was superfluous; since he was fully capable of conducting himself on every emergency, by the native energies and resources of his own mind. This loyal and intrepid chieftain was ultimately prevailed upon to subscribe to the arrangement now offered to his consideration; and

he received from the Khalif the letters patent, investing him with his new authority, in terms unusually flattering to his honorable ambition; and he was then urged to hasten with the utmost dispatch, in order to dispel, by his presence, the mischiefs which had accumulated under the unfortunate administration of his predecessor. A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 659. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Malek Ashtur left Kûfah accordingly, and proceeded on his journey towards Egypt. But in the mean time intelligence of his appointment was communicated to the governor of Damascus; and awakened in the mind of that artful and politic prince an apprehension, that if assailed in concert by Ally from Kûfah, and by Malek Ashtur from the side of Egypt, his position in Syria would become extremely critical; and he therefore hastened to devise some plan by which he might contrive to obviate this double misfortune. It happened that on the route which Malek was pursuing on this occasion, there lived, at the period in question, a villager, or peasant, who maintained some intercourse of friendship with Mauweiah; to him the latter immediately wrote, advising him of the approach of Malek Ashtur; and charging him, as the journey of that chief would infallibly lie through his place of residence, to meet, and engage him to partake of the hospitalities which he should be prepared to offer; during which, he was to watch an opportunity of conveying a certain mortal poison into his food. Of this laudable employment, the peasant, villager, or townsman, it matters little which, appears to have availed himself without much compunction. When the unsuspecting traveller drew near, he hastened to greet him with the most lavish professions of service, announcing himself as one of the tributaries of his government, and as having long expected the gratification of entertaining so estimable a guest. Malek Ashtur was completely drawn into the snare, and complied with the perfidious invitation. A preparation of honey, into which the fatal mixture had been introduced by the traitor, was tendered for his refreshment; *to taste of which, and to die, was one and the same thing.*

In this manner perished the warlike and otherwise invincible Malek Ashtur; whose character, if not already sufficiently delineated by his actions, may be in some measure further appreciated by the opposite impressions, with which the account of his premature exit was received by Ally and

A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 659. Rouzut ussuffa. Mauweiah respectively. The latter, previous to the death of this intrepid soldier, in announcing to the Syrians his appointment to the government of Egypt, acknowledged that the apprehensions which he entertained of the valour and talents of Malek Ashtur, far surpassed any thing which he could ever experience with respect to his superior; and he therefore recommended that their prayers might be addressed to heaven, to avert the evils with which, in common with himself, they were threatened by the daring spirit of that enterprising chief. On intelligence that he was no more, he further announced to his followers, with no small satisfaction, that of the two eyes of Ally's power, Haushem the son of Auttebah Wokauss had already perished; or, if other authorities are entitled to credit, he said, that of the two arms of Ally, one had been cut off when the venerable Aumar Yaussser expired in the conflict of Seffeine; and of the other, heaven in propitiation of their vows, had now deprived him, in the death of Malek Ashtur. The instruments of divine vengeance, said he, are infinite; it is some times conveyed in a *mess of honey*. On the other hand, the sorrow of Ally, at the loss of this invaluable commander, received considerable aggravation from the intelligence, which about the same time reached him, of the equal grief and shame with which the son of Abû Bukker had been overwhelmed by his unlooked for supersession. To conciliate the wounded spirit of that prince under such impressions, Ally conceived it prudent to write to him in the following terms. "Of your "distress of mind, in consequence of my selection of Malek Ashtur to "conduct the government of Egypt, I am sufficiently informed. This "was however a measure to which I had recourse, not from any impression "unfavorable either to your diligence or exertion in the discharge of your "trust, but from a desire of placing you at the head of another govern- "ment; which, although of equal extent and opulence, and salubrity of "climate, would require less anxiety and application in its management, "and where it would be in your power to enjoy a life of leisure and "repose. The man whom I designed to supply your place was equally "calculated by his prudence to confirm the attachment of my friends, and "by the vigor of his mind to avenge me of my enemies. But I am now "apprized that the number of his days has been completed; and that he "is of course absorbed in the infinitude of divine mercy. You are therefore "required to continue in your present government, which is placed as

"formerly at your discretion: I shall only recommend that your exerti- A.H.XXXVIII.
"ons in opposing the designs of the enemy may not be relaxed; that A. D. 659.
"your zeal in admonishing the misguided may not be diminished; Rouzut
"and that you fail not to supplicate the support of Omnipotence in all ussuffâ.
"your undertakings; so shall the bounty of heaven be extended to the
"accomplishment of all your wishes, and the perfection of all your
"designs.

On the death of Malek Ashtur, finding that the attention of Ally was sufficiently engaged in the contest with the Khouauredje, which is here expressly stated to have occurred subsequent to the event which we have been just recording, Mauweiah gladly embraced the opportunity to fulfil his engagements with Amrû, whom he now accordingly dispatched with six thousand men for the reduction of Egypt. He wrote at the same time to the insurgent Mauweiah ben Khodeiah, requiring him to support the expedition of Amrû, who was immediately joined, on his arrival in the Egyptian territory, by the rebel and all his force. Encouraged by this accession of strength, Amrû sent a message to the son of Abû Bukker, warning him to quit the country while he could yet do it in safety; otherwise he must be conscious, as it was sufficiently manifest to all Isslâm, that the blood of Othman was on his head. To this the son of Abû Bukker is said to have replied, that he did not consider the death of Othman of such importance, nor his share in it of such extent, as to make him accountable for it to any man; and least of all to Amrû, whose activity in promoting that event was far superior to any thing that could be justly ascribed to him. But he trusted at any rate, that he should yet have it in his power to treat Amrû as he had already treated Othman.

Perceiving that his antagonist was not to be driven from his government by menaces, Amrû prepared to expel him by superior force. On his part, the son of Abû Bukker employed a detachment to oppose the invader, under the directions of Kenaunah, the same person that with his knife inflicted the first wound on the unhappy Othman. A part of his force was now detached by Amrû, under Abdurraihman the son of Bukker, to keep this body in check; the two divisions came to a battle in which

A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 659. the troops of Amrû, with their leader, were defeated, and shamefully driven for shelter into his camp. Upon this Mauweiah the son of Khodeiah was required by Amrû to go and give battle to his son; for that is the relation, in which historians, and particularly Eben Hamdan, and Mahommed ben Jerreir the Tebrian, have represented Kenaunah to have stood with this Mauweiah, although, according to others, he is called the son of Besher. Mauweiah proceeded however to meet the division under Kenaunah, whom he defeated and killed with his own hand in the course of the action, telling him that his guilty share in the murder of Othman had armed the father's hand against his offspring; otherwise his life would have been spared. The defeat of this commander was followed by the immediate and entire dispersion of all who served about the person of Mahommed ben Abû Bukker, who was himself compelled to abscond; but being soon afterwards discovered among some ruined buildings, where he had concealed himself, he was dragged from thence and put to a miserable death by the son of Khodeiah; who exercised his vengeance on several of his defenceless and innocent offspring, by sewing them up in the bellies of horses or asses, or of some other quadruped, in which they were cruelly scorched to death. Amrû then entered Cairo, and took possession of the government of Egypt without further opposition.

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We are at the same time given to understand, that on the earliest intelligence of the approach of Amrû, the unfortunate son of Abû Bukker had dispatched to solicit aid from the Khalif; but that no intreaties of the latter were sufficient to prevail upon the men of Kûfah to enable him to comply with the request. On which Ally is said to have implored heaven to place this refractory colony under the authority of some man, from whom they might experience neither compassion nor mercy: according to others, he bitterly exclaimed, "May God consign them to the power of some slave "whose morose and unpitying disposition shall avenge my wrongs." The prayer of Ally, continues our author, was not unheeded; for on that very night, according to the majority of historians, was born the sanguinary Hejauje ben Yûssuf the Thâkefite, equally celebrated by the appellation of the tyrant Hejauje; from whom the citizens of Kûfah were destined to endure all those miseries which, by a just retribution, were afterwards inflicted upon them. Others, however, less disposed to credit the miraculous efficacy of Ally's prayers, contend that the birth of the cruel

Hejauje did not take place until the forty second of the Hidjera; and that the loss of Egypt, and the death of Mahommed the son of Abû Bukker, occurred so far back as the year thirty-seven. Be that however as it may, the untoward events in Egypt occasioned in the mind of Ally the greatest anxiety and distress, which he hastened to communicate to his kinsman Abdullah Abbas, at this period employed in his government of Bassorah. The latter committing his charge to the care of his deputy, Zeiaud the son of Ommeyah, immediately repaired to Kûfah, privately resolved not to separate from the person of the Khalif any more. A.H.XXXVIII. A. D. 659. Rouzut usuffa

The government of Ally must, as the author confesses, have sustained a severe shock by the death of the son of Abû Bukker, and the consequent establishment in Egypt of the authority of Amrû. In the mean time, Mauweiah actively awake to derive every advantage of circumstances, sent Abdullah ben Khozzermy to reduce Bassorah; which this officer appears to have effected without difficulty, Zeiaud the lieutenant of Abdullah Abbas, absconding on his approach. Ayûn the son of Mûjaushia, at first employed by Ally to restore his authority, and expel the son of Khozzermy from this important station, was killed, and his troops defeated in the attempt; but a second effort under Jauriah the son of Keddamah proved more successful. Abdullah Khozzermy shut himself up in the palace of government, which being set fire to by the troops of Ally, he was there with all his followers burnt to death.

In the thirty-ninth of the Hidjera, a division of two thousand men under Niauman the son of Besheir the ansaur, was detached by Mauweiah against Eyne us Shums; one of the Heliopolises of the ancients, and probably that which is said to have lain on the confines of Egypt and Arabia. The station was at this period defended on the part of Ally by Malek the son of Kaaub; but his troops having, for the greater part, fled on the very appearance of the enemy, he was compelled to retire within the walls of the palace, from whence he dispatched a messenger to solicit the relief of his sovereign. But Ally having again applied in vain for the assistance of the men of Kûfah, and Malek perceiving the arrival of reinforcements delayed beyond his expectations, he bravely resolved by a desperate effort to attempt his own deliverance. With one hundred men, the whole that remained of his garrison, he sallied out and attacked the troops of Niauman; with whom he maintained an unequal conflict until A.H.XXXIX. A. D. 659.

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the hour of evening prayer, when Abdurraihman the son of Mohennef with fifty horse, most seasonably appeared to his assistance; and Niauman conceiving that this might be the prelude of more considerable reinforcements, immediately gave up the contest and withdrew into Syria: thus unexpectedly relieving his antagonist from the pressure and inconveniencies of a rigorous siege.

Determined to assail his adversary from every quarter, Mauweiah during the same year employed Soffeyan the son of Owûf in the reduction of Haibet; a city, here said, to lie between Mossûl and the Syrian territory, from whence that chief proceeded towards Amba, in Arabian Irâk; which he also took and pillaged, after an action in which he had previously defeated and killed Eben Hussaun ul Bukkery, the governor on the part of Ally. These accumulating misfortunes seem to have aggravated the resentment, with which the Khalif was already sufficiently impressed against the people of Kûfah; he quitted the city alone, without holding any communication with them, and took up his abode in the camp which was forming in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless he suffered himself to be prevailed upon to return the next day, by the principal inhabitants, who represented these matters as not of such importance by any means, as to require his personal interference: and in compliance with their suggestions, he ordered Keyss the son of Saud, with a competent force, to repel the invasion of Soffeyan. This commander proceeded in search of the enemy with all the diligence and celerity of which he was capable, and continued his march to the very confines of Syria. But as the invaders had possessed themselves of an immense booty, the first object seems to have been to convey it to a place of security; and their retreat was accordingly either so rapid or well timed, as to elude all pursuit.

In the course of the same year, a detachment of seventeen hundred men, under Abdullah the son of Mûssaud ul Ferauzy, was employed by Mauweiah, in the direction of Teima; a city or town which we are taught to look for on the skirts of the desert adjoining to the frontiers of Syria. His instructions were to levy upon the wandering Arabs of that desert, the sedkaut, or contribution originally prescribed by the law, for the relief of the poor, and the purposes of religion; to make war upon all who resisted; and to extend his operations to the sacred cities of Mekkah and Medeinah. The son of Mûssaudah proceeded accordingly as far as Teima;

and had commenced his exactions among the wandering tribes, when intelligence of these further encroachments was conveyed to Ally. A body of two thousand men was immediately directed to march under the orders of Mosseyb ul Ferauzy, to give battle to this invader of the Khalif's rights. On his arrival at Teima, Mosseyb attacked and defeated the Syrians with considerable slaughter, but suffered their chief, to whom he was nearly related, to escape into the town with most of his followers; telling him, as he slightly struck him with his gauntlet, to hasten his flight, lest inexperience or folly might lead him to his own destruction. Mosseyb next invested the town, and having heaped a great number of faggots against the gates, he caused them to be set on fire. Softened however by the cries and lamentations uttered by the besieged at the prospect of inevitable destruction, Mosseyb directed the conflagration to be extinguished; while Abdullah, with his garrison, contrived, under cover of the night, to escape into Syria. A.H.XXXIX. A. D. 659. Rouzut ussuffa.

Another course, by which Mauweiah contrived to embarras and distract the attention of his adversary, was to send a large force into the desert on the route of the pilgrimage; with instructions to destroy all the places erected for the accommodation of the Hadjies, to fill up the wells, and put the guards to death entrusted with the care of these stations. They were also directed to divert the pilgrims from proceeding to Mekkah, by expostulations on the absurdity of visiting a place where there was no longer faith, nor a person to preside over the sacred ceremonies. Zohauk, the commander employed on his part to execute this service, conducted himself with extreme rigour and cruelty; but was ultimately attacked and defeated by Hidjer the son of Auddy, who had been detached with four thousand men by Ally to chastise the incursion. About this same period the rights of the Khelaufut were further invaded, on the part of Mauweiah, by an attempt to introduce at Mekkah, an agent whom he proposed to conduct the pilgrims from Egypt, and the shores of Africa westward of that province, during the processions and other ceremonies of the visitation. But Kothem the son of Abbas, who held the government of Mekkah on the part of Ally, opposing the usurpation, the dispute would have terminated in immediate hostilities, had not the citizens interposed with a declaration, that they should not be permitted to interrupt the period of the solemnities, by any act of blood; and to put an end to all controversy

A.H.XXXIX. A. D. 660. on the subject, they resolved that Shiaubah the son of Othman should officiate as pontiff on that occasion. The occurrences of the year thirty-nine conclude with an excursion which Mauweiah, attended by the flower of the troops of Syria, made to Mossûl, on pretence of visiting the banks of the Tigris, a river which he professed never to have seen before; but in reality to create an alarm at Kûfah, that he was in person about to enter Arabian Irâk, while his captains were employed in assailing the territories of Ally from other quarters. After a few days recreation, he returned however to Damascus.

Rouzut assuffa.

A. H. XL. A. D. 660. In the commencement of the year forty, Besher the son of Ertaut was sent by Mauweiah, at the head of three thousand men, to take possession of the two sacred cities of Mekkah and Medeinah; and to proceed ultimately into Yemen, in order to summon the people of those different quarters to acknowledge the authority of his master. In pursuance of his instructions, the son of Ertaut came first before Medeinah, at this period under the government of Abû Ayûb the ansaur; who seems to have abandoned his trust on the appearance of the invader. The latter accordingly entered the city without resistance, and repairing to the principal mosque, there took possession of the pulpit of the imaumut; from whence, in pronouncing the Khotbah, he called by name for the slaves of Othman, and sternly demanded how or where they had disposed of their lord. The citizens of Medeinah, to whom the appellation was addressed, indicating by tears and lamentations, either their sorrow for the past, or their apprehensions for the future, Besheir again imperiously demanded, to what cause he was to ascribe these expressions of sorrow, in the murderers of their sovereign; further solemnly assuring them, that if not forcibly restrained, from such a measure of retribution, by the absolute commands of Mauweiah, he would not, for his own part, have suffered a man of them to survive the revolution of that day. He gave them, at the same time to understand, that he amongst them who declined to pledge his immediate allegiance to the authority under which he served, must consider himself the accomplice of his own destruction. After which, descending from the tribunal, he required and received for Mauweiah the allegiance in general of the whole of the inhabitants. Of the principal citizens, however, Jauber the ansaur contrived for some time to secrete himself in different houses of the place; until one of those in which he had sought concealment, being

on discovery given up to plunder by the Syrian general, he threw himself on the protection of Omm-e-Selmah, one of the prophet's widows; by whom, though herself ardently attached to the cause of Ally, he was advised to submit to the authority of his antagonist; since, as she declared, every circumstance seemed to indicate, but too clearly, that the sovereign power would ultimately rest in the person of Mauweiah. A piece of advice to which this person accordingly thought it expedient to conform. A. H. XL. A. D. 660. Rouzut ussuffâ.

Besher, after establishing Abû Horreirah in the government of Medeinah, now proceeded towards Mekkah, which was also abandoned on his approach by Kothem the son of Abbas; such, it cannot be disguised, being either the deplorable decay of energy, or want of resource, or disaffection, which, at this period, seem to have pervaded almost every quarter of Ally's dominion; and which must have greatly hastened that ascendancy which his detested rival was ordained to acquire in the destiny of his country. Among those who thought fit to conceal themselves on the approach of the invader, although his services in promoting the views of the party might have been supposed sufficient to render his person inviolable, was Abû Mûssa the Aishaurite, who still resided at Mekkah; his retreat was, however, soon discovered, and he was brought before Besher, who, peradventure, with good reason demanded, what had induced him to abscond. Abû Mûssa alleging, that he had fled for life, Besher required him and all others to know, that the orders of Mauweiah extended to the allegiance, but not to the lives of the prophet's friends. Abû Mûssa accordingly submitted, and was allowed to return to his dwelling without further molestation. The authority of Mauweiah thus quietly established over the sanctuaries of his faith, Besher continued his march into Yemen; where from the character of the gallant Abdullah Abbas, to whom the government of that province had long since devolved, it might have been expected that he should have experienced some resistance. The son of Abbas made however a precipitate retreat, leaving the hazard of repelling the invasion, to his lieutenant Abdullah Haurethy. This latter on his arrival, Besher immediately put to death, together with all his children; and the two infant sons of Abdullah Abbas, Abdurraihman and Kothem, whom, regardless of their innocence and tender years, the cruel invader inexorably

A. H. XL. A. D. 660. Rouzut ussuffâ.

destroyed. In the mean time, intelligence of the expedition against the sacred territory had reached Ally; and a detachment of four thousand men under Jauriah the son of Kedaumah, and Wauheb the son of Mûssâoûd the Thaukefite, was immediately sent by that prince in pursuit of the enemy. As their progress lay through Nedjeraun, these chieftains in their turn embraced an opportunity of signalizing their vengeance against the party of Othman, great numbers of whom, assembled at that place, they put to the sword. They then prosecuted their march towards Yemen; but the sanguinary Besher eluded their further vengeance by an early flight from the province. On this occasion we are told, that when the cruelty of Besher, with respect to the children of Abdullah Abbas, was reported to the Khalif, he testified the utmost grief and impatience; and in the bitterness of sorrow, cursed the immolator, whom he besought the Almighty to deprive of his reason. The prayer of Ally was heard; at a subsequent period Besher was struck with insanity, and in one of the paroxysms of the malady, calling for his sword, his domestics gave him one of wood, and at the same time a skin distended with wind on which to exercise his fury; which he proceeded to do with such unremitting violence, that he expired under the exertion.

The equanimity of Ally was now perhaps considerably shaken by the misfortunes which assailed him on every side; and by the reflection that in many instances they were to be ascribed to the factious spirit, and dubious fidelity which prevailed among his subjects. We accordingly find him about this period, exciting, by the severity of his measures, the discontent and displeasure of his warmest friends. Thus, when apprized that his kinsman Abdullah Abbas had appropriated, or perhaps embezzled part of the public treasure at Bassorah, of which place he retained the government, he wrote to assure him, that if he had presumed in any instance to lay his hands on that sacred deposit, beyond what was strictly warranted by the law, he might expect the utmost punishment. His accounts were accordingly subjected to the severest scrutiny; by which the son of Abbas considered himself so deeply injured, that he immediately relinquished all his employments, and withdrew to Mekkah; desiring it to be understood that he had never courted authority, much less was the government of Bassorah of such importance to him, that he should continue to hold it under such circumstances of degradation. It is however further stated, that when Ally became sensible of the offence which he had given by demanding

what he was unquestionably authorized to do from Abdullah Abbas on this occasion, a strict account of his receipt and expenditure, and that his kinsman had in consequence withdrawn into private liife, he condescended so soothe his resentment, and at last prevailed upon him to resume his post. Thus also, he provoked the desertion of his brother Aukkail, who went over in the course of this year, and submitted to the authority of Mauweiah; for reasons however which reflect considerable credit upon Ally, for that incorruptible integrity with which he continued to apply the resources entrusted by the public to his discretion. It would appear that Aukkail had taken an opportunity of complaining to his brother of the slenderness of his means for the support of a numerous family; and of requesting that some trifling addition to his salary might be allowed from the public treasury. This Ally refused to do, alleging, that he had already assigned him the portion to which he was entitled; and that it was not in his power, however he might be disposed, to give him any part of that which was the property of others. But Aukkail continuing still to urge the necessities by which he was impelled to solicit relief, the Khalif affected to acquiesce; and desired, since there appeared to be no alternative, that he would attend him that night, when they would break into the house of a certain wealthy neighbour, and find an ample supply for all his wants. Aukkail demanded with a mixture of surprise and indignation, if he could seriously propose to relieve him by so gross a violation of the laws of society? "On the great and solemn day of account," replied Ally, "how much easier shall I acquit myself against the accusation of a solitary "individual; than against the united cry of the whole community of Isslâm, "individually possessed of an equal claim in that property, which thou hast "endeavoured to persuade me to divert to private purposes?"

A. H. XL. A. D. 660. Rouzut ussuffâ.

According to other writers respecting the same incident, we are informed that when Aukkail applied to his brother for an augmentation to his pension, the latter desired him for a moment to suspend his impatience; and withdrawing into the house, returned shortly afterwards with a piece of red hot iron, which he requested him to lay hold of. Naturally recoiling from a proposition which appeared so extraordinary, Aukkail remarked that if his brother was not disposed, by some proof of liberality, to relieve

A. H. XL. A. D. 660. Rouzut ussuffâ.

his distresses, it behoved him at least to forbear from subjecting him to any injury of this kind. "Nay then," said Ally, since thou art incapable "of sustaining the effect of that fire which is produced by the operation "of mere humanity, how canst thou judge it reasonable, that I should "expose myself to be consumed in that which is kindled by him who "rules the universe?" However this may have been, perceiving that his application would in no shape be attended to, Aukkail watched his opportunity, left Kûfah, and withdrew to Damascus; where he experienced from Mauweiah the most distinguished reception, and by whom his avarice and ambition were gratified beyond his utmost hope. Nevertheless, when Mauweiah in presence of his court presumed to describe him as a person more exalted in the estimation of his father Abûtauleb, than his brother Ally, Aukkail entirely disclaimed such a preference; "alas Mauweiah," said he, "what man endowed with the sense of sight, "would assign to the obscure star Soha, a pre-eminence to the radiant "glories of the sun; will any man in the possession of his understanding "raise the humble ant to a level with the majesty of Solomon; what compar-"ison does an atom bear with that resplendent orb, which illuminates the "world, or a drop of water with the boundless stores of the deep? in "justice recollect," continued he, "that while thou and I were still attached "to the worship of idols, Ally was exposing his person to promote and "extend the truths of Isslâm; and take my assurance that necessity, with a "sense of imagined injury, and peradventure the love of worldly wealth and "splendour, could alone have induced me to exchange my dependence on "that model of righteous men, for a precarious subsistance on thy "bounty." Many were the altercations which ensued between Mauweiah and Aukkail on the same subject; but as the above will have afforded a sufficient specimen, our author has very considerately spared his reader the irksomeness of a further detail; and proceeds to describe the more material incidents which brought the life and reign of Ally to a premature and tragical conclusion.

In introducing the subject of the succeeding catastrophe, the historian, after some previous statements which are not of sufficient importance to repeat, advises us that a variety of causes have been by different writers assigned for that pityless animosity which armed the hand of Eben Mûljum against the sacred life of the prophet's successor; but that he will endea-

vour in this place to furnish his readers with that information which he has derived from a perusal of those authors whom he conceives best entitled to their confidence. He accordingly proceeds to relate, that after the defeat of Neherwaun, either accident or the prospect of an asylum against their enemies, brought to Mekkah, in the persons of Abdurraihman the son of Muljum of the tribe of Mûraud, of Barek the son of Abdullah of the tribe of Temeim, and Amrû or Aumer the son of Bukker of the tribe of Sauid, three of those incendiaries who had been most conspicuously active in the insurrection of the Khouauredje; the former, in particular, described to have been originally sent, with twenty others, by the son of Abu Bukker on some previous occasion to the presence of Ally, as one of the boldest and perhaps most turbulent soldiers in the army of Egypt. As they frequently met together, the conversation would naturally turn upon the unsettled state of the government, and the merits and misfortunes of their slaughtered companions; and they ultimately expressed a conviction, that these agitations would never subside, until the public mind was set at rest by the death of three distinguished and ambitious individuals; these were Ally, Mauweiah, and Amrû. On which Abdurraihman declared that he would undertake to dispatch the former; while Barek engaged to finish the career of Mauweiah; and Amrû to quench forever the ambition of the governor of Egypt; and a particular evening having been fixed upon, for the execution of their design, the three conspirators, after poisoning their scimitars, and mutually pledging themselves for the performance of their engagements, accordingly separated; Eben Mûljum taking the road to Kûfah, Barek that of Damascus, while the son of Bukker proceeded into Egypt.

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On his arrival at Kûfah, Eben Mûljum became acquainted with, and violently enamoured of, a woman whose uncommon beauty and attractions he was unable to resist; whose name was Kettaumah, and of whom, adds our author, might justly be said, that her face was like the glorious reward of the virtuous, and the tresses which adorned her cheek, like the black record of the villain's guilt. This woman had belonged to the faction of the Khouauredje; had lost a father, brother, and husband, or according to others, an uncle and husband, in the conflict at Neherwaun; and to the solicitations of her lover she now replied, that there would be no obstacle to the attainment of his wishes, provided he would undertake, on

A. H. XL. A. D. 660. Rouzut ussuffa.

his part, to discharge himself of the terms which she should propose as the price of her hand; these she stipulated to be three thousand dirhems, a male and female slave, and the head of Ally the son of Abûtauleb. With respect to the latter article, Eben Muljum avowed, that it was expressly the object which had brought him to Kûfah; the others were of course acceded to with little hesitation. The lady next prevailed upon Werdan, a person of her own tribe, to be his accomplice, together with Shauib the son of Boheirah, who was persuaded to join in the conspiracy, either by the seductive arts of Kettaumah, or the wicked suggestions of Abdurraihman; who, with his two associates, now impatiently expected the arrival of the seventeenth of Ramzaun, the evening of which had been fixed upon for the perpetration of their nefarious design.

Repairing to Damascus, the second assassin, Barek the son of Abdullah had an opportunity of carrying his design into execution; and succeeded in inflicting a dangerous wound on the person of Mauweiah, while engaged in the performance of divine service in the principal mosque of that city. But being immediately seized, he endeavoured to assuage the fury of the usurper, by announcing that he had a circumstance to communicate, from which he could promise him the highest possible gratification; and being directed to explain himself, proceeded to allege that on this same evening his associate Abdurraihman had by that hour cut off his odious rival at Kûfah. To this Mauweiah replied, that, as in his own case, the design might nevertheless have miscarried; and immediately commanding his feet to be cut off, and his tongue to be taken out, the assassin was in this state dragged from his presence, and exposed to perish by the most miserable and ignominious death. The wound which Mauweiah received on this occasion, is described to have been either on the loins, or some of the parts adjoining; and the most eminent medical skill was immediately summoned to undertake his cure. He was given to understand, that to ensnre his recovery, he had the choice of two remedies: he must either submit to the actual cautery, or take a draught, or mixture, after which he must not expect to be the parent of another child. Mauweiah remarked, that he was already satisfied with the number of his offspring; on this head he therefore declared himself perfectly indifferent, swallowed the draught, and was soon afterwards restored to health. Lest however he might be again exposed to similar attempts, he caused a certain part of the mosque

to be divided off, and converted into a sort of sanctuary, or meksûrah, into which none were suffered to enter but those who possessed his entire confidence; being ever afterwards further attended on such occasions, by a numerous guard, with their swords drawn in readiness to defend him against every injury. A. H. XL. A. D. 660. Rouzut ussuffa.

The third conspirator, who had engaged for the dispatch of Amrû, laid by on his arrival in Egypt, for the evening agreed upon with his accomplices; but, fortunately for himself, Amrû being that evening prevented, by a fit of the cholic, from his usual attendance at public worship, another was, by him, deputed to officiate in the duties of the imaumut in his stead. The assassin, unapprized of the substitution, made so deadly an application of his scimitar to the person of this illfated delegate of the priesthood, while engaged in his prostrations, that he raised his head no more: and when a clamour proceeded from all sides, that he whom the villain had murdered was not their governor, he confidently enough asserted that he did not consider himself to blame; since the mischief had not fallen upon the person for whom it was intended. When brought to the presence of Amrû, the murderer further confessed his error. "Sinner," exclaimed he, "the stroke was not intended for any other than thyself." "But God," replied Amrû, "intended it for another." The assassin was immediately put to death. Our attention is now recalled to the tragedy preparing at Kûfah, where the son of Mûljum was destined to conduct his share in the conspiracy, to a more fatal termination.

For some time previous to his death, we are given to understand that Ally had been accustomed every evening to repair to the principal mosque at Kûfah; where, without an attendant, he continued at his devotions, not unfrequently, until dawn of day. This practice at last alarming the apprehensions of the many who were most zealously concerned for his welfare, it was determined that, since in the midst of enemies he seemed insensible of the danger to which he exposed himself, it behoved his friends to provide for that security of which he was himself so negligent; and a party was accordingly stationed, in the precincts of the mosque, to guard their sovereign by turns from the approach of evil. One evening, however, when Ally repaired as usual to his devotions, this guard attracted his attention, and he demanded to know who they were, and for what purpose they attended at such an hour. After announcing their names, they pro-

A. H. XL. A. D. 660. Rouzut assuffa.

ceeded to inform him, that, being not without very considerable apprehensions of the designs of his enemies, they had long since taken upon themselves to protect him, through the night, against the malignant attempts of treachery and animosity. Ally requested to be further informed, whether their cares were directed to defend him from those calamities to which he might be exposed by the decrees of heaven, or against the efforts of human hostility; to which they replied, that as their energies did not extend to a contest with celestial beings, they could not presume to protect him against the agency of heaven; nevertheless, should there exist among his adversaries any meditation of evil against his person, an interference on their part might peradventure prove an obstacle to its execution; so far they therefore considered themselves engaged to provide that from an inhabitant of this world at least, no injury should assail him. "And yet," rejoined Ally, "you should have recollected that the fate of the most "obscure individual on this earth is placed under the particular and immedi-"ate controul of heaven." An argument, says our author, of such irrefragable truth, that the friends of the Khalif no longer thought it necessary to charge themselves with the care of his person during these his nocturnal vigils. About this particular period, Ally is also said to relate, that the prophet having appeared to him in a dream or vision, he could not forbear complaining to him of the perverse and hostile conduct, which he had so frequently experienced from those who professed a belief in his doctrines; and he was desired by the prophet to imprecate the justice of heaven against the offenders; on this he prayed that God, in compensation of his sincere piety, might soon exalt him to associate with a far better order of beings than those of whom he was compelled to complain; and that a far worse than himself might succeed to rule over them. The effect of which was too speedily manifested in his martyrdom, which took place shortly afterwards, and in the consequences which followed that event. It is further stated, that a short time previous to his assassination, Ally should have inquired of his sons Hussun and Husseyne, how many days had elapsed of the month of Ramzaun; and being told "fifteen," should have remarked that he must yet continue their guest for five days longer. And we are lastly taught to believe, on the testimony of one of his female attendants, that on the preceding Monday morning, while she poured water on his hands, Ally prophetically exclaimed, rubbing his beard, "alas for these silver hairs

"which by Friday evening are destined to be crimsoned with the blood of "their owner."

A. H. XL. 17th Ramzaun, A. D. 661. 23rd of January.

Rouzut ussuffa.

But, though many other circumstances might be recorded, from which it would appear, that Ally was by some means or other aware of the approaching crisis; it will in this place, be sufficient further to state, that on the morning of that day, Friday the seventeenth of Ramzaun, on which he was destined to suffer by the hand of the assassin, he betrayed considerable agitation and anxiety of mind; ultimately recollecting however that there was no resource against death, no possibility of eluding the decrees of destiny, he prepared himself with becoming fortitude for that fatal separation which was about to tear him from from his friends; and in the evening proceeded towards his usual place of worship. As he quitted his own door, a flock of poultry which was at hand, raising a loud outcry at his appearance, one of the attendants attempted to beat them away with his cudgel, but was desired by Ally not to molest them, since they were the mourners of his death. Just as he was entering the mosque, Werdan, one of the accomplices of Eben Mûljum, all of whom lay on the watch for this opportunity, made a stroke at the person of the Khalif; but missing his aim, his scimitar took the side post of the entrance. Eben Mûljum with more fatal precision, gave the devoted prince a cut on the head, exactly on the scar of a former wound, which in the action of Ekhraub, he had received from Amrû the son of Abdoûd. On feeling himself struck, some words dropped from Ally expressive of his resignation to the will of him who is lord of the Kaaubah, and summoning resolution to meet his fate. Being immediately surrounded by the people, to their inquiries as to the author of this sacrilegious assault upon his person, he replied, that God would soon overtake the miscreant. Werdan at first made good his retreat to his own house, but on discovery of his guilt, was put to death by his relations. Shauib, the other accomplice, fled from the scene of danger under cover of the night, and entirely escaped. But Eben Mûljum being observed the next morning hurrying through the streets of Kûfah with the blood stained scimitar in his hand, one of the tribe of Abed Keyss went up to him, and demanded who he was; and having learnt his name, directly charged him with being the person who

A. H. XL. A. D. 661. Rouzut ussuffa.

had wounded the sovereign of the believers. The parricide, through the providence of God, involuntarily acknowledged, though he strove to deny it, that he was the man; and other inhabitants being immediately summoned to assist in apprehending the traitor, he was accordingly seized and conveyed to the presence of Ally; who exclaimed the moment he saw him, that without a falsehood, this was the person from whom he had received his wound. The Khalif then addressed him, and demanded if he had not loaded him with benefits, and what motives could have induced him to such an act of ungrateful perfidy? Eben Mûljum did not deny his his obligations; but alleged, that for forty days he had been employed in whetting his sword, and had importuned heaven with his prayers to permit him, to make a sacrifice of that man, who was the most sinful of his nation. He was now consigned to the attendants with a charge, that if the Khalif's wound proved mortal, he should be put to death without torture. Others further relate, that the assassin was consigned to the particular care of Imaum Hussun, with strict injunctions that he should not be doomed to suffer either hunger or thirst; and that if the Khalif should perish of his wound, the criminal should be executed by a single stroke; intimating that he might not suffer the aggravated punishment of a lingering death. Accordingly when Ally had breathed his last, the traitor Eben Mûljum was carried to a summary execution, in the manner which had been enjoined; though his detestable carcase was wrapped up in mats, and consumed to ashes by the afflicted friends of the departed monarch.

The historian of Dainûr, notwithstanding, relates that when the spirit of Ally had taken flight to the mansions of eternal bliss, his nephew Abdullah the son of Jauffer commanded that the eyes of the murderer should be first seared with a red hot wire, and his hands and feet cut off. All this the criminal endured without a murmur; but when it was further directed that his tongue should be cut out, he suddenly gave utterance to the loudest lamentations; and the son of Jauffer expressing some surprise, that after sustaining the former part of his punishment with so much constancy, he should have exhibited such extraordinary marks of impatience at the idea of losing his tongue, Eben Mûljum replied, that his sorrows were not occasioned by the apprehensions of pain and death; but by the reflection that in the last fleeting moments of existence he should be deprived of that consolation which resulted from repeating the blessed name of his creator.

We are lastly informed, that in the agonies of dissolution, Ally among other admonitions which he delivered to Imaum Hûssun, finally charged him to beware of committing his remains to the earth in any spot that should be known to the public; since, including infidels and those of his own persuasion, against whom the cause of justice had unsheathed his sword, not less than ten thousand individuals had on different occasions fallen by his hand: he therefore confessed his apprehensions, lest the vengeance of their survivors might lead them to violate the sanctuary of the dead, and expose his body to indignity; though these apprehensions more particularly arose from the declared and inveterate hostility of the house of Ommeyah. And having thus absolved himself of every earthly concern, the last aweful moments of life were exclusively employed in the solemn repetition of his belief in the unity of God, and in the divine mission of his prophet; which he continued to reiterate, until speech was finally arrested by the stroke of death.

A. H. XL. A. D. 661.

Rouzut ussuffâ.

This event is generally understood to have taken place in the month of Ramzaun, of the year forty; although the day on which the noble minded Ally actually expired, remains yet undetermined between the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first of that month. In compliance with his dying instructions, his body was privately interred by his sons Hussun and Hûsseyne, in a spot concealed from all but his own family. The place of his sepulture continued unknown for near a century and a half afterwards, until it was accidentally discovered at Nudjef, in the neighbourhood of Kûfah, on one of his hunting parties by the celebrated Harûnraschid. He died at the age of sixty-three, after a turbulent and unsettled reign of four years and nine months. His virtues and extraordinary qualifications have been the subject of voluminous panegyric; and his warlike exploits from his youth upwards have been particularly celebrated in the Khawernamah,* a poem well known in the east, and which may, perhaps, contend in extravagance with the wildest effusions of European romance. With his acknowledged talents and magnanimity, it is however difficult to account for that train of civil mischief and perpetual discontent, which continued to disturb him through the whole of his reign. His gallant spirit was probably incapable of bending to the ordinary shifts of political craft; and it is perhaps true, that the Arabian chiefs were not yet sufficiently disci-

A. H. XL. 20th Ramzaun, A. D. 661. 26th of January.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

* This work, *illustrated by numerous paintings*, is, or ought to be, in the East India Company's oriental library.

A. H. XL. A. D. 661. plined, to see the sovereign authority quietly monopolized by any particular family.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. The name which this venerated prince originally received from his mother Fautima the daughter of Assud son of Haushem, was Heyder, very probably in honor of his grandsire, with whose name it is synonimous; that of Ally having been at a later period bestowed upon him by his cousin, the prophet of Arabia. History has further canonized him with the titles of Wassei, executor or heir to the prophet, and Mortezza, the chosen of God; and his more familiar or metaphorical appellations were Abûl Hussun, parent of Hussun, and Abûtûraub, or parent of dust; this latter was also bestowed upon him by the prophet on a very trivial occasion; otherwise he might perhaps have been supposed to acquire it by his humility; a quality by which he does not, however, appear to have been remarkably distinguished. At different periods of his life, we learn from the chronicle of Haffez Abrû, that he was successively married to nine wives. First, to Fautima the prophet's favorite daughter, during whose life he married no other. By her he had three sons, Hussun, and Husseyne, of whom more hereafter, and Mohussen, who died in infancy. Second, Ommæ Sonnein the daughter of Herraum, by whom he had four sons, Abdullah, and Abbas, and Othman, and Jauffer; each of these perished in the tragedy at Kerbêla. Third, Essema the daughter of Ommeiss, by whom he had two sons, Yaheia and Auwun. Fourth, Ommæ Habeibah the daughter of Rebbeiah, by whom he had one son of the name of Omar. Fifth, Imaumah the daughter of Abiul Auss. Sixth, Khaulah the daughter of Jauffer ben Keyss, by whom he had one son, Mahommed the elder, better known by the name of Mahommed Haneifah; although we were told on a former occasion, that this person was his son, by a female captive sent him by Khaled after the victory of Yemauma. Seventh, Hidja the daughter of Amrûl Keyss the Kûlaubite. Eighth, Leyly the daughter of Mûssâoûd. Ninth, Ommæ Saud the danghter of Oorwah. Of his two sons, Mahommed the second, and Mahommed the younger, the mother is uncertain. Exclusive of those whom we have just enumerated, he had two more sons, and eighteen daughters, whose names it would be unnecessary to detail. We may be allowed further to state, that of all these sons, five only left posterity: namely Hussun, Hûsseyne, Mahommed Haneifah, Abbas, and Omar, from whom may be derived the whole race of the Seyeds.

CHAP. XI.

ALTHOUGH the short lived period of the reign of Hussun, admitting that his authority were acknowledged beyond the limits of Kûfah, was perhaps scarcely sufficient to announce his accession, in some remote parts of the empire, we find him, nevertheless, included by historians among the legitimate Khalifs, the immediate successors of the prophet. It is already known that he was the eldest son of Ally and Fautima. He was born at Medeinah, in the third year of the Hidjera, was in his seventh year at the death of the prophet, and must accordingly have attained to the age of thirty-seven, when the premature dissolution of his father opened his way to the succession. At the expiration of two days from that event, he repaired to the principal mosque of Kûfah; and having ascended the pulpit of the imaumut, from thence announced to the people the calamitous exit of their sovereign. With every demonstration of zeal and sincerity the whole assembly immediately proffered him their allegiance. But in setting the example to his fellow citizens on this occasion, Keyss the son of Sauid Ebbaudah, having pledged his submission with a sort of reserve to the doctrines of the Korân, the institutes of the prophet, and to the express obligation of making war against the infidels, or those who were in arms against his authority, Hussun could not forbear remarking, in a manner which sufficiently bespoke his disapprobation, that since war against the enemies of their faith was already enjoined by the ordinances of the sacred code, and the precepts of God's messenger, the present stipulation seemed entirely superfluous; from which it required no extraordinary sagacity to discover that Hussun inherited, from nature, a disposition but little suited to the warlike spirit of the times.

A. H. XL. A. D. 661.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Hussun, Vth of the Kholfarash-edein.

Mauweiah on the other hand, on intelligence of the assassination of his rival, immediately invaded Irâk at the head of sixty thousand men; while Hussun with an inferior force of forty thousand, hastened to oppose him. Of these, on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Medâein, he formed an

A. H. XL. A. D. 661. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

advanced guard of twelve thousand horse, which he consigned to the directions of the abovementioned Keyss the son of Sauid. In the mean time, he had found an opportunity of discovering in the demeanor of some of his followers many symptoms which evinced a decided repugnance to the war, which he had been compelled to undertake in defence of his rights; though possibly more in compliance with the suggestions of those who surrounded him, than with any stimulus of ambition which existed in his own mind. Influenced by these appearances, he publicly called upon them to recollect, that for his own part, a spirit of revenge against any man should never find an asylum in his bosom; and he thought he could also perceive that his followers were animated by the same sentiment, since an unwillingness to proceed to hostilities, appeared to pervade all ranks among them. He assured them, at the same time, that he was not of a disposition to urge them to any measure against which they felt the slightest aversion. Certain of his army, among whom the factious spirit of the Khouauredje was still predominant, presumed on these expressions to raise a clamour, "that like his father, this man was also a kauffer," or traitor to his own principles; and without further ceremony began a pillage of Hussun's property; neither were they to be any longer restrained from offering violence to his person; they tore his cloak from his shoulders, and he would probably have been exposed to more serious injury, if the tribes of Rebbeiah and Hamdan had not honorably interfered to rescue him. Through their assistance he escaped from further outrage, and made the best of his way towards Medâein. He was, notwithstanding, again attacked before he reached that city, and wounded in the thigh, by a certain Jerrauh the son of Kebeizah, of the tribe of Assud; who was however immediately put to death by two followers, who scorned to separate from the person of the persecuted and unfortunate Imaum.

On his arrival in the white palace of Medâein, the danger from which he had so recently and narrowly escaped, and his solicitude for future personal security, appear to have divested Hussun of every remaining relish for the splendours of royalty; and he accordingly transmitted without further delay to Mauweiah, a letter in which, on certain conditions, he offered to resign the sovereign power into his hands. A proposal, from which, as might be easily imagined, Mauweiah experienced the utmost satisfaction; and accordingly affixing his seal to a sheet of blank paper, he dispatched it

to Hussun, by Abdullah the son of Aumer, formerly lieutenant of Bassorah; with a request that such conditions as he should be disposed to stipulate, might be committed in writing to that paper. And the following terms were in consequence, on the receipt of the message, dictated by the humbled prince to one of his secretaries. A. H. XL. A. D. 661. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

"These are the articles of a treaty of peace between Hussun the son of "Ally, the son of Abitauleb, on the one part, and Mauweiah the son of "Abi Soffeyan on the other. Videlicit, Hussun resigns the sovereign "authority to Mauweiah, on condition that the latter shall forbear to nom-"inate any person to be his successor; but leave that matter to be deter-"mined at his death by a committee of electors. That Mauweiah shall "conduct himself with kindness and liberality towards every one, and "more particularly towards the Sheiahs, or adherents of the cause of Ally: "that he shall entertain, neither publicly nor privately, any designs "hostile to the welfare of Hussun and Husseyne; neither of whom shall "be molested in word or deed, wherever they may chuse to fix their "residence, by the officers of Mauweiah's government. And lastly, that "on the ratification of the present treaty, the name of the son of Abitauleb "shall be no longer subject to the execration of the public orators." According to others, it was further stipulated in the treaty, that Hussun should be responsible for the sum of five millions of dirhems,* at this period said to lie in the treasury of Kûfah; and that in lieu thereof, the revenues of Dauruljuz and Fars, should be annually paid to his agents. To these stipulations Mauweiah is said to have subscribed, excepting to that only which relates to the maledictions bestowed on the memory of Ally; and to which he would no further assent, than that they should be forborne in the immediate presence of Hussun.

On the conclusion of this treaty, which is said to have taken place in the early part of the year forty-one, Mauweiah proceeded immediately to Kûfah; where he received from Hussun, and the Ulema, or sages of the law of Mahommed, their public pledges of allegiance; though there exists considerable doubt whether this was a ceremony to which the younger brother, Imaum Hûsseyne, ever submitted. Keyss the son of Sauid at first also refused to acknowledge the authority of Mauweiah; but was ultimately

* About 114,583*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

A. H. XLI. A. D. 661. prevailed upon, by the importunities of Hussun himself, to follow the example of the majority. On receiving the allegiance of Keyss, Mauweiah is said to have observed to him on the occasion, that originally it had never been his wish to succeed to the sovereign authority, while Keyss was alive; to which the latter replied, that it as little accorded with his purpose to see Mauweiah seated on the throne of the Khalifs, and still continue, for his part, to drag on the fetters of existence.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

After matters had been thus conducted to a crisis beyond all reasonable expectation of success, Amrû the governor of Egypt, who appears to have accompanied the person of his sovereign in the prosecution of the enterprize, was not to be satisfied unless Hussun would put the seal to his degradation, by announcing from the pulpit of the imaumut, with his own lips, that he had abdicated his authority; supposing that under the distress and agitation of mind, which such a circumstance might naturally occasion, he would be unequal to the task of pronouncing the usual address to the supreme being; and thus afford to the whole world a conspicuous proof that he was, in every respect, totally unqualified to discharge the functions of the Khelaufut. In this, however, he appears to have been in some measure disappointed; for when, in compliance with these suggestions, Mauweiah called upon the degraded Hussun to make that public renunciation, which was now thought necessary to complete the triumph of his adversary; and that prince accordingly ascended the tribune, in order to address the assembled people, his discourse was delivered with such propriety and eloquence, as to produce an impression widely different from that which his persecutors proposed; and to evince at least, that, however deficient in action, he was eminently endowed with the powers of speech. Having listened with considerable impatience to the reasons which Imaum Hussun proceeded to assign, for transferring the government to a person whom he did not, on this occasion, hesitate to pronounce so little qualified for such a trust, Mauweiah suddenly interrupted him in his harangue; and desired him to quit the tribune, and put an end to a discourse which had been already sufficiently explicit. Neither could he forbear to nourish long afterwards a considerable degree of resentment against Amrû, for advising him to a step which had eventually produced such mortifying reflections. Soon after this, Mauweiah and Hussun finally separated; the former returning to Damascus, now destined to be

the seat of imperial power, and the latter proceeding to Medeinah; where in humble obscurity he might perhaps hope to end his days in peace, the history of human depravity having probably not yet instructed him in the vanity of such a hope in the bosom of an abdicated monarch. His precarious authority appears to have expired in the first Rebbeia* of the year forty-one; thus, according to the oriental writers, exactly fulfilling the prophecy ascribed to Mahommed in the traditions, that the Khelaufut should continue to the thirtieth year; which was the period that elapsed between the death of the prophet, and the event which we have just recorded.

A. H. XLI. A. D. 661. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Hussun had, however, been suffered to live without apparent molestation for some years at Medeinah, when the impatience of Mauweiah to declare his son Yezzeid successor to the empire, hastened the destiny of this unfortunate prince. For conceiving that his favorite object was not to be conveniently carried into execution, while Hussun survived to claim an observance of the faith of treaties, Mauweiah resolved to relieve himself from the embarrassment; and was perhaps not over scrupulous in his means. It is, however, mortifying to learn that an instrument to secure the accomplishment of his treacherous design against the existence of his unsuspecting victim, was to be found in the very sanctuary of domestic peace; while it furnishes another deplorable example of that foul depravity by which a vicious and unprincipled female has been sometimes led to stigmatize the character of her sex. The person whom Mauweiah selected, on this occasion, for the perpetration of his purpose was no other than the wife of the devoted Hussun, Jaidah the daughter of Aishauth the son of Keyss; whom he prevailed upon to undertake the destruction of her husband, by the promise of a sum of money, and of being united in marriage to his favorite Yezzeid. The method which she adopted for its accomplishment is not less remarkable than the consummate perfidy of the design. While yet warm from her embraces, and with a napkin, which she had previously impregnated with poison for her purpose, she rubbed the person of her husband all over. The subtile preparation soon pervaded the frame of Hussun, and speedy and inevitable death was the consequence. It is, however, further stated on respectable authority, that five different attempts

* July, A. D. 661.

A. H. XLI. A. D. 661. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

were successively made to take off Hussun by poison without effect, but that his constitution yielded to the [illegible] Her only compensation for the foul parricide, by which this wretched woman consented to consign her name to eternal infamy, was a sum of fifty thousand dirhems,* which Mauweiah remitted for her use; but polluted with crimes so detestable, it was not perhaps thought prudent to give her a place in the bed of Yezzeid. According to others, she did not escape that retributive justice, which is sometimes the portion of the wicked, even on this side the grave.

Before he expired, the much injured Hussun had signified to his brother a request that he might be buried by the side of the prophet, provided this could be done without effusion of blood; otherwise that his body might be consigned to the earth in the public burying ground of Medeinah. The former request Hûsseyne was prevented from carrying into execution by Ayaishah and the party of Othman, who unaccountably opposed it. The body of the deceased Imaum was therefore conveyed to the ordinary cemetery, where it was deposited in the earth, near the grave of his paternal grandmother. The death of this unfortunate prince took place in the month of Suffur of the year fifty,† and in the forty-eighth year of his age. He was of all men the nearest in consanguinity to the Arabian legislator, to whom he is also said to have borne in person a very striking resemblance. His familiar appellation was Abû Mahommed, and that which he obtained for the virtue by which he was peculiarly distinguished, was Tekky, *the pious*. He is lastly stated to have had in all fifteen sons and five daughters, of whom two only, Hussun and Zeyd, left any posterity.

Although the regular course of the narration may be thus in some respects anticipated, we are led, in conformity with the plan of our original, and in order as far as can at present be foreseen, to preclude the necessity of future digression, in this place to introduce such circumstances in the short and meagre history of the succeeding *Imaums*, as will indeed be amply sufficient for the design of these pages. It must at the same time not escape our recollection, that on this venerated list, Ally himself stands the first; the *second* was his son Hussun, whose story formed the subject of the preceding article.

* About 1,146*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* † A. D. 670.

Hûsseyne the son of Ally the third Imaum. This prince was born at Medeinah in the beginning of Shabaun, in the fourth year of the Hidjerah, and it is considered as a remarkable circumstance, that his birth should have taken place when his mother had been no more than six months pregnant of him; of which, says our author, history affords no other example, excepting in the instance of Yaheia the son of Zekkariah, or John the Baptist, who was born in similar circumstances. He received his name from Mahommed himself, to whom it is said, that while yet an infant, the angel Gabriel foretold his martyrdom. At the death of the prophet he had completed the sixth year of his age, and had attained to his thirty-seventh year at the period of his father's assassination by the execrable Eben Mûljum. He was, together with seventy-two persons of the prophet's family and his own, butchered on the plain of Kerbêla, as is sufficiently notorious, on the tenth day of the month of Mohurrim, in the sixty-first year of the Hidjerah,* and in pursuance of the instructions of the Khalif Yezzeid; of whom the immediate instruments were Obaidullah the son of Zeiaud, Omar the son of Saud, and Shemir or Shammer the son of Ziljoushun. He fell at the age of fifty-seven years and five months; his familiar appellation was Abû Abdullah, and he is occasionally entitled Seyed, the prince, and Shehid the martyr; and it is in commemoration of the massacre and sufferings of this chief and his hopeless companions at Kerbêla, that the Sheiahs have set on foot those processions and pageants annually exhibited on the first ten days of the month of Mohurrim. Imaum Hûsseyne had four sons and two daughters. Of the former, Jauffer died a natural death while his father was yet living. Ally the elder and Abdullah shared his fate at Kerbêla, and Ally the younger, entitled Zeyn-ulaubedein, the subject of the next article, succeeded to the hierarchy: from whom are descended the Seyeds of the race of Hûsseyne.

A. H. XL. A. D. 661. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. Husseyne, third Imaum.

Ally Asgher, surnamed Zeyn-ulaubedein, the ornament or glory of the servants of God, *fourth Imaum.* According to the statement of a work entitled the Rebbeia ul ebraur, we are told that Harreith the son of Jauber the Haneifite, while employed under the authority of the Khalif Ally in the government of one of the eastern provinces of the empire, by some means or other got into his power two of the daughters of the unfortunate

* Ninth of October, A. D. 680.

A. H. XL. A. D. 661. Kholaussut-tŭl-akhbaur.

Yezdejird; whom he immediately dispatched to the court of his sovereign. Of these, the name of one was Sheherbaunû, who was bestowed on Imaum Hûsseyne; that of the other was Keyhan-baunû, who was given in marriage to Mahommed the son of Abû Bukker. Of the former alliance the offspring was Zeyn-ulaubedein, who accordingly claims descent from the monarchs of the house of Sassan. He was born at Medeinah in the thirty-eighth year of the Hidjerah, and may therefore be calculated to have attained the twenty-third year of his age at the death of his father. According to our author, the proofs which appeared of the exalted virtues, the transcendent claims of Zeynul-aubedein, would far surpass the finite powers of man, either to enumerate or comprehend; one of these he has, however, ventured to place upon record. When Mahommed Haneifah contended with him for the sacred honors of the imaumut, and insisted that the arms of the prophet should be consigned to him, on the plea that he was immediately sprung from the loins of Ally, it was determined to refer their claims to the decision of the Hidjer ulassuad, or black stone, in the temple of Mekkah; which is supposed to be one of the articles which our first parent was suffered to bring with him, on his expulsion from paradise. The two competitors presented themselves accordingly before this celebrated monument of antiquity; and the son of Haneifah having first addressed his prayer that some testimony might be revealed in favor of his claims without effect, Zeyn-ulaubedein next proceeded to invoke the sacred stone, by the truth of that being from whom it derived its miraculous properties, to pronounce which of them, after Hûsseyne the son of Ally, was Imaum? The stone was immediately perceived to be in motion, and through the all-perfect might of the eternal unity, was heard to pronounce in *very excellent Arabic*, that of a truth, after Husseyne the son of Ally, the Imaumut justly devolved to Ally the son of Husseyne, whom it therefore definitively declared the reigning Imaum. In consequence of which miraculous demonstration of divine will, Mahommed Haneifah immediately withdrew his claim, and recognized the authority of his nephew; which he never afterwards disputed.

ZEYN-UL-AUBEDEIN, fourth Imaum.

The death of Zeyn-ulaubedein took place in the commencement of the ninety-fifth year of the Hidjerah; or if the more precise statement of the Habeib usseyr is entitled to belief, on Saturday the seventh of Zilhudje, of the year ninety-four:* he was buried near the grave of his uncle Hussun, in the burying ground of Medeinah. He has been indif-

* First of September, A. D. 712.

ferently entitled Shaidulaubedein, and Zeyn-ulaubedein; the former signifying the sun, the latter the jewel, or as we have already explained it, the ornament of the servants of God. He is also occasionally referred to by the appellation of Sûjaud, the ever prostrate or adoring, and Zûltheffiaut, or tennefaut; from the callosities on his hands and knees, resembling those of a camel, contracted by his unremitting assiduity in the acts of devotion. His other appellations of Abû Mahommed, and Abûl Hussun, he derived as usual from his sons of those names. And that of Abûl Kaussem, parent of liberality, peradventure from his extensive charity. Among the Sheiahs there prevails at the same time a tradition, that he was poisoned at the instance of Wâlid the son of Abdulmêlek. And he had, including Mahommed Bauker, who succeeded to the Imaumut, eight sons and six daughters.

A. H. XI. A. D. 661. Tarikh guzeidah and Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Mahommed Bauker, son of Zeyn-ulaubedein, fifth Imaum. All that is necessary to know of this personage may be comprized in a very few words. He was born of Ommæ Abdullah the daughter of Imaum Hussun, at Medeinah, either on the first of Rudjeb, or third of Suffur, of the seventy-fifth of the Hidjerah. He died in Zilhudje, of the year one hundred and fourteen,* as is also the belief of the Sheiahs, by poison administered at the instance of the then reigning Khalif, Hushaum the son of Abdulmêlek; and he was buried at Medeinah. He was entitled Bauker, from his profound learning; and familiarly Abû Jauffer, from the succeeding Imaum, including whom, he had six sons and two daughters.

MAHOMMED BAUKER, fifth Imaum.

Jauffer ul Saudek son of Mahommed Bauker, sixth Imaum, was born at Medeinah, in the first month of Rebbeiah, of the year eighty-three, his mother being Ommæ Feroûd the daughter of Mahommed, son of the Khalif Abu Bukker. Imaum Jauffer, according to the orientals, was possessed of every virtue and every perfection that can exalt or embellish human nature; and if their testimony is entitled to credit, he appears to have been so well persuaded of his own transcendent powers, that he could on some occasions undertake to tell his followers that they should embrace every opportunity to urge him with their inquiries, while he was yet within their reach; for when he was gone no man was qualified to give them instruction such as his. He died in one hundred and forty-eight,† during the reign of the Khalif Ulmansûr; who, under the name of Jauffer Dowaunek, is moreover accused by the Sheiahs of having hastened his

JAUFFER UL SAUDEK, sixth Imaum.

* January, A. D. 733. † A. D. 765.

A. H. XL. A. D. 661.

death by poison, at the age of sixty-five, to which none of this sacred line of prelates besides himself, was ever suffered to attain. He has been called Abû Abdullah from his younger son of that name, and Saudek from his veracity. He was also buried at Medeinah, near his predecessors. There are those who maintain that, some time previous to his death, he had nominated his son Moossa to the Imaumut, to the prejudice of the elder brother Issmauil; whom he thought proper to disinherit, in consequence of his intemperate love of wine. Others, however, represent that Issmauil dying previous to his father, the succession devolved of course to Moossa, as the next in seniority. Hence arose the schism among the advocates of the Imaumut; the *Issmaulians*, of whom a branch exists to this day in the Bohrahs on the western side of India, assigning to the person from whom they are so denominated, the seventh place in the succession of Imaums, instead of Moossa. It is moreover the belief of the Issmauilians, that their Imaum was the last, and that the sacred office of course expired with him; the doctrines of the sectaries terminating indeed at length in the grossest impiety and atheism, as will be seen, says our author, when we come, at a future period, to give an account of the noted Hussun Sabah and his disciples.

Tarikh guzeidah and Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Moossa ul Kauzem, son of Jauffer, seventh Imaum. It is generally understood that the birth of Imaum Moossa took place at Ebwa, a station between Mekkah and Medeinah, in the month of Suffer, of the year one hundred and twenty-eight. His mother appears to have been a native of Barbary, and was called Hameidah. Having unfortunately excited the jealousy of the celebrated Harûn Raschid, he was sent for by that prince, and imprisoned at Baghdâd: where he is said to have been poisoned in the hundredth and eighty-third year of the Hidjerah,* by Yaheia the son of Khaled Barmekky, one of the illustrious family of the Barmecides. According to others, his destroyers adopted the more barbarous method of pouring melted lead down his throat. He was buried at Kirkh, one of the suburbs of Baghdâd, and from his extreme clemency and restraint of anger, acquired the appellation of Kauzem, the forbearing. He was also called Abûl Ibrauhim and Abûl Hussun, and perished at the age of fifty-five.

Moossa ul Kauzem, seventh Imaum.

Ally Ruzza, son of Moossa ul Kauzem, eighth Imaum. The birth of Ally Ruzza is stated to have taken place at Medeinah, in the year one hundred and forty-eight; and as if historians were determined that none of

* A. D. 799.

these venerated personages should quit this mortal existence by a natural death, they have, for the greater part, handed to posterity, that he was destroyed through the contrivance of Mâmoun the son of Harûn raschid, by eating of some poisoned grapes; though others, of established veracity, contend that he died, without any intervention of treachery, in the city of Tooce in Khorassaun, during the year two hundred and three.* He was buried at Mûshhed, some miles to the northward of the last mentioned city; and his sepulchre has since become the resort of pilgrims from all parts of Asia, but more particularly in the latter ages, from among the enthusiasts of the sect of Ally. On this subject we are informed, that when the golden Gûmbuz, or mausoleum, at Mushhed, was erected to the memory of Ally Ruzza, by Nadir Shâh, the Wahauby Arabs sent a sarcastic message to that prince, stating, that the treasure which he expended on so useless a fabric, would be much more meritoriously applied, if he bestowed it where it would be productive of such superior advantage, upon themselves. The eighth Imaum had five sons, one of whom, Husseyne, was buried at the city of Kazvein. His appellation of Ruzza may perhaps be rendered the "resigned," but he is sometimes entitled Mortezza, "the "approved."

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Tarikh guzeidah and Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Ally Ruzza, eighth Imaum.

Mohommed Tukky son of Ally Ruzza, ninth Imaum. Imaum Mahommed Tukky was born at Medeinah, either in Rudjub or Ramzaun, of the hundredth and ninety-fifth of the Hidjerah; and is said to have been possessed of such unrivalled endowments of person and mind, that the Khalif ul Mâmoun won by his attractions, gave him his daughter Ommulfuzzul in marriage. He died however at the premature age of twenty-five, in the latter part of Zilkaudah, of the year two hundred and twenty,* and was buried by the side of his grandfather Moossa ul Kauzem. He is sometimes denominated Abû Jauffer; but more generally Tukky, the pious. And he has been further designated by the titles of Jûaud, the beneficent, Mûnedjib, the liberal, and Mortezza, the approved. He had two sons, Ally, who succeeded to the Imaumut, and Moossa. On whatever grounds, the Sheiahs also hold that this Imaum was poisoned by order of the Khalif Mûtaussem.

Mahommed Tukky, ninth Imaum.

Ally son of Mahommed Tukky, tenth Imaum. The birth of this still venerated successor to the chair of the hierarchy, is said to have taken place at Medeinah, either in the two hundredth and twelfth or fourteenth

Ally Asskery, tenth Imaum.

*A. D. 818. † November, A. D. 835.

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of the Hidjerah. Like his predecessors, what we have to relate of him may also be comprehended in a very few words. Having been conducted by order of the Khalif Mûtewekkul to Sermenrai, afterwards called Saumrah, about four and twenty hours journey from Baghdâd, he there resided to the period of his death; which occurred in the year two hundred and fifty-four,* during the reign of Mûattez, by whose instructions, according to the Sheiahs, he also was poisoned. He was buried at Saumrah, and like his father, obtained the title of Tukkey, although he has been occasionally further denominated Hâdy, the instructor; Askery, the younger, to distinguish him from the former Imaum of the same name, and Zekky, the continent; and lastly Abûl Hussun, from his successor, including whom, he had four sons, and one daughter.

Tarikh guzeidah and Kholaussut-ûl-akhbaur.

Hussun ul Askery, son of Ally, eleventh Imaum. It is not decided whether the eleventh Imaum was born at Medeinah, or at Saumrah, in the first month of Rebbeia of the year two hundred and thirty-two. He has been much celebrated for his extensive liberality and munificent disposition, and is said to have evinced, by numerous proofs, the possession of very extraordinary, if not miraculous powers. He died in the two hundred and sixtieth of the Hidjerah,† at Saumrah, where he was buried by the side of his father. According to the Târikh guzeidah, we are again informed, that the Sheiahs ascribe his death to poison, administered at the instance of the Khalif Miatemmed Billah. With that of Askery, or perhaps more properly Asghery, the younger, to distinguish him from the second Imaum, he bears the appellations of Zekky, continent, Khauless, unsullied, and Serrauje, lanthorn. Also Abû Mahommed, from his only son the succeeding Imaum.

Hussun ul Askery, eleventh Imaum.

Abûlkausem Mahommed ul Mehedy son of Hussun, twelfth and last Imaum. This person, regarding whom the orientals still continue to entertain some extraordinary circumstances of superstitious belief, was born at Saumrah, in the middle of Shabaun, of the two hundred and fifty-fifth year of the Hidjerah. Among other things, it is stated that he came into the world with his navel string ready shorn, and with certain characters marked on the upper part of his right arm, bearing testimony to the infallibility of truth, and the ultimate dispulsion of error; like John the son of Zecharias, that in infancy he was endowed by Omnipotence with supernatural wisdom, and like the blessed Jesus, that he was exalted to

Ul Mehedy, twelfth Imaum.

* A. D. 848. † A. D. 874.

the Imaumut, while yet a child. Perhaps it was intended to carry the comparison still further, and that like John the Evangelist, as some of our Saviour's disciples were disposed to think, he was destined never to see death. The Khalif Miatemmed having manifested some design against his life, Mehedy made his escape into a vault, or subterraneous excavation at Saumrah, and totally disappeared in the year two hundred and sixty-six.* Regarding the descent and functions of this mysterious personage, as announced by Mahommed, we are referred to several traditions and prophecies; but as they were most probably all of them impudent fabrications, we do not find ourselves disposed to repeat them. It is sufficient to notice that, according to the Sheiahs, these prophecies apply to Imaum Mahommed the son of Hussun ul Askery, the subject of this article; whom they either really are, or affect to be, persuaded to be still living, and that he will, when the proper period shall arrive, again appear on earth: they have accordingly bestowed upon him the titles of Hûdjut, the testimony, Kâeim, the erect, Mûntezzer, the expected, and Sauheb uzzemmaun, the universal prince; or according to the general acceptation, he who is destined to the sovereign sway of the age in which he lives. The Sûnnihs are however not yet agreed, on the other hand, whether the Mehedy, the universal prince, is to be understood of Imaum Mahommed, or of some other person yet unborn of the race of Fautima, who is to appear at the consummation of time; and the Issmâilians, again, believe, that the character of Mehêdy aukher uz zemmaun, or precursor of the consummation of time, is to be sought for in Mahommed, the fourth son of Jauffer the sixth Imaum; who will create a formidable revolution in the *west*, the regions of which will long continue in subjugation to him, and to his posterity.

A. H. XL. A. D. 661.

Tarikh guzeidah and Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

On this subject we are further apprized, on the authority of the Rouzut ussuffâ, that the Imaumites profess, that although he disappeared, Mahommed the son of Hussun ul Askery still continued to hold a mysterious communication with his adherents, through the intervention of certain persons successively entrusted with his confidence, until the three hundred and twenty sixth year of the Hidjerah; when one of the name of Ally ben Mahommed, the last who enjoyed this trust, produced, a short time before

* A. D. 879.

A. H. XL. A. D. 661.

his death, a paper, said to have been written by the invisible or concealed Imaum, charging him to adjust all concerns with this world, for that, at the expiration of six days, he was to die: which accordingly came to pass. And from that period the communications above alluded to entirely ceased, leaving no further traces whatever of the existence of the twelfth Imaum.

Tarikh guzeidah and Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

CHAP. XII.

MAUWEIAH, who succeeded to the throne of the Khalifs in the forty-first year of the Hidjerah, on the abdication of Imaum Hussun, as already related, is known to have been the son of Abû Soffeyan, the son of Ul Hurreb, the son of Ommeyah; which last was a brother of the Khalif Othman's grandfather, and founder of the family of the Ommiades, of whom the prince who now demands our attention, was the first who acceded to sovereign power. It has been long since remarked, that his mother was Hinda the daughter of Aukkel·ah, forever stigmatized, because in a transport of revenge, she is said to have devoured the heart of Hamzah the son of Abdulmûtlub, who fell in the battle of Ohud. Neither is it to be forgotten that Mauweiah himself did not become a convert to the doctrines of Mahommed, until resistance became hopeless, in the final submission of Mekkah to the arms of the successful innovator. Having, as we have seen, attained to the summit of his ambition, through the pusillanimity or weakness of his opponent, he consigned the government of Kûfah to Moghairah the son of Shaubiah, with whose character the reader is in some degree acquainted; and that of Bassorah for a few days to Beshir the son of Ertaut, and subsequently to Abdullah the son of Aumer Ghoreizah.

A. H. XLI. A. D. 661.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

MAUWEIAH, first of the house of Ommeyah.

Having entertained, at the commencement of his career, considerable apprehensions of the designs and abilities of Zeiaud the son of Semmeiah, occasionally also denominated Zeiaud the son of Obeiah, he early employed the intervention of Moghairah, the governor of Kûfah, to secure the obedience of that formidable chieftain; of whose origin we derive from historians the following information. His mother, Semmeiah, was the slave of an Arabian peasant, whom her master, for the relief which he had offered him under a fit of sickness, transferred to Haureth the son of

A. H. XL. A. D. 661. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Keldah, the Thaukefite. She remained for a considerable time under the protection of Haureth, and bore him two sons, Abû Bukkerah and Nauffia, whom, notwithstanding he was never prevailed upon to acknowledge, Ultimately discarded by him, she consented to take up her abode with a slave of the name of Obeid; and with this obscure person she continued to reside, when chance, or his occupations, brought Abu Soffeyan to the town of Tayef, where he lodged with a publican whose name was Abû Mareiam, the father of Mary in other words. Having tasted freely of the juice of the grape, he called upon his host to procure him the society of some fair one to heighten his enjoyment; and the lady who was introduced to him on the occasion, proved to be the same Semmeiah who became soon afterwards pregnant, and the mother of Zeiaud.

"The first years of discretion having been devoted by this child to the acquirement of every species of knowledge, he early attracted the attention of the Khalif Omar; and having been in consequence employed by that prince on a mission of some importance, he acquitted himself on his return, with such singular address and eloquence, in the report which he delivered of his proceedings, as to command the applause of all who heard him. Among others the sagacious Amrû did not hesitate to declare, that if this youth were but born of the stock of the Koraish, he seemed possessed of sufficient abilities to rule the whole of the Arabian tribes with a motion of his rod. "By him that created me," said Abû Soffeyan, "I well know "and am sufficiently acquainted with his father." In short the talents of Zeiaud continued to be so highly appreciated, that when Ally succeeded to the Khelaufut, he was selected by that prince for the appointment of secretary and accountant to Abdullah Abbas in the government of Bassorah; and his fortunes proceeded in a train so prosperous, that he was ultimately promoted to the lieutenancy of Parss, the fortresses of which he placed in so formidable a posture of defence, as, on the assassination of Ally, to excite no small anxiety in the mind of Mauweiah; against whom, he had hitherto uniformly displayed every proof of hostility. The jealousy which he entertained of the designs of Zeiaud became therefore, with Mauweiah, the subject of his earliest consultations with Moghairah; by whom he was however consoled with an assurance, that if he would consent to forego his concern in the revenues of the province under his management, he would engage to moderate the hostile spirit of the object

of his apprehensions, and ultimately conduct him to his presence. To all this Mauweiah readily assenting, the attention of Moghairah was accordingly directed, with some assiduity, to bring about the consummation for which he had pledged himself; and which after all does not appear to have been attended with any extraordinary difficulty. A. H. XL. A. D. 661. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the course of the year forty-two, Hâreth the son of Abdullah of the tribe of Ezd had succeeded to the government of Bassorah, in the room of Abdullah the former governor, whom either through caprice or policy, Mauweiah had thought it necessary to suspend; and about the same period the sum of twenty thousand dirhems had prevailed upon Mosseklah the Sheibaunian to treat with Mauweiah, in behalf of Zeiaud, on a proposal to remit to the treasury of Damascus the annual sum of two millions of dirhems from the revenues of Parss; of which province he announced himself in secure possession, provided the Khalif would subscribe to the truth of the report which was in general circulation; namely, that Zeiaud was one of the sons of Abû Soffeyan. To this, as it in some respects coincided with his immediate views, Mauweiah made no further objection than that some sort of evidence appeared requisite to support the allegation; and the testimony of Abû Mareiam being accordingly brought forward, Zeiaud was acknowledged in the face of the world to be his half brother, although it created considerable disgust among the most respectable classes of the community; by whom it was in general looked upon as a scandalous violation of the precepts of the law, that such a spurious brood should be thus rendered legitimate. This was however no obstacle to the advancement of Zeiaud, upon whom employments and honors were henceforward heaped in rapid succession; and in the year forty-five we accordingly find him called to the government of Bassorah, in the room of Hareth the son of Abdullah, who had probably been removed to make way for him. A.H. XLII. A. D. 662.

On repairing to his new government in the last month of Rebbeia of the year just mentioned, he commenced his administration by establishing a system of police and discipline so rigid and severe, that in the course of a very short time afterwards, not a single turbulent, or factious, or disorderly individual remained alive to disturb or molest the tranquillity of the peaceable inhabitants. Neither is this improbable, since one of his earliest regulations is stated to have enjoined, that after allowing a sufficient interval to pass from one end of the town to the other, no person whatever A.H. XLV. A. D. 665. June.

A.H. XLV. A. D. 665. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

should appear in the streets after evening prayers *on pain of death.* And in order to enforce this regulation, patroles were employed in every direction to put to death all such as were found in the streets or market places after the hour appointed. On the first night those who suffered death in consequence of disobedience, are said to have amounted to two hundred persons; on the second night the number was reduced to five or six; and on the third not one was found to make an example of, for the transgression of this severe and sanguinary law. At the further expiration of a few nights however, an unfortunate Arab of the desert employed in tending his sheep to market, was apprehended by the patrole in the streets of Bassorah, and immediately conducted to the presence of the inexorable Zeiaud. The latter demanding how, in violation of his orders, he could presume to appear abroad at an hour which was unseasonable, the Arab replied, that being a stranger, he was entirely ignorant on the subject. "Although I am disposed to think that thy statement is true," said Zeiaud, "the welfare of the community, nevertheless, demands that thou "shouldst die;" and the attendants were accordingly directed to strike his head off on the spot. When he conceived that full scope had been allowed for the operation of the law, it is further related, that Zeiaud caused it to be then promulgated, that no person should henceforward adopt the precaution to fasten his doors at night; announcing at the same time, that he would himself be responsible for the smallest article that should be missing. And as he appears to have discovered the method of ensuring prompt obedience to his orders, this was also scrupulously complied with; without producing any other inconvenience than that to which the inhabitants were exposed from the depredations of dogs and the wild beasts of the desert, which were now left at liberty to prowl without obstacle through the streets and houses. But it was found that no human creature, either bold or wicked enough to invade the property of another, remained in the place. From these and other circumstances it may perhaps have been intended to exemplify, that Zeiaud was a man of extraordinary talents and energy of mind. But what may probably have contributed no less to ensure perpetual respect to his memory, was the disposition which, in every stage of his power, he evinced to give employment and support to the companions of the prophet.

The only event which, in the course of the year forty-six, appears to have more particularly attracted the notice of our abbreviator, is the death of Abdurraihman the son of the celebrated Khaled, which is stated to have taken place at Hamess or Emesa, where he had long resided. He had been previously directed by Mauweiah to remove to Erzerûm, and that prince is now accused of having suborned a christian of the name of Ebenathal, to poison him: Another instance of jealousy, or policy, or ingratitude ascribed to Mauweiah, was the removal in the year forty-seven of Abdullah the son of his friend Amrû, from the government of Egypt, to which he had succeeded on the death of his father; an event which is elsewhere recorded to have taken place in the close of Ramzaun, of the forty-third year of the Hidjerah. That enviable province was now transfered to Mauweiah the son of Khodeiah, formerly noticed to have held so conspicuous a share in wresting it from the authority of Ally.

A.H XLVI. and XLVII. A.D. 666-7. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Under the forty-eighth of the Hidjerah we are referred to an expedition employed by Mauweiah, under the direction of Aukkebah the son of Aumer against some part of Europe, most probably some of the Grecian islands; from which this general is recorded to have returned without loss, after committing considerable havoc among the unfortunate Franks. The following year was also rendered memorable by the expedition conducted against the dominions of the Greek emperor, by his son Yezzeid, accompanied, among other distinguished commanders, by Abdullah Abbas, Abdullah the son of Zobair, and Abû Ayûb the ansaur. The latter was killed in one of the actions fought on this occasion, as it is said, under the gates of Constantinople; and his tomb, in the vicinity of that capital, is still shewn, and held in the highest veneration by the Turks and other orientals. Yezzeid returned to Damascus, from this campaign, victorious, and loaded with booty.

A.H.XLVIII. and XLIX. A.D. 668-9.

The government of Kûfah was added to those already under the authority of the much dreaded Zeiaud, on the death of Moghairah, which took place in the year fifty. And the same year has been assigned for the death of Saud the son of Abi Wokauss, the conquerer of the Persian monarchy, of Abû Mûssa the Aishaurite, and of Aukkail the son of Abûtauleb, the brother of Ally.

A. H. L. A. D. 670.

The fifty-first of the Hidjerah was fatal to one of Ally's most faithful and distinguished associates, Hidjer the son of Auddy; who with a consi-

A. H. LI. A. D. 671. derable part of his clientage, was cut off about this period on the suggestion of Zeiaud, whose influence was now become all prevalent with Mauweiah.

Kholaussut-'tl-akhbaur.

The ambition of this chieftain, which was peradventure not inferior to his abilities, was however not to be satisfied with the government of Irâk, which had been now long since entirely under his authority; and he is accordingly stated to have written to Mauweiah, a short time before his death, representing, that while the former province and its dependencies afforded some degree of employment for his left hand, his right was still entirely unoccupied: the addition therefore of the government of Hejauz would do no more than supply the deficiency. With this representation Mauweiah immediately concurred, and the necessary letters patent were accordingly dispatched to put Zeiaud in possession of this important acquisition to an authority already so formidable. In the mean time, the principal inhabitants of Mekkah becoming apprized of the measure in agitation, hastened to communicate to the pious Abdullah Omar their apprehensions of the evils with which their country was menaced from the austere administration of Zeiaud. The son of Omar, raising his hands towards heaven, implored that the right hand of Zeiaud might no longer be in want of employment. The prayer of Abdullah appears to have been heard; since we are told that Zeiaud was immediately seized with a disorder in his fingers, which shortly afterwards put a period to his existence. The death of this able and aspiring chief, took place in the month of Ramzaun, of the year fifty-three,* after having governed with unlimited sway and unrivalled reputation, not only the provinces of Irâk both Persian and Arabian, but the extensive territory of Khorassaun to the banks of the Jeyhûn, or Oxus, and the remote boundaries of Hindostaun; an extent of dominion almost equal to the Persian monarchy in the zenith of its power.

The government of Khorassaun was conferred in the course of the following year upon Obaidullah the son of Zeiaud; who appears to have succeeded to the confidence of Mauweiah, and to have inherited the talents and inflexible disposition of his father. On taking possession of his government, he commenced a successful war against the Turks or Tartars of Transoxiana; and having conducted his troops across the Jeyhûn, is said to have made himself master both of Samarkand and Bokhâra. Returning to the court of Mauweiah in the year fifty-five, he further

* August, A. D. 673.

received from his sovereign the government of Bassorah, on the removal of Abdullah the son of Omar ben Gheblan, to whom it had been consigned by his father. Obaidullah now fixed his residence at Bassorah, deputing Asslem the son of Zerriaut to rule in Khorassaun under his authority. A. H. LV. A. D. 675. Khoiaussut-ul-akhbaar.

In the fifty-sixth year of the Hidjerah, Mauweiah called upon the subjects of the empire to pledge their allegiance to his son Yezzeid, as his successor to the Khelaufut; and having obtained the submission of all classes throughout Syria and Irâk, he undertook a journey into Hejauz, to secure the acquiescence of the natives of the sacred territory of the prophet. In this he was also successful, the denizens of Mekkah and Medeinah pledging themselves in general to submit to the authority of Yezzeid; with the exception however of four very distinguished personages, who could not be prevailed upon to coincide with the views of Mauweiah in this respect. These were Imaum Hûsseyne, Abdullah the son of Omar, Abdullah the son of Zobair who had aspiring views of his own, and Abdurraihman the son of Abû Bukker; although the latter is by others stated to have died so long before as the year fifty-three. To these illustrious dissidents some have added a fifth, in the respectable Abdullah Abbas, at this period residing at Tayef; who is said to have alleged that to him the appointment of a Khalif appeared unnecessary, but that at any rate the loss of sight had rendered it of little importance whether his allegiance was pledged or withheld. A. H. LVI. A. D. 675-6.

On the same subject, and on the authority of a work which goes under the name of Hâfez Abrû, it is further stated, that when Mauweiah visited Medeinah on this occasion, he had received from Ayaishah a very peremptory and insulting refusal to engage her allegiance to the authority of Yezzeid; and that to relieve himself from any apprehension of the obstacles that might be raised on her part, against the accomplishment of this his favorite design, he adopted the following summary and effectual plan of proceeding. He invited the illustrious widow to partake of an entertainment which he pretended to have prepared in honor of her: and in that part of the house which he destined for her reception, he either caused to be made, or found ready for his purpose, a deep well or pit, the mouth of which he ordered to be slightly covered over with leaves and

A. H. LVI. A. D. 676. Khoulaussut-ul-akhbaur.

straw. On this he placed the chair reserved for Ayaishah, and to which, little suspecting the snare, she was accordingly conducted on her arrival. The result need, perhaps, be no further explained: the moment she seated herself, she sunk into eternal night, being buried under the heap of stone and mortar, with which the mouth of the pit was immediately built over. Such at any rate, according to the author, was the fate of the daughter of Abû Bukker, the widow of Mahommed, and mother of the faithful; who as she had occasionally rendered herself odious to all parties, appears to have thus ultimately perished without the regret of any.

In order to secure the concurrence of that prince in the eventual succession of his son, Mauweiah, in the course of the year, consigned to Saueid one of the sons of the Khalif Othman, the government of Khoras-saun, on the voluntary removal of Obaidullah Zeiaud, with whom the measure appears to have been preconcerted. Having taken possession of his province, and made the necessary arrangements for its interior security, Saueid engaged, during the period of two years in which it continued in his hands, in hostilities beyond the Oxus, against the people of Samarkand; in the course of which, Kothem the son of Abbas is particularly mentioned to have fallen a martyr to the cause of truth; we should be disposed to call it rather that of imposture and unprincipled usurpation.

A.H. LVII. and LIX. A.D. 676-8.

In the fifty-seventh of the Hidjerah, conceiving that the administration of Merwaun was obnoxious to the principal inhabitants of Medeinah, and had perhaps been the means of rendering his favorite arrangement, with respect to Yezzeid, unwelcome to the personages already noticed, Mauweiah prevailed upon him to relinquish that government; which he now transferred to his own nephew, Waleid the son of Auttebah. And the year following his attention seems to have been considerably occupied by an insurrection of the Khouauredje; which was however suppressed after the continuance of six months, and the authors put to the sword. In consequence of this insurrection, which was probably ascribed to his management, Zohauk the son of Keyss was also displaced from the government of Kûfah, which he had held ever since the death of Zeiaud; and which was now consigned by Mauweiah to another nephew, Abdurraihman the son of Abdûllah the Thaukefite, by Ommæ Hukkeim the daughter of Abû Soffeyan. But Abdurraihman failing to give satisfaction to that turbulent and inconstant people, they complained against him to his

uncle, by whom he was likewise removed, and Niauman the son of Beshir the ansaur, in the course of fifty-nine, appointed to succeed him. The motives, on which the government of Khorassaun had been bestowed on the son of Othman, having long since ceased to exist, the succession being by this time sufficiently secured for Yezzeid, the possession of that important province was confirmed about this period to Abdurraihman the son of Zeiaud. A. H. LIX. A. D. 678. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The sixtieth year of the Hidjerah now arrived, in which Mauweiah was confined to his bed by the disorder which shortly sent him to his grave. During his illness, in the course of other admonitions, he is said to have addressed his successor in the following terms. "Having by every "human precaution secured an empire to thy hands, and bowed the necks "of the haughty chiefs of Arabia to thy authority, there will remain when "I am departed but four persons, from whom thou art likely to experience "opposition. These are Hûsseyne the son of Ally; Abdullah the son of "Omar; Abdurraihman the son of Abû Bukker, and Abdullah the son of "Zobair. With respect to the former, though reserved in disposition, and "in understanding weak, yet it is probable that he will be urged to insur-"rection by the importunities of the people of Irâk. Nevertheless, it "will behove thee to recollect, that he is the grandson of the prophet; that "we have bereaved him of an empire; and that all we possess was once "his. Him, therefore, when thou art victorious, thou wilt treat with "generosity. Of the son of Omar, I can only say, that absorbed in devo-"tion, and naturally averse to every measure of violence, the united voice "of the world might perhaps prevail upon him to aspire to the empire. "But as that is a concurrence never likely to exist, it should little excite "our apprehensions. With regard to the son of Abû Bukker, it is "sufficient to remark, that he is a man without energy; and moreover, "so corrupted by his intercourse with women, that he cannot be the "source of much anxiety. Keep him employed in his pleasures, and he "will give thee but little trouble. But with respect to the son of Zobair, "cease not to pursue him until thou hast secured his allegiance; for while "he lays his plans with the subtilty of the fox, he will assail thee with "the fierceness of the lion, whenever he sees his opportunity. Him, A. H. LX. A. D. 679.

A. H. LX. A. D. 679.

Kholaussut-al-akhbaur and Tarikh Tebry.

"therefore, whether he resists, or whether he submits to, thy authority, "thou wilt cut to pieces whenever it is in thy power." He then concluded by recommending to his particular favor the cities of Mekkah and Medeinah, in consideration of the services which, on a variety of occasions, they had rendered to his father. According to others, these instructions were not communicated at a personal interview, but imparted to Zohauk the son of Keyss, and Mosslem the son of Aukkebah, two of Mauweiah's confidential ministers; by whom they were subsequently conveyed to Yezzeid, who was absent on a hunting party at the period of his father's death.

However that may be, Mauweiah quitted this abode of clay for the mansions of eternal retribution, in the month of Rudjub* of the year sixty, and was buried at Damascus. From the period of the treaty with Imaum Hussun, he reigned sole monarch of the dominions of Isslâm for nineteen years; but he had exercised sovereign authority over Syria nearly twenty years previous to that event. He was upwards of eighty at the period of his death. It is not denied that he possessed talents and accomplishments of a very superior order; otherwise it might be argued, that he would not have been so far distinguished by the prophet's confidence, as to have been for some time employed as his almoner, and register of revelations. It has however been the lot of the historian to record many circumstances unfavorable to his memory, although we find it maintained by some authorities, and particularly in the work of Hafez Abrû, that there are many societies in Isslâm, who do not scruple to assert, that in the war which he prosecuted against Ally, he was as much engaged in the cause of the true faith, as if he had combated against its declared and most determined adversaries. An opinion than which, observes our author, without producing a single argument in refutation, nothing can be more palpably erroneous or absurd.

As a proof, perhaps, of the art with which he endeavoured to stimulate the passions and propensities of other men, to the advancement of his own interests, it is related of Mauweiah, that having, on some occasion or other, affected to assign to the race of Hâshem the pre-eminence in martial virtue, and to the house of Zobair in liberality, while he reserved to himself the applause in clemency and forbearance under injury; Ally, who might, peradventure more than any other, have had reason to question his

* April, A. D. 680.

motives, did not fail to ascribe these specious expressions to what he conceived to be their genuine source. "The object of the son of Abû "Soffeyan in these observations," said he, "it cannot be difficult to com- "prehend. By such and similar encomiums he hopes that the Benni "Hashem may be urged to devote themselves, without reflection, to the "contingencies of the field of battle, until all shall be extirpated: that the "family of Zobair, by an indiscriminate liberality, may be at last reduced "to depend for subsistance on his bounty; and by propagating the "belief of his own mild and clement disposition, to secure to himself the "regard and attachment of mankind." Mauweiah is said to have finally acknowledged to his ministers, moreover, before he expired, that there were to him three things the source of bitter regret. First, that he should have suffered himself to be misled by the spirit of ambition, to deprive the sacred family of the prophet of their rights: secondly, that he should have suborned the wife of Imaum Hussun, to poison her husband; and thirdly, that he should have prematurely nominated Yezzeid to the succession. A. H. LX. A. D. 680. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur and Tarikh Tebry.

By four wives he had three sons; Abdurraihman who died in infancy, Abdullah, who was an idiot, and Yezzeid who succeeded to the Khelaufut; and three daughters whose names it would be superfluous to detail. And the officers employed in the different provinces of his government, at the period when he ceased to reign, were the following. Niauman the son of Beshir was governor of Kûfah; Obaidullah the son of Zeiaud, of Bassorah; of Medeinah, Waleid the son of Auttebah the son of Abu Soffeyan. Of Mekkah, Omar the son of Saud son of Ul Auss, and nephew of Amrû. And of the important province of Khorassaun, Abdurraihman the son of Zeiaud. Zohauk the son of Keyss was the captain of his guards, and a Greek of the name of Serjûn possessed the dignity of vezzeir, or minister of state.

YEZZEID the son of Mauweiah, second Khalif of the house of Ommeyah. Having ascended the throne of the Khalifs immediately on the death of his father, and secured from the Syrians their obedience, Yezzeid dispatched to announce these events to the denizens of the empire in general, and to require afresh their pledges of allegiance to his authority. In compliance with the dying instructions of Mauweiah, he continued in their respective governments all who had been employed under the authority of that prince; and it became a subject of early deliberation in what manner he Tarikh Tebry. YEZZEID, IId. of the house of Ommeyah.

A. H. LX. A. D. 680. Tarikh Tebry.

should most prudently proceed, in order to obtain the submission of the four personages so particularly described to him in the farewel admonitions of his father. He concluded however on writing to Waleid the son of Auttebah, authorizing him, in his behalf, to demand the allegiance of those of them who resided at Medeinah.

"When the letters of Yezzeid reached the governor of Medeinah, his first step was to apply to Merwaun, then on the spot, for his advice. By him he was informed, that although the instructions which he had received from Mauweiah himself, with regard to these illustrious individuals, were in no way to disquiet or molest them; nevertheless, he could not recommend to him to deviate or detract in any degree from the commands of him who was now his sovereign. In this view he should therefore advise, that the four chiefs should be immediately summoned to his presence, and if they evinced the slightest disposition to delay their acknowledgements of his master's authority, to beware of subscribing to any such delay, but to put them to death without further consideration. "Good God," exclaimed Waleid, "is then the child of Fautima the beloved daughter of the pro-"phet, to be dispatched by a word! or am I possessed of means competent "to the destruction of such men as the sons of Abû Bukker, Omar, and "Zobair?" He sent however to require the presence of Imaum Hûsseyne. The latter, aware of the purpose for which he was sent, had the precaution to take with him a guard of fifty men, well armed, whom he directed to place themselves at the door of the apartment into which he should be introduced; to listen attentively to what passed within; and if they perceived that matters went amiss, to force the door, and aid him in the exertions which might be found necessary to his rescue. Thus prepared, Hûsseyne appeared before the governor of Medeinah, who immediately communicated to him the dispatch which he had received from Yezzeid. Hûsseyne remarked, that as the letter related to the three other personages as well as himself, it seemed expedient that the whole should be sent for, in order that they might make their submission at once on the same spot. To this Waleid assented, and Husseyne rose to go away; which being observed by Merwaun who was still present, the latter called out to Waleid not to suffer him to depart, but to dispatch him immediately. Hûsseyne however took his leave, assuring Merwaun, that neither he nor Waleid had power to touch his life. And the same night,

accompanied by Abdullah Zobair made the best of his way to Mekkah, where he remained for some time in concealment. A. H. LX. A. D. 680.

The inhabitants of Kûfah, on intelligence that he was thus withdrawn to Mekkah, immediately assembled, and came to a resolution, that Husseyne should be solicited to appear among them; and messengers were accordingly dispatched to convey the letters, in which they unanimously invited him to a city which they called his own, and in which they declared every individual to be at his disposal. These letters being delivered to Hûsseyne, were by him communicated to his uncle Abdullah Abbas, who honestly cautioned him to beware of the versatility and inconstancy of the people of Kûfah, whose conduct towards his father it was impossible he should have forgotten. But as Husseyne seemed still disposed to comply with the invitation, repeatedly alleging, as his inducement, the assurance which he had received, that not less than twelve thousand of the adherents of his family had already pledged their allegiance to him; the son of Abbas, having exhausted every other argument against any kind of reliance on the professions of this inconsistent, if not treacherous people, suggested that, at least, if there was no other alternative, some one should be deputed in the first instance, in his name, in order to ascertain to what extent they were engaged in favor of his rights; when there would be still time enough to place his person in their hands. To this Hûsseyne at last assented; and Mosslem the son of Aukkail being the person chosen for the purpose, was directed to proceed immediately to Kûfah, there to remain in private until he should have made himself sufficiently acquainted with the number and resources, and engaged the fidelity of the friends of his cause; of all which, he was to transmit the necessary information: when, if it appeared advisable, Hûsseyne, at the proper period, would not fail to join him. Tarikh Tebry.

Mosslem proceeded accordingly to Kûfah; where, on the report of his arrival, and that he was to be shortly followed by Husseyne himself, being circulated through the town, the people flocked in great numbers to the envoy, and pledged their allegiance to the authority of his master. In consequence of which, having, as a proof of their sincerity, obtained written engagements from the leading chiefs of such as had thus pledged themselves, Mosslem, without loss of time, dispatched a messenger to Hûsseyne with the expected communications. And on his part, Hûsseyne being

A. H. LX. A. D. 680. long since apprized that the adherents of his family were to be found in considerable numbers among the citizens of Bassorah, now employed a domestic of his, of the name of Sûliman, to convey to that place letters in his name, addressed to Ehnef the son of Keyss, Saueid the son of Amrû, and others of his father's friends; calling upon them, and all those who were disposed to support his claims, to repair immediately to Kûfah, to which place he announced his own speedy departure. A journey for which in reality, he was making every preparation, the inhabitants having by this time, almost to a man, declared in his favor.

Tarikh Tebry.

In the mean time a person in the interests of Yezzeid, whose name was Abdullah ben Mosslem, had called upon Niauman the governor of Kûfah, to acquaint him that the emissary of Imaum Hûsseyne had been for two days concealed in the town; that the greater part of the inhabitants had already declared for him, and that that prince had been actually invited to put himself at their head. He therefore urged that the son of Aukkail should be immediately seized and conveyed to Damascus. Niauman had however not yet lost his attachment to the memory of the prophet; by which he was accordingly induced to declare that so long as Mosslem continued in concealmeut, he should not bring him into public; and that so long as the party should abstain from actual hostility against his government, he should not molest them. Quitting the presence of Niauman, Abdullah immediately wrote to apprize Yezzeid of these particulars; and to urge the speedy appointment of some other commander to the government of Kûfah, which was otherwise in imminent danger of falling into the hands of Hûsseyne, hourly expected by the inhabitants.

In the perplexity into which he was in some measure thrown by this intelligence, Yezzeid, after some deliberation, determined that this was a difficulty from which the talents and inflexible rigour of Obaidullah the son of Zeiaud, were alone competent to relieve him. To him, therefore, he immediately transmitted letters, authorizing him to assume the entire government of Irâk and Kûfah; to which place he directed him to proceed without delay, delegating the government of Bassorah to some person in whom he could confide under his own authority. On his arrival at Kûfah he was enjoined to put to immediate death Mosslem the son of Aukkail, with all who appeared to have pledged themselves to support the claims of Hûsseyne; whom also, if he fell into his power, and delayed to give the

necessary pledges of submission, he was to cut off, and send his head to Yezzeid. This was an employment which Obaidullah appeared to undertake with a satisfaction which he did not pretend to disguise; and he had already disposed of every thing preparatory to his departure, after delegating the government of Bassorah to his brother Othman, when the very night before his intended journey, information was communicated to him, that a messenger from Imaum Hûsseyne was at that moment in the town concealed by the inhabitants; with letters, demanding the presence of his friends at Kûfah, and that they only awaited the departure of Obaidullah to make them public. The same night Obaidullah contrived to secure the person of Sûliman the servant of Hûsseyne, and to extort from him, under a severe flagellation, the names of all those to whom he had brought letters. The day following, having assembled the inhabitants, he announced to them that he was sufficiently apprized of the communications which they had received from Hûsseyne; that the messenger was in his custody, and had acknowledged all that had passed. That they were no strangers to his unvarying rule; that his punishments were rather sanguiuary; and that his presence was required at Kûfah, where he might find it necessary to put Mosslem the son of Aukkail to death, with all who had associated in his designs. "Look well to yourselves," concluded Obaidullah; then ordering the messenger of Imaum Hûsseyne to be brought before him, he, in their presence, cut him through the middle with his scimitar; observing at the same time to the bystanders, that it would peradventure be found that it was equally in his power to treat the person who had sent him, in the same manner.

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After this example of summary justice, Obaidullah, accompanied by a considerable body of troops proceeded towards Kufah; but on reaching the city of Kadesiah, he left his troops at that place, and mounting a camel, attended by no more than ten horsemen, late one evening arrived at Kufah. As he contrived to disguise his countenance under cover of his turban, and the inhabitants had been in general taught to expect the arrival of Imaum Hûsseyne, it was not perhaps extraordinary that they should mistake the one for the other. Accordingly when Obaidullah approached and accosted the first group of citizens, whom he found seated

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in the streets, they all rose and returned his salute by the name of grandson of the prophet. Many now crouded round and importuned him with invitations, soliciting him to take up his abode with one or other of them. He did not attempt to undeceive them, but proceeded straight to the palace of government, the gates of which were hastily shut against him by Niauman; who ascending to the embattled terrace, from thence admonished him to retire, (still supposing him to be Hûsseyne) as he could not but be aware that his presence at Kûfah was neither justified by time nor circumstances. The people upon this began to be clamorous and abusive, and insisted that the gate should be immediately thrown open for the reception of their prophet's nearest relative. Niauman continued however inflexible in his resolution, declaring, that as far as rested with him, it should never be said that Hûsseyne the son of Ally was killed under his roof. "Open the gate," cried Obaidullah at last, "and the curse of God rest "upon thee and upon Hûsseyne too." The people now recognized him, and immediately dispersed in the utmost confusion; neither did Niauman any longer oppose his entrance into the palace, in which he now accordingly took up his residence.

In the mean time Mosslem the son of Aukkail becoming apprized of what had happened, endeavoured to secrete himself under the protection of Hauny the son of Orwauh, the most distinguished of Hûsseyne's adherents. While Obaidullah Zeiaud having called together the principal inhabitants on the following day, told them without reserve, that the design of his visit to Kûfah was to extirpate, without exception, all who had acknowledged the authority of Hûsseyne, of their attachment to whom, he desired it might be understood, that he was well informed. Then addressing himself particularly to Hauny the son of Orwauh; "I have heard," said he, that Mosslem the emissary of Hûsseyne is at "thy house." And Hauny denying the circumstance, was called upon by Obaidullah to swear it, which he had accordingly no sooner complied with, than his person was secured, while some of Obaidullah's attendants were dispatched to his house. There they seized the unfortunate agent, and brought him immediately to the presence of their chief, by whom he was placed in safe custody, together with his protector. The palace being however soon after surrounded by a concourse of the inhabitants, to the number, as it is said, of fifty thousand men, in consequence of the

detention of these two persons, Obaidullah, with his usual decision, took a very short course of suppressing the tumult; he caused both his prisoners to be conducted to the roof of the palace, where their heads were immediately struck off, and thrown among the multitude; which, thus scared like a flock of sheep, as immediately dispersed in every direction; these circumstances taking place in the month of Zilhudje* of the year sixty: on the very day on which, little aware of the unexpected reverse which had befallen his friends at Kûfah, Hûsseyne, with the whole of his family, took his departure from Mekkah. A. H. LX. A. D. 680. Tarikh Tebry.

Before he finally quitted Mekkah on this occasion, Imaum Hûsseyne had however been again assailed on the part of those most sincerely devoted to his interests with every argument to dissuade him against the inauspicious journey; and against reposing any confidence in the professions or good faith of the men of Kufah. While, on the other hand, Abdullah Zobair, who began about this period to unmask his views, was not the less anxious for his departure, in order that the city might thus be left more entirely at his own disposal. But the faithful Abdullah Abbas, less corrupt in his views, and more sincere in his attachment, urged his nephew, with fresh intreaties, to beware of quitting the sanctuary of the most high; an appellation by which the city of Mekkah is not unfrequently distinguished; to beware of trusting to the professions of a set of men whose conduct to his father and brother he could not surely have forgotten; at least, if he was determined to proceed, not to take these defenceless women and children with him, until he should have better ascertained how affairs were situated. If the people of Kufah were sincerely desirous of evincing their attachment to his interests, they would long since have given a proof of it, by the expulsion of Yezzeid's lieutenant, who was still allowed to retain his authority among them: and for his own part he should not disguise his apprehensions, that when once his person was at their mercy they would destroy him; and that his women and children would not be suffered to survive his fate. Nevertheless, Husseyne, urged by his destiny, was not to be prevailed upon; and accordingly quitted Mekkah with the whole of his own family, and the greater part of his brother's, under the slender escort of forty horse, and one hundred foot.

* September, A. D. 680.

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Soon after he had entered on his journey he met with a caravan, or company of merchants and travellers, which, with other property, was conducting some camel loads of the contributions levied for the public expenditure at Mekkah: these Husseyne thought it prudent to detain; alleging that it was a necessity to which, although rightful Imaum of the believers, he was driven through the lawless usurpations of Yezzeid. Having, however, appropriated to his own use the specie which he found belonging to the public treasury, he caused every other description of property to be scrupulously restored to the owners. About midway through the desert, he fell in with an Arabian poet of the name of Ferzouk, and Homaum the son of Ghâleb, both coming from Kufah, of whom he demanded what they had to communicate respecting his affairs at that place; "the hearts of the "people are with thee," said the travellers, "but we cannot pretend to "know how God's providence may further determine;" "in that respect," rejoined Husseyne, "it required not your observation to apprize me, that "the decrees of providence are not to be eluded." They could not however furnish him with any intelligence of Obaidullah Zeiaud's proceedings; and he continued to make all the expedition in his power, in order to reach Kufah before Yezzeid should have received information of his design.

On the other hand Obaidullah Zeiaud, not less vigilant than active to defeat his views, was now employed in transferring the different appointments throughout Irâk into the hands of his own dependents; after which he caused them to conduct their troops from all sides to the road leading towards Mekkah. Among others he sent for Omar the son of Saud, to whom he proposed the government of Râï, if he would undertake to seize the person of Husseyne. This was however an undertaking, of which he requested to be spared the execution; but Obaidullah intimating that if he continued to entertain the same scruples, he must retract the appointment which he had conveyed to him of the government of Râï, Omar desired that he would allow him the night to consider on the subject. After which, conceiving that it best suited his interests to engage even in the death of Husseyne, rather than relinquish an appointment which seemed to be the aim of his ambition, he acceded to the proposals of Obaidullah; and in the beginning of the month of Mohurrim,* of the year sixty-one, proceeded at the head of four thousand men towards the Arabian desert.

* Thirtieth of September.

In the mean time Husseyne, with his little troop, had arrived and encamped within three stages of Kadesiah. And a person of the name of Khur ben Yezzeid, secretly attached to the family of Ally, having been directed by Omar Saud to level the wells, and places of refreshment in the desert, came rather unexpectedly on the encampment of the Imaum ; whom, when he found that he was thus far on his way to Kufah, he earnestly intreated to return without delay, for that his agents had been put to death ; and that Omar the son of Saud, with four thousand men, was just at hand to intercept him. "Alas," said Husseyne, "incumbered with "all this family, how can I return." "Up," replied his friendly monitor, "quit the road and retire to one side." Husseyne accordingly decamped, and quitting the direct road, proceeded on one side to a place called Kerbêla, where he again pitched his tents. Omar Saud, however, entering the desert soon afterwards, and receiving intelligence of his situation, directed his march to the same spot. On the appearance of the enemy, Husseyne drew out to receive them ; his escort, as we have already noticed, not exceeding forty horse and one hundred foot, at the head of which he took his stand, observing the approach of his assailants. In this posture he was found by Omar ; who, on his arrival, immediately disengaging himself from the troops with whom he was surrounded, advanced towards Husseyne, and having saluted him, proceeded to advise him against the prosecution of a design to which his resources were so entirely inadequate; that the will of God was manifestly hostile to the success of his views ; nor could he pretend to bring to a better termination that contest which had baffled the powers of his father, with all the influence of his martial character ; to whom, if to any of the family, the sovereign authority would have attached itself, if it had not been otherwise destined : neither could it fail to be remembered, that if his designs were partially successful, his father had led a wretched life amidst turbulence and dissensions, and ultimately perished by the swords of his adversaries. His brother Hussun had afforded him however a far better example ; for perceiving no prospect to encourage his hopes, he had early and prudently submitted to acknowledge the authority of his opponent, and thus at once relieved himself from a painful burden of distraction and solicitude. "Do thou also," concluded Omar, "divest thyself of a concern in which thy person must inevitably be "exposed to so many hazards." "On condition that I relinquish my

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"claims," replied Husseyne, "may I then bespeak your assent to one of "three things. Either suffer me to return without molestation to Mekkah; "or to retire to some other holy place, where I may devote myself to the "sources of religion; or lastly to repair without interruption to the presence "of Yezzeid."

As these were proposals which Omar acknowledged to be reasonable, he desired that Hûsseyne would await the reply to a letter which he should immediately dispatch to Obaidullah Zeiaud; it being a subject on which he could not undertake to determine without his instructions. He then encamped on the same spot, and wrote to Obaidullah accordingly. The answer which soon arrived from Obaidullah, stated however, that Hûsseyne must first repair to him, and that he should be afterwards conducted to the presence of Yezzeid. But Hûsseyne continuing to urge that he might be permitted to proceed straight to the court of Yezzeid, at the same time that Obaidullah might employ any one he chose to conduct him, the latter adhered inflexibly to the resolution that Husseyne should in the first instance come to him; and when the same proposal was by letter twice or thrice repeated in behalf of Husseyne, by Omar, Obaidullah finally declared that it was in vain to importune him further on the subject; for that he should not accept of Husseyne's allegiance until he pledged it in person with his own hand. To this, Husseyne with equal obstinacy, refused to accede.

A week having been consumed in this fruitless discussion, Obaidullah dispatched a person to demand of Omar Saud, if he had employed him merely to converse with Husseyne; if he attacked him without further delay, it was very well; if not, he should find no difficulty in sending one who would be less scrupulous in the execution of his orders. By this message, it might have been expected that all further procrastination would have been put an end to; and the son of Saud mounting his horse, accordingly disposed his troops for the attack: but he felt himself impelled once more to address the devoted Husseyne aloud in these words. "Every effort in my power has been exerted to avoid the opprobrium, "or imputation, of having dipped my hands in thy blood; I find that "those exertions are in vain." "Yet," said Hûsseyne, "give me the "respite of this day; suffer me to remain unmolested only till to morrow." And in this, from whatever motive, Omar again indulged him. In the

mean time, provoked by these repeated delays, Obaidullah Zeiaud sent for Shemir or Shamer Ziljousheny; and having told him that the son of Saud seemed disposed to prevaricate with him, and that his heart appeared to be with Husseyne, he directed him to proceed immediately and deprive that chieftain of his command. "Whether he has commenced hostilities, or "whether not," said he, "his command and his appointment are thine; "go and bring me either Hûsseyne, or his head." About the hour of prayer, at three in the afternoon, of the day on which Imaum Hûsseyne had contrived to obtain a further delay of hostilities, this person arrived in the camp of Omar, and declared that it should not continue an hour longer. On which Omar again led his troops to the presence of the unhappy prince, and announced that Obaidullah had sent another person to command against him. Hûsseyne urged, notwithstanding, that as the day was far advanced, and night approaching, the truce might still be allowed to continue to the following morning; and as he was supported in this by the intreaties of the adverse troops, Shemir thought fit to comply. A. H. LXI. A. D. 680. Tarikh Tebry.

The night was in part employed by Hûsseyne in adjusting his arms, and otherwise preparing for the conflict in which he was about to be engaged; after which he endeavoured to amuse himself by repeating aloud, either the compositions of his own genius, or of other Arabian poets. This being overheard by his son Ally, who lay ill in a corner of the tent, the latter began to weep aloud, and was immediately answered by the women, who gave a loose to their sorrows in the most bitter and heart rending lamentations. Hûsseyne intreated them to bear their afflictions in silence, lest they might awaken the ridicule and triumph of his enemies. Then raising his eyes to heaven, he briefly addressed himself in the following prayer. "Lord thou knowest that the allegiance of these men is pledged to me, "and that they have basely violated that allegiance; do thou render me "justice against them." After which he called together the faithful adherents of his fortune, and having borne testimony that as far as they were concerned they had honorably acquitted themselves, he proceeded to acknowledge that in the contest to which he had led them, they were opposed to a superiority of numbers, on which he had never been taught to calculate. That for his own part, having no further hope of life and safety, he freely absolved them from every obligation by which they might have conceived themselves bound to share his fate; and accordingly desired

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that every one who felt himself so disposed, might embrace the opportunity to make his escape. "Respectable Imaum," they observed in reply, "on the "aweful day of resurrection how shall we account to our God, or what plea "shall we urge to thy grandfather, if we surrender his children to the ven- "geance of their enemies." They therefore declared themselves unanimously resolved to sacrifice their lives at his feet. He then prepared his little army in the best manner he was able to meet the impending conflict.

The same night, hearing that Hûsseyne was surrounded at Kerbêla, a faithful adherent of his fathers, of the name of Termauh, made his way to his camp; and proposed to him to effect his escape on the camel which he had brought him for the purpose; representing that the abode of his tribe, to which he should immediately conduct him, was perfectly inaccessible to the approach of the enemy. This Hûsseyne resolutely declined; declaring, that though it were possible to survive their loss, which he well knew from the state of his feelings to be totally out of the question, he would never expose his memory to the infamy of having basely fled, and abandoned his women and his family to the discretion of a merciless enemy. In which generous resolution, the friendly Arab, for the present quitted him.

In the mean time another messenger from Obaidullah Zeiaud had arrived in the course of the night, with an admonition to Omar the son of Saud; urging him, if he felt a repugnance to attack the person of Hûsseyne by direct and open hostility, to take at least such steps as would deprive him of his communication with the river Euphrates; that he and his people might perish of thirst. At all events, when Hûsseyne was killed, by what means it mattered not, he was directed to cause the body to be trampled under foot by his cavalry. In consequence of this message, a detachment of four hundred men, under the directions of Omar the son of Ul Hejauje, was immediately dispatched to the river side, to cut off from Hûsseyne and his followers all possible supply of water; and thus exhaust them under an accumulation of distress. On his part, during a short interval of sleep, the prophet appeared to Hûsseyne in a dream, desiring him to be no longer afflicted; for that on the evening of tomorrow he should be with him in paradise. From which, having shortly afterwards awakened, he entirely divested himself of every remaining hope of life, and when the day broke he applied himself with becoming solemnity to perform the duties of his religion. This was the morning of Friday the tenth of Mohurrim.*

* Ninth of October.

Omar the son of Saud, who, notwithstanding what has been recently stated, appears to have still retained at least the ostensible command, now led his troops for the last time to the attack of Hûsseyne; and the latter, the extent of whose force required but little previous arrangement, quitting his horse, and moufiting a camel, on which he presented himself to those who were about to assail him, and addressed them in substance as follows. A. H. LXI. A. D. 680. Tarikh Tebry.

"Men of Kûfah although I am sufficiently convinced, that the words I "am about to speak to you can otherwise avail me nothing, nevertheless, "as they must equally serve as a testimony against you, and as my own "justification in the presence of that almighty being before whom we stand, "I am determined to give them utterance. Ye cannot be ignorant that I "am the offspring of the ever blooming Fautima the daughter of God's "messenger: that I am the son of your prophet's favorite cousin, the her- "oic child of Abûtauleb, the first who embraced the sacred doctrines of "Isslâm; whom your legislator pronounced to be the avenue to that "wisdom, of which the city was in himself; and whom he repeatedly "declared to hold with him, in his sacred mission, the same relation that "Aaron held with Moses. Ye also know that I am the nephew of the "immortal Jauffer, and that Hamzah the prince of martyrs was the uncle "of my father. If ye are sincere proselytes to the belief of the true God, "and to the doctrines of my grandfather, who was his messenger, be not "blind to the example of which you may avail yourselves in the veneration, "to which the memory of their saviour is consecrated by the followers of "Jesus, and that of Moses by the Jews; as well as in the honors invariably "paid by the professors of every religion to its author. Men of Kûfah! "during my residence among you, neither in life or property have I ever "injured any one; on what plea is it then that you have conceived it lawful "to shed my blood? While quietly seated at Medeinah by the tomb of "my grandsire, I was not then suffered to enjoy my humble retirement, "and when I removed to Mekkah, your solicitations, your messengers "your letters, seduced me from the asylum in which I had secured myself. "All that now remains for me to say, is to address you in the same terms "in which Moses addressed the subjects of Pharaoon. If ye will not let "me go on, withdraw to one side, and suffer me to return to the sanctuary

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"of the most high; there to lay myself down until the cares of this world "shall have passed over me; in that which is to come it will appear, "whether the cause of justice be with you or me; and who are the oppres- "sors in the contest, into which I have been drawn."

To this, receiving no reply, Hûsseyne again proceeded. "Heaven be "praised," said he, "that God himself will bear witness against you; for "my part I have no alternative, and against me ye have no testimony to "allege." He then demanded of them individually, addressing each respectively by name, if they had not written to and invited him to Kûfah; if they had not pledged their allegiance both to him personally and through his agents; and was it then for the purpose of murdering him, that they had importuned him with such invitations? They now summoned sufficient confidence to declare, that they considered themselves absolved from an allegiance, of which they had long since repented. On which Hûsseyne finally concluded, by repeating his acknowledgments to heaven, that either to God or to his prophet, they had no plea to urge against him; and appealed to that being, from whose justice alone, when earthly resources shall have failed, the unfortunate are still permitted to hope for redress. The camel, on which he rode, being now made to kneel on all fours, he remounted his horse, and placing himself at the head of his followers expected his adversaries to commence their attack.

Accordingly a person of the name of Abdullah ben Omar advanced on the part of the enemy, and by way of defiance, desired to congratulate Hûsseyne on his early prospect of a place in everlasting fire. "Let that "day never come to pass," said Hûsseyne, "when the man whose heart is "with his God shall be condemned to such an apprehension." Then addressing himself to heaven, he prayed that God would destroy this miscreant. Accordingly as the man who had thus insulted him, was about to withdraw, the foot of his horse slipped into a hole in the earth, and the rider was thrown off; but his foot remaining in the stirrup, and the horse taking fright, in that situation bore him along until he expired. The next who accosted him, though in very different terms, was Khûr or Khyr ben Yezzeid, of the tribe of Temeim; the chief by whom he was first apprized of the approach of his enemies, and by whose advice he withdrew from the high road. This person now respectfully saluting Hûsseyne by the name of, "son of the messenger of God," announced, that he was come to

combat in his defence, and to sacrifice his life at his feet. "Mayst thou "taste the blessings of martyrdom," said Hûsseyne, "while I congratulate thee "on the endless joys of paradise; which will be thy reward, brave and generous "as thou art, and as thy name imports." Alluding to the benevolent influence felt through nature from the presence of the sun; the latter being in Persian, Khoûr and Khyr, and Khûrshaïd. A. H. LXI. A. D. 680. Tarikh Tebry.

Impatient of further delay, Ziljousheny began to expostulate with Omar Saud, and to urge him to an immediate commencement of the attack; on which, fixing an arrow to his bow, and desiring him to bear witness that he was the first to set the example, Omar immediately discharged it towards the followers of Hûsseyne. As if this had dissolved the impression of awe, which had hitherto, like a spell, operated to prevent the Mosslems from assailing the person of their Imaum, two of the domestic slaves of Obaidullah Zeiaud now advanced and proposed the single combat. These were both killed by Habeib and Yezzeid, two of the followers of Hûsseyne of that name; three more of the troops of Omar Saud also sharing successively the same fate. The heat of the day was now become excessive, and Hûsseyne and his followers began to suffer under the extremity of thirst. At this crisis, Omar the son of Ul Hejauje, whose station was on the right towards the Euphrates, suggesting to Omar Saud that, as the soldiers of Hûsseyne were combating under the impulse of despair, they were not to be subdued, otherwise than by the united assault of his whole force, it was immediately determined to close upon them and bring the contest to a speedy decision. To render their means of resistance however still more feeble, Omar Saud caused his archers to advance and gall them with their arrows, until of Hûsseyne's little troop the greater part was wounded: and in the charge which immediately followed on the part of the enemy, twenty of them were killed on the spot. Those who survived continued, nevertheless, to maintain their ground with admirable constancy. Conceiving that it no longer became him to withhold his person from the conflict, Hûsseyne now pushed forward to engage with his assailants; but his faithful followers still interposed, declaring, that so long as any of them remained alive, the grandson of the prophet should not be suffered to expose himself to the swords of the enemy; to which Hûsseyne, his eyes

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overflowing with tears, could only express his hope that they would find their reward in the approbation of Omnipotence. They then advanced successively to encounter the enemy, each saluting Hûsseyne as they passed him, with "peace be with thee thou son of the prophet of God, fare "thee well!" while Hûsseyne replied "peace be with thee brave associate, "thou art going before, and I shall shortly follow." And thus they continued to do, until every one that had accompanied him to the field of Kerbêla, was either killed or wounded; himself, his brothers, his children, and nephews, and the women of his family still remaining unhurt.

In this extremity Hûsseyne again essayed to oppose his person to the enemy, but was now as resolutely prevented by the members of his family; who united in declaring, that so long as they survived, they considered his previous exposure of himself to the hazards of a personal conflict, as entailing eternal dishonor on themselves. After which his eldest son Ally akbar, conceiving that as such he might aspire to the distinction of being the first of his family to lay down his life in defence of his parent, presented himself to the weapons of the enemy; and having announced aloud his name and descent, intrepidly rushed among them: in ten different assaults, in which, animated by the presence of his father, he forced himself into the thickest of the enemy, he sacrificed to his vengeance, at each assault, either two or three of those who stood opposed to him; but being at last almost suffocated with heat and thirst, he implored his father's pity, by complaining bitterly of the sufferings which he was condemned to undergo. In this state, after assuring him that if he could relieve him at the price of his own existence, it would be a willing sacrifice, his father arose; and introducing his own tongue within the parched lips of his favorite child, thus endeavoured to alleviate his sufferings by the only means of which his enemies had not yet been able to deprive him. The gallant youth then rushed for the last time into the conflict; and being wounded from behind by one of the enemy, whose name was Kerrah son of Saud, he fell, and was immediately surrounded and cut to pieces by these execrable betrayers of the family of their prophet. This was a spectacle which entirely overwhelmed the feelings of Hûsseyne; for the first time in his life he gave utterance to a transport of grief, which he no longer attempted to suppress: and the cry which he uttered, coming to the ears of the women, his sister Zeyneb rushed out of the tents, and throwing

herself on the mangled remains of her unhappy nephew, gave a loose to the most violent expressions of despair and sorrow. A. H. LXI. A. D. 680.

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The next of this devoted family who rushed upon the swords of the assailants, was Abdullah, one of the grandsons of Aukkail the appostate brother of the Khalif Ally. An arrow from one of the enemy, as he advanced, fixed the hand of this unhappy youth to his forehead, and as he turned about to withdraw, another arrow from the same person transpierced him from behind, passing entirely through his body. Jauffer the son of Aukkail, the uncle of him who had just fallen, is the next enrolled among the martyrs of Kerbêla. Before he could close with the assailants, he also perished by an arrow, which pierced his abdomen. The companions of Hûsseyne were now reduced to his five brothers, Abbas, Abdullah, Othman, Mahommed, and Jauffer; his other brothers, Mahommed Haneifah, and Omar, being fortunately absent from this scene of blood; and his son the younger Ally was confined to the tent by a fit of illness. At this moment his nephew, Kaussem the son of Mahommed, a child of ten years' old, came out of the tents with a drawn sword in his hand; whom, on account of his tender years, Hûsseyne desiring to withdraw, the intrepid boy, with a resolution above his age, adjured his uncle by the truth of the prophet, to forbear to interrupt him; and being suffered to proceed, he was shortly afterwards assailed by one of the enemy's horsemen, who clove his head through the middle. The five brothers already mentioned, now rushing together to the unequal conflict, and being immediately surrounded, were soon dispatched to join their slaughtered relatives.

The vengeance of the assailants became now concentrated towards a single object; and an arrow having transfixed his horse, the unfortunate Hûsseyne came to the ground, and was left, fainting with thirst and fatigue; to contend alone, and on foot against a remorseless multitude eager for his destruction. But the hour of prayer betwixt noon and sun set being arrived, the devoted Imaum seating himself on the earth, addressed his thoughts to the performance of his religious duties. In this posture several of the enemy drew near, with the design of putting him to death; but impressed with a sentiment of awe by the appearance which he exhibited, they successively retired; declaring that they could not yet feel themselves reconciled to incur the guilt of his blood. Under these circumstances the ears of Hûsseyne were suddenly assailed by the cries of

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his infant child Abdullah, at this period not more than twelve months old, at the breast of its nurse; burning with a parent's affection, he desired that the helpless innocent might be brought to him. At the moment he pressed it to his bosom, and was bathing it with his tears, a miscreant of the tribe of Benni Assud discharged an arrow, which entering the ear of the unconscious innocent, killed it in the arms of its parent. Hûsseyne rose, and having repeated the passing formula to the spirit of his slaughtered infant, implored his creator to grant him patience under these his accumulated afflictions. Almost exhausted by thirst and anguish of mind, he seemed for a moment to have forgotten the horrors with which he was surrounded, and directed his languid steps towards the river side; but his design being discovered by the unrelenting vigilance of Ziljousheny, the latter loudly vociferated, that he should not be suffered to drink; lest by assuaging the thirst which was otherwise hastening the period of his miseries, he might yet be able to protract his existence. Hûsseyne had however already thrown himself on his breast over the stream of the Euphrates; and was beginning to taste the luxury of the refreshing element, when an arrow pierced his mouth. Rejecting the now ensanguined draught, Hûsseyne indignantly arose, and having extracted the winged mischief, withdrew, and took his last stand, his mouth streaming with blood, at the entrance of the tents.

Conceiving that the disproportioned conflict had been perhaps, already too long protracted, Omar the son of Saud now approached with the determination of bringing it to a conclusion by the death of him, through whose single exertions it was still so unaccountably held in suspence; yet when Hûsseyne demanded if then he was coming to be his butcher, a sentiment either of compassion or remorse compelled him to withdraw; leaving the execution of his design to the soldiers, of whom he angrily demanded why they did not hasten to surround, and dispatch the object of their seeming astonishment and apprehensions. Thus stimulated, they closed round the person of the devoted Imaum, who continued to defend himself, notwithstanding, with admirable intrepidity, and presence of mind; either killing or disabling not a few of his numerous assailants. While these exertions of a courage animated by despair, continued on the part of Hûsseyne to excite the surprise and terror of his adversaries, Omar Saud could not forbear demanding of Ziljousheny, if, considering the anguish of mind

under which he must be supposed to labour from the appalling spectacle of a slaughtered family, covered with wounds, deprived of water for so many days, and assailed by such multitudinous odds, as well as by distress and horror in every shape and form, he conceived it to be within the scope of human prowess, to exhibit such an example of courage and constancy, as they must then acknowledge to have witnessed in the demeanor of this unfortunate prince. For Hûsseyne, though wounded in four and thirty places by different weapons, though extremely weakened through loss of blood, and fainting with fatigue and an intolerable thirst, still opposed an invincible resistance to the assaults which were directed against his person from every side.

Reduced to this extremity he was at last approached by Ziljousheny, accompanied by six of his chosen followers; whose meditated attack Hûsseyne, with a courage yet unabated, advanced to repel. But one of these, whose name was Zerraiah, drawing near to assail him, found a fatal opportunity, and struck off one of his arms close to the shoulder. He now fell; but, by a kind of convulsive effort, springing once more on his feet, he attempted to make at the soldier by whom he had been thus cruelly mutilated; he however again fell to the earth, and the soldier approaching from behind, thrust him through the back with a javelin, the point of which came out at his breast; and immediately withdrawing the fatal weapon, the soul of the lamented Hûsseyne fled through the orifice. The execrated Zilousheny then struck off his head, leaving the body on the ground, which some of his murderers now proceeded to strip. Keyss the son of Aishauth took away his under garment; two other persons possessed themselves of his turban and drawers, and a miscreant of the name of Habeib ben Mozeyl carried off the sword of the martyred Imaum. Shemir next entered the tents, which he gave up to the pillage of his barbarous followers, who stripped the women of their very head dresses and wearing apparel. Hearing the screams of these defenceless females, Omar Saud hastened to the spot, just at the moment when Ziljousheny with his drawn sword was approaching the bed of Ally the son of Hûsseyne, then a child languishing under pain and illness, with the intention of putting him to death. Omar seasonably demanded if he was not ashamed to be the butcher of an innocent and defenceless infant. "My general Obaidullah Zeiaud's orders" replied Ziljousheny, "were, that nothing male of

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"the family should be left alive." "The believers," rejoined Omar, "have hitherto abstained from killing the infant children even of infidels; "let this child," added he, "be carried to thy general, that he may decide "upon his fate." After which, he, for the present, put a stop to the further outrages of the plunderers, by turning them out of the tents. The instructions of Obaidullah Zeiaud were next announced by Ziljousheny, directing that the body of the slaughtered Imaum should be trampled under foot by the cavalry. In concurrence with which the lifeless trunk of Hûsseyne was accordingly rode over, and every bone broken, by twenty horsemen; the names of two of whom, Ishauck the son of Heyout, and Ojeyse the son of Yezzeid, have been recorded for the perpetual execration of posterity. The authors of the massacre now encamped for the night; the head of Husseyne being conveyed, in the mean time, by Omar Saud, together with a letter announcing this boasted victory, through the medium of a certain Khowly* eben Yezzeid, to his employer the sanguinary Obaidullah Zeiaud at Kufah. The day following, after causing the slain of his own party amounting to the number of eighty-two, to be buried, and leaving those of Hûsseyne's exposed to wild beasts, and birds of prey, Omar and his troops proceeded towards Kûfah, accompanied by his wretched female captives thrown across the backs of camels; and it is finally stated, that as the parricides were quitting the scene of slaughter, the voices of invisible beings were heard in the air, bemoaning the hapless victims thus sacrificed at Kerbêla to secure the power of Yezzeid.

The mutilated corpse of Husseyne, and those of his followers, had continued on the sands of Kerbêla unburied and exposed, for the space of three days, when the people of a neighbouring village, called Aazir or Aiauzir, situated on the bank of the Euphrates, and belonging to the tribe of Benni Assud, at last took courage; and representing to each other, that they might incur the vengeance of heaven, if they suffered the bodies of their fellow creatures to be longer a prey to wolves and vultures, they went together, and committed to the earth, on the spot where they found it, the headless corse of Husseynē; burying that of his son Ally at his feet. The bodies of the other slain, excepting that of Abbas the brother of Husseyne, which was buried where it was found on the road to Aiauzir, were collected together and committed to one grave; in that spot

* Or Khowla.

which has since become sufficiently celebrated throughout the east, as containing the ashes of those, who, on this memorable occasion, fell at Kerbêla. A. H. LXI. A. D. 680. Tarikh Tebry.

The man who had undertaken to convey to Obaidullah Zeiaud the head of the martyred Hûsseyne, and whose name has been since consigned to perpetual execration, did not fail to claim the highest reward that could be due for a piece of service so acceptable, as that which he had performed in producing this ghastly testimony of the extinction of that person, on whom his followers have not hesitated to bestow the title of *best of human beings*. The day after, Omar Saud, with the captives and other trophies of his victory, arrived at Kûfah, conducting the whole to the presence of Obaidullah. Zeyneb the daughter of Ally, accompanied by Fautima and the daughters of Hûsseyne, had seated herself down in a corner of the audience chamber, surrounded by the other women and the surviving children of the prophet's family; and early attracting the observation of the governor of Kûfah, he demanded who that woman was, whom her associates seemed to treat with such extraordinary distinction. Having discovered her quality, he immediately turned towards, and accosted her in the following terms. "Praised be that God who has brought disgrace "and destruction upon thee, and upon the adherents of thine house; who "has stigmatized with the stamp of falsehood, the arrogant and impious "pretensions to the prophecy and priesthood, set up by thy father, and "mother, and grandfather." "Rather praised be that God," replied Zeyneb nothing dismayed, "who hath exalted my lineage to those glorious "distinctions, and to the envied honors of the succession; that God who "hath stigmatized our adversaries, with the polluted stamp of iniquity and "profligacy: who hath brought to light the depravity and base designs of "those who set themselves against us, and who hath distinguished my "family by the choicest blessings of his gratuitous bounty." Her subsequent replies were so little constrained by the embarrassment of her situation, that Obaidullah in the violence of his indignation, would have put her to immediate death, had he not been dissuaded from his purpose by Amrû the son of Herreith; who called upon him to reflect that she was a defenceless woman, whose accumulated distresses had totally

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subdued her patience, and effaced all other considerations. And he was finally compelled to conclude the altercation, which he seems to have supported with considerable disadvantage, by declaring that the eloquence of the father appeared to have descended to the daughter.

In the mean time, Obaidullah was amusing himself by beating the head of Hûsseyne, which lay before him, on the mouth, with a rod which he held in his hand, and expressing his unmanly triumph by the most insulting raillery. After he had thus indulged himself, he turned suddenly to the younger Ally, the son of Hûsseyne, observing, that he understood, God had slain his father. To which, the unhappy youth declining to reply, Obaidullah imperiously demanded whence it was that he spoke not, and received the following answer. "I once had an elder brother, but him "also the murderers have slain." Which further awakening the rage of Obaidullah, he called out to the attendants to examine whether the slave yet exhibited the proofs of manhood, that he might dispatch him: and he was proceeding to execute his design, on their report in the affirmative, when he was interrupted by the cries and expostulations of Zeyneb and the other women; who implored him to spare the only representative of their wretched race, and if he was not yet satisfied with blood, to direct his vengeance rather to themselves; since they had no one left to whom he could be accountable. From this last act of butchery, he was, by whatever motive, at any rate withheld; though his brutality to these defenceless captives was further exemplified in the orders which he now issued, that the women, in a state of entire nakedness, should be immediately conducted to Damascus. The head of Hûsseyne also, after it had been sufficiently exposed through all the streets of Kûfah, was transmitted to the same place, in charge of Raujez the son of Keyss, selected, for his singular eloquence, to announce to Yezzeid on this occasion, the decisive triumph of his cause.

While the now triumphant Yezzeid yet trembled, either with awe or remorse, at the glowing recital delivered, of these sanguinary proceedings, in his presence by Raujez, he could not however be withheld from bestowing, like his representative at Kûfah, on the head of his unfortunate rival the same brutal indignity, by beating it on the lips and teeth with his whip; but being interrupted in his ferocious amusement by a certain Abû Berdah ul Esslauhy, who remonstrated against the indecency of offering

such barbarous insults to those lips, which had been so frequently hallowed by the kisses of their prophet, Yezzeid struck him on the breast for this bold and unexpected expostulation; and turning to the younger Ally who was present with the other captives, he proceeded in a strain of insult to reproach him with the judgments which seemed to pursue the destinies of his family; and receiving from him a reply equally modest and applicable, he commanded his son Khaled to take up the argument: which the latter however declining to do, he continued to rail at his unhappy prisoner, until after sufficiently indulging his malevolent spirit, he turned to exhaust his spleen upon the noble minded Zeyneb; whose sorrows he might propose to aggravate, when in addressing her by the appellation of daughter of the prophet's son in law, he brought to her recollection the exalted stock from which she sprung.

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When their sufferings had been aggravated as long as he thought proper, by the remarks to which, in the insolence of his power, he thus compelled them to submit; and which, with their replies, though sufficiently striking in the nervous and emphatic idiom of the Arabs, it would be difficult to convey through the medium of a remote and foreign language, without extinguishing the spirit of the original, Yezzeid at last dismissed the unfortunate captives to the apartments of his women. Here they remained until the expiration of some days; when Niauman the son of Beshir the ansaur was sent for, and directed to conduct them under his protection to Medeinah: for which journey he caused them to be previously provided with an ample supply of every necessary. But before they were suffered to take their final departure, Yezzeid desired that Ally the son of Hûsseyne might be brought to his presence, and having treated him with rather greater humanity than formerly, dismissed him with these words. "The "curse of God light on thee, thou descendant of the prophet's son in law! "had it rested with myself, I might have been disposed to subscribe to the "views of thy father; but it becomes not man to controvert the decrees "of providence; thou art now at liberty to return to Medeinah, with the "whole of thy family.

As a reward for the zeal which he had evinced in the destruction of Imaum Hûsseyne, Obaidullah Zeiaud had been invested by Yezzeid, as

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we have already seen, with the government of Kûfah, and Arabian Irâk; and of that of Bassorah, he was in the previous possession. But as he had been deprived of the ample province of Khorassaun, which, together with the adjoining territory of Seiestaun, the ancient Drangiana, he had enjoyed under Mauweiah, he indulged the expectation that in return for his recent zealous services, those lucrative and opulent domains would be yet restored to him. Being however disappointed, he began to regret the active part which he had taken in the late odious transactions. In the mean time, preparations were making by his brother Sûliman to enter that province which had been conferred upon him by the choice of Yezzeid; and the latter had now written to Obaidullah, in compliance with the request of Sûliman, to furnish him with a detachment of six thousand men from the troops under his command. On which a person was employed, on the part of Obaidullah, to represent to Yezzeid, that this was an undertaking for which he was himself far better qualified than his brother. To which Yezzeid rather briefly replied that he was of a different opinion; that in his judgment the superiority of qualification was on the side of Sûliman. Obaidullah could not however be prevailed upon to forego his claims; declaring, with some degree of petulance, that he felt himself better disposed to combat with the Turks on the distant frontiers of the empire, than to be employed in the extirpation of the prophet's relatives; for which he appeared to be reserved as an instrument at home. Nevertheless, Sûliman, accompanied by the six thousand men which he was compelled to furnish, proceeded to the city of Merû; and shortly afterwards crossing the Oxus, engaged in successful hostilities against the Tartars, or Turks on the other side of that river: and made himself ultimately master of the Soghd, or beautiful region of Samarkand. From thence he conducted his troops to the gates of Kharezm; which after twelve months' resistance, surrendered by capitulation, affording an abundant supply of treasure to gratify the avidity of his followers, after remitting a fifth part to his sovereign at Damascus.

The government of Mekkah had been bestowed by Yezzeid on Omar the son of Saud, another, though apparently unwilling instrument of his vengeance; and that of Medeinah, on Waleid the son of Aukkebah. Abdullah Zobair had at this period taken up a permanent residence at the former city; and as Omar Saud forbore to molest him with any kind of

hostility, the jealousy of Yezzeid was awakened; in consequence of which the government was taken from him, and transferred to the son of Aukkebah, by whom it was at the same time entrusted to the care of a lieutenant; he himself still continuing to reside at Medeinah. A. H. LXI. A. D. 680. Tarikh Tebry.

It appears necessary to remind the reader, that whilst Imaum Hûsseyne remained at Mekkah, Abdullah Zobair had uniformly treated him with every mark of attachment and respect; and when he learnt that his enemies had put him to death, he publicly deplored the sad catastrophe; and in applauding the virtues of the martyred Imaum, and pointing out the cruelties which had been exercised towards his person by the natives of Irâk, he claimed for himself the allegiance of the inhabitants of Mekkah; and as they were, on these considerations, without much difficulty prevailed upon to subscribe to such a claim, they in general pledged their fidelity to him, as the person whom they acknowledged to poseess the strongest right to govern them. There still remaining in the city, however, a considerable party in favor of Yezzeid, this produced a schism which must have led to very deplorable consequences; one party attaching themselves in the performance of public worship to Abdullah Zobair, while the other formed a congregation for the lieutenant of Waleid; but the party of Abdullah Zobair at last prevailing, Waleid's lieutenant was ultimately expelled the city. This insult to his authority was not long withheld from the knowledge of Yezzeid, who swore that he would yet make the son of Zobair to stand before him, with his hands bound, and a chain about his neck. He accordingly ordered a chain of silver, which he sent to Waleid at Medeinah; with instructions to fasten it on the neck of Abdullah Zobair, and in that state to convey him to his presence. Waleid thought proper to transmit the chain by other hands than his own, to Abdullah Zobair, who, placing it on the floor before him, and significantly shaking his head, dismissed the messengers without condescending to make any reply, but what was to be understood from an Arabic couplet, which he rehearsed to them on this occasion. The couplet was repeated to the governor of Medeinah, who appears to have acquiesced in silence, until the close of the year; when he repaired on the usual religious visitation to the sanctuary at Mekkah: the ceremonies being, as it was not difficult to foresee on the occasion, separately performed; Abdullah Zobair, with his party, officiating on one side, while the son of

A.H. LXII. A.D. 681. Aukkebah, with the adherents of Yezzeid, discharged their religious obligations on another.

Tarikh Tebry. With the commencement of the following year, Yezzeid having given some further indication of his anxiety to secure the person of Abdullah Zobair, the design was betrayed to the latter by Waleid. On which the son of Zobair had the assurance to dispatch to Yezzeid a letter, in which he thought proper to denounce the same Waleid as a consummate idiot, through whose folly and imbecility the affairs of his government had been reduced to the brink of ruin; and to recommend, without reserve, that some other person might be sent to supersede him. Flattered by this mark of condescension from his most formidable antagonist, and by the expectation that it might pave the way for his ultimate submission, Yezzeid, without hesitation, recalled the governor of Medeinah, to make room for his other kinsman, Othman the son of Mahommed, son of Abi Soffeyan; a youth without experience, and whose attention instead of being directed to the duties of his station, became totally absorbed in the pursuit of his pleasures. With some design, of which the object is not explained, this unfledged magistrate was induced in the course of the year, to send a deputation to Yezzeid, composed of ten of the principal inhabitants of Medeinah, amongst whom was a brother of Abdullah Zobair's, of the name of Mûnzer. These, whatever might have been the errand, experienced from Yezzeid the most favorable reception, and were dismissed on their return, loaded with caresses, and with presents to a considerable amount: one hundred thousand dirhems being bestowed on Mûnzer the son of Zobair alone, and ten thousand each on his associates. When they returned to Medeinah, they reported to their fellow citizens, notwithstanding, that every part of his conduct bespoke in Yezzeid the confirmed and irreclaimable infidel; that his days and nights were consumed in intemperance and debauch; and that his entire neglect of the public duties of their religion had cancelled on his part every claim to the sacred functions of the Imaumut. They therefore considered themselves absolved on their part from an allegiance of which they were ashamed. In this declaration, they were followed by the rest of the city; the immediate result of which was the confinement of Othman the couzin of Yezzeid, together with Merwaun, and Wauheb the son of Ommeyah; and the elevation, by the inhabitants of Abdullah the son of Hentelah, to the government of Medeinah. At this period, Imaum Zeyne

ul aubedein, the title by which we are to recognize Ally the younger, the son of Imaum Hûsseyne, was residing at Medeinah; and received from the inhabitants a voluntary offer of their allegiance, which he prudently declined; and immediately withdrawing from the city, fixed his abode at a place in the neighbourhood, called Serraia. A.H. LXII. A. D. 681. Tarikh Tebry.

Although considerably irritated by this revolt against his authority, Yezzeid with a moderation, either real or affected, determined, before he proceeded to extremities, to try the effect of lenient measures; and for this purpose he dispatched Niauman the son of Beshir the ansaur alone to Medeinah, to endeavour to recal the citizens to their allegiance; professing that he could not yet reconcile himself to the idea of exposing them to the indiscriminate vengeance of an enraged soldiery, whom he might otherwise be compelled to employ against them. He further instructed him, to acquaint Zeyne ul aubedein that he was not ignorant of the proof which he had recently given of his prudent forbearance. The mission of Niauman proved however unsuccessful, and Yezzeid was accordingly constrained to use coercion. The person whom he selected to vindicate his insulted authority, on this occasion, was Mossellem or Mosslem the son of Auttebah or Aukkebah; a warrior experienced in many an arduous conflict, but at this time far advanced in years, and labouring under indisposition. Him he directed to take ten thousand of his troops, and proceed against Medeinah; but still preserving an appearance of moderation, he charged him to the last, as he conducted him at the head of the troops to some distance from Damascus, not to proceed to hostilities until every lenient measure had failed him; and finally to behave towards Ally the son of Hûsseyne with particular kindness and humanity. Having thus dispatched the son of Auttebah, Yezzeid, the same day, on returning to his palace, wrote to Obaidullah Zeiaud; desiring him to march without delay against Abdullah Zobair, whose power at Mekkah was now becoming extremely formidable. But the zeal of Obaidullah had by this time been considerably diminished by disappointment. "To what pass am I arrived," said he on this occasion, "that after butchering the children of the prophet, I should "be now called upon to assail the temple and sanctuary of God!" He then wrote to Yezzeid in reply, that at present he was grievously indisposed; but that if, peradventure, he should recover, and the enterprize

A.H. LXII. A. D. 681. should still be thought expedient, he would then carry his orders into execution.

Tarikh Tebry. In the mean time, Mosellem made his appearance before Medeinah; and having allowed the inhabitants an interval of three days to deliberate, he sent at the expiration of that period, a person to treat with them. They were however unalterably determined on hostility; and had already fixed upon a spot in the neighbouring Waudy ul jinn, or desert of the genii, where they resolved to give him battle. Of this, intelligence was conveyed to the Syrian general, who accordingly prepared for the conflict. The garrison of Medeinah had been placed by Abdullah eben Hentelah under the directions of Fazzel the son of Abbas, in heroic valour not to be surpassed by any man of the age. At the head of the troops thus entrusted to his discretion, this brave chief immediately fell with great impetuosity on the Syrians; and having thrown them into confusion, pursued them to the tents of their general, who appears to have been indebted for present safety to the fidelity of a slave: the faithful domestic having arrayed himself in the habiliments of his lord, and in that guise presented himself to Fazzel, by whom he was cut in two; immediately proclaiming to his followers, in terms of triumph, that he had killed the general of the enemy. Recovering however from the surprise, and arming himself, Mosellem mounted his horse and hastened to undeceive him; announcing that he should find, perhaps to his cost, that he was still alive. Fazzel addressed himself upon this to make sure of his victim; but received unexpectedly, from the sword of the aged veteran, so tremendous a stroke that he immediately fell dead from his horse. The Syrian troops became now the assailants in their turn, and repulsed the people of Medeinah with great slaughter, to the walls of the town. And the panic of defeat soon spreading through the city, Abdullah eben Hentelah rushed out of the gates on foot, in the hope of rallying the fugitives; while Mosellem directed his cavalry to dismount and combat also on foot, in order to be better prepared to take advantage of the confusion. A division of the men of Hemess or Emesa, all archers, had placed themselves at the head of the assailants; and each of the three sons of Abdullah eben Hentelah having been killed by their arrows, that chief declared his resolution not to outlive his children; and so rushing into the thickest of the enemy, speedily secured an honorable termination to his sorrows. Mosellem and the troops of Damascus

now entered the city, which immediately became, and continued for the space of three days afterwards, the most horrible scene of pillage and slaughter. On the fourth day, Mosellem, from the tribunal of the Imaumut, announced that he had, for the present, suspended these dreadful outrages, in which six thousand of the principal inhabitants are said to have perished; but that all such as declined to pledge their instant allegiance to his master, were still subject to execution. This was followed by the submission of the people in great numbers; but many of the friends and companions of the prophet, had contrived to escape the slaughter, by flying into the mountains. This sanguinary event appears to have taken place in the year sixty-three, though Medeinah threw off the authority of Yezzeid the year before. And the day on which the city was captured on this occasion is said to have been further remarkable for the birth of Mahommed the son of Ally, son of Abdulljah Abbas: the father of Abûl Abbas us Suffauh, and Abû Jauffer ul Munsûr, the two first Khalifs of the house of Abbas.

A.H.LXIII. A.D.682-3. Tarikh Tebry.

About the commencement of the year sixty-four, Mosellem, who had obtained the appellation of Mûserruf, the lavisher of noble blood, from the carnage which he had promoted in the capture of Medeinah, received orders from Yezzeid to proceed next to the reduction of Mekkah; where the power of Abdullah Zobair was such as to have occasioned considerable alarm to his government. Though he still laboured under the effects of an indisposition which continued to gain ground upon him, Mosellem, leaving a deputy to provide for the security of Medeinah, conducted his troops towards Mekkah. But on his arrival within three stages of that city, his constitution yielding to the violence of disease, he was constrained to resign the command, in conformity to the instructions with which he had been originally furnished, to Hûsseyne the son of Temeir, and expired the following day. In a short time afterwards, his successor, at the head of his troops, appeared before the gates of Mekkah; where the authority of Abdullah Zobair had been now long since permanently established, and where that prince had been joined by numbers of those who had escaped the slaughter at Medeinah. Disdaining to shut himself up within the walls, and urging the expediency of harrassing the invaders with perpetual alarms, he led his army immediately to the attack of the enemy; but his

A.H.LXIV. A.D. 683.

A.H.LXIV. A. D. 683. Tarikh Tebry.

brother Mûnzer the son of Zobair, having fallen early in the action which took place on this occasion, the people of Mekkah were thrown into confusion; and Abdullah, after sustaining considerable loss, was reluctantly compelled to withdraw into the city, which was then on all sides closely invested by the Syrians.

The besiegers now proceeded to plant their warlike machines in order to destroy the defences, and otherwise annoy the inhabitants of the town; not sparing even the sacred temple of the Kaaubah, of which several pillars were demolished by the stones which were driven from a manjeneik, or catapulta, which played in that direction: and the infidel who directed the machine having caused naphtha to be discharged against the sacred edifice, the canopy, or silken, or linen veil, which covered the sanctuary, was set on fire, and consumed to ashes. This act of sacrilegious impiety was not however suffered to escape without punishment. A violent gust of wind arose from one of the mountains the day following, and having enveloped the engine and all that surrounded it in flames, the whole of those who had been employed in working the ropes of it, to the number of twenty-five persons, were instantly burnt to death. And as if the manifestation of divine vengeance had not been thus rendered sufficiently conspicuous, the very same day on which the accident occurred before Mekkah, was signalized by the death of Yezzeid. Not a little terrified by an occurrence, which was calculated to operate so powerfully on superstitious minds, the Syrians withdrew from their works, declaring that they had not the audacity to offer any further injury to the temple of God; and from that moment discontinued hostilities; dispatching to acquaint Yezzeid with the state of things, and particularly with the aweful circumstance which had produced the destruction of their machines. But when matters had remained in this situation for some days longer, a messenger from Abdullah Zobair came to demand of the Syrian general, what object he proposed to himself in continuing the siege of Mekkah? since Yezzeid was no longer alive, and the people of Damascus had acknowledged the authority of his son Mauweiah. To this Hûsseyne replied, that if the intelligence which he had conveyed to him was true, the son of Yezzeid was not to him of such importance as to require any consideration. "Come with me," said he, in the message which he addressed to Abdullah Zobair on the occasion, "and we will put thee in possession of the

"empire of the world." Abdullah refusing however to trust his person without the gates of Mekkah, and Hûsseyne Temeir despairing of those advantages from the proposal, with which he had probably flattered himself, departed with the troops, on his return into Syria, after having lain before the sacred city, from the beginning of the month of Suffer to the end of the last Rebbeia, of the year sixty-four. A.H.LXIV. A. D. 683. Tarikh Tebry.

The death of the Khalif Yezzeid took place on the fourteenth of the former month of Rebbeia,* of the year sixty-four, at Howârein, a town some distance north east of Damascus, at the age of thirty-nine, and after a short and turbulent reign of three years and eight or nine months. He received the familiar appellative of Abû Khaled; and the same person that officiated as vezzeir to his father, Serjoun a Greek, appears to have held under him the office of secretary. He had in all thirteen sons, whose names are given at length, but on this subject the compiler of the Tarikh gûzeidah has paused, to awaken in the mind of his reader the following reflections. It may afford perhaps a striking example of that retribution, which even in this life is some times allotted to the wicked, that of an offspring so numerous, scarce a vestige or memorial has remained, to evince to the world that such ever existed; but even if the names of any of them should chance to be repeated, it is never without an attestation of scorn and execration: while thousands of thousands, on the other hand, of the race of Hûsseyne, who left one only son, Zeyne ul aubbedein, are existing at this day. God Almighty having blessed the stock of the Seyeds, and exterminated that of Yezzeid, as an example to mankind that the end of evil can never be prosperous. Events are in the bosom of futurity, and he alone who controuls can disclose the nature of them. We have only to pray that he will direct the instruments of his power to the right road, and in exclusion to every earthly consideration, implant in their hearts the love of virtue and true religion. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Mauweiah the second, the son of Yezzeid, third Khalif of the house of Ommeyah. When Yezzeid became, in the language of the original, enrolled among the dignitaries of the infernal regions, the people of Damascus proceeded in conformity to the will of the father, to pledge their allegiance to Mauweiah; the best qualified by his capacity, though not the Tarikh Tebry.

* November 9th, A. D. 683.

A.H.LXIV. A. D. 683. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. eldest by birth, of the sons of the deceased monarch. But at the expiration of a few days, having assembled the people together at the principal mosque of his capital, Mauweiah unexpectedly addressed them to the following purport. "Conscious of my inability to acquit myself of the arduous "duties of the Khelaufut, it was my first intention, after the example of "Abû Bukker when he appointed Omar, to designate some person to be "your Khalif; but I sought in vain for such a man as Omar. My next "design was like the latter, to devolve the choice upon a conclave of "electors; but from this I was also dissuaded by the same mortifying "reflection of the general incapacity of mankind. Now therefore, as you "ought to be the most competent judges in your own affairs, it rests with "you to seat on the throne of the monarchy, that person whom, in your dis-"cretion, you may think best qualified for the station." To this the Syrians replied, with much solicitude and earnestness, that they would most willingly submit to the authority of any one he chose to nominate. On which, Mauweiah demanded, in a tone of displeasure, with what species of justice they could require of him to make himself responsible for the guilt, who had never tasted the advantages of sovereign power. He abdicated the government from that day, totally secluding himself from all intercourse with society. He did not, however, survive his father more than forty days, or three months at the utmost; dying at the premature age of twenty-three, and being recorded as the first monarch of Isslâm, who succeeded to sovereign authority at so early a period of life. The appellation of Abû Leyly, which was conferred upon him after his accession to the Khelaufut, and by which the Arabs would designate the imbecile, or effeminate, seems to attest that his character was not calculated to inspire much esteem from his contemporaries.

MAUWEIAH the IId.

Tarikh Tebry. MERWAUN the first, fourth Khalif of the house of Ommeyah. This prince, whose exaltation appears to have come rather unexpectedly upon him, was married to one of the daughters of the Khalif Othman; and traced his descent from Ommeyah through the following gradations. Merwaun son of Ul Hukkem, son of Ul Auss, son of Ommeyah, son of Abdusshems. Repairing to Damascus, soon after the demise of the ephemeral monarch whom we have just consigned to the cabinet of oblivion, he found the Syrians separated into two parties; the one in favor of Khaled the son of Yezzeid, at this period a youth of sixteen, and the other declaring for Abdullah,

MERWAUN, IVth of the house of Ommeyah.

Zobair. Hûsseyne the son of Temmeir was also returned about this time from the siege of Mekkah, and exerted his influence in favor of Khaled; asssuring the people of Damascus that the son of Zobair set but little value on their suffrages, since all that he could urge on the subject was not sufficient to prevail upon that haughty chief to appear among them. Merwaun however, who as yet had not indulged a thought of his own elevation, became a strenuous advocate for the claims of Abdullah Zobair; whom he warmly recommended to the choice of the Syrians, not only in consideration of his mature years and judgment, but of his consanguinity with the founder of their religion. And he was upon this about to depart for Mekkah, to join the son of Zobair, when Obaidullah Zeiaud arrived from Bassorah, having been expelled from his government by the inhabitants of that city.

A.H.LXIV. A. D. 684. Tarikh Tebry.

It has been already seen that, ill-digesting the refusal of Yezzeid to gratify his overweening ambition with the government of Khorassaun, this chief under the pretext of illness, had eluded the orders which had been conveyed to him, to proceed against Mekkah; on which occasion he was told from Yezzeid, that when he massacred Hûsseyne and the children of the prophet, he availed himself of none of these excuses: but now forsooth, when directed to attack the son of Zobair, he was not ashamed to urge the flimsy plea of illness. And accordingly, if death had not anticipated his design, that prince had resolved on the first opportunity to divest him of the province of Irâk. These circumstances, from a zealous advocate, had converted Obaidullah into the determined enemy of Yezzeid; and it is therefore not extraordinary that on his arrival at Damascus on the present occasion, he should have decided against the interests of Khaled; and secretly resolved to promote the advancement of Merwaun, or indeed of any other person who seemed likely to be instrumental to the gratification of his revenge. With him therefore he sought on his arrival an early interview; "I have heard," said he, when they met, "that thou hast it in con-" templation to proceed to Mekkah, to bestow thine allegiance on Abdullah "Zobair. "To whom then can I offer it," replied Merwaun, "since "Khaled is such a stripling?" "There is no one so proper as thyself," rejoined Obaidullah. "Thou art disposed to make a jest of me," said Merwaun. "Not so, by God," answered Obaidullah; and he produced such

A.H.LXIV. A. D. 684. convincing reasons in support of his argument, that Merwaun was prevailed upon, without much further difficulty, to accede to his design.

Tarikh Tebry.

The whole of Syria appears at this period to have been entirely under the influence of three powerful chieftains; Niauman the son of Beshir the ansaur, who was governor of Emesa; Zohauk the son of Keyss, who presided in Damascus; and Wâeil the son of Hussaun in Palestine; the two former having espoused the interests of Abdullah Zobair, and the latter those of Khaled the son of Yezzeid, who resided under his protection. In order however to determine on which of these two princes the succession was to devolve, the people of Damascus met, as usual on all solemn occasions, at their principal mosque, where they were addressed from the pulpit of the Imaumut by their governor; who, in a discourse in which he thought proper to convey some severe reflections on the character of Yezzeid, claimed their allegiance for the son of Zobair. The young Khaled, who was also present in the assembly, immediately arose to vindicate his father's memory against these aspersions; and he appealed to the judgment of the people, whether this was an honorable return for the benefits which that prince was well known to have bestowed upon the man, who had thus stood forward as his calumniator. Waleid the son of Auttebah, and two other military chieftains who joined him, now took up the debate; and addressing themselves to Zohauk, fiercely demanded if his gratitude for the favors which he had so liberally experienced from Yezzeid, was to be evinced in no other shape, than by requiring the suffrages of the people against his son; and in favor of the son of Zobair, that unprincipled hypocrite who had suborned the wretched inhabitants of Kûfah to the murder of the injured Othman. The Khelaufut they said ought not to depart from the house of Ommeyah, and the right of Khaled to succeed his father they contended to be indisputable. In this they were however as strenuously opposed, on the other hand, by Amrû the son of Zeid; who urged in support of Abdullah Zobair, that, as the nearest of kin to the prophet, as the older and wiser man, and more especially as the head and patron of the illustrious tribe of the Koraish, he possessed the most incontrovertible claims to the succession. For him, therefore, in concurrence with the opinion of their governor, he bespoke the allegiance of the people of Damascus; and with the greater confidence, since it was sufficiently ascertained, that the authority of the son of Zobair was already acknowledged

not only in the cities of Kûfah, Mekkah, and Medeînah, but throughout Irâk and Yemen, to the remoter cities of the west. A.H.LXIV. A. D. 684.

Tarikh Tebry.

Emboldened by this support, Zohauk conceived, rather prematurely, that he might venture to give orders, that the son of Auttebah and his two associates might be put to death; when, in an instant, the mosque became a scene of confusion and uproar, the contending parties coming immediately to blows; and Zôhauk, being himself assailed with stones from every side, found it necessary to quit the assembly, and secure himself in the best manner he could within the walls of his palace. While Khâled hastened, during the confusion, to the gates of the public prison, which he immediately broke open, for the purpose of liberating the prisoners and adding to the mischief. All this time Merwaun and Obaidullah Zeiaud remained quiet spectators in an obscure corner of the mosque; Obaidullah observing to his companion, that when the tumult had done its work, theirs would begin. The commotion did not however subside for the whole of that day; and at night Zohauk and his followers made the best of their way out of Damascus, and posted, without halting, to the station of Merjeraumet, which they reached the ensuing morning. The inhabitants of Damascus now again assembled, and came to a resolution that the succession should not be suffered to depart from the house of Ommeyah. On which the son of Zeiaud demanded, what further they proposed to say? and was answered, that the people of Damascus were disposed to concur in whatever he himself thought fit to pronounce. "If then it rests on my "decision," replied Obaidullah, "Merwaun the son of Ul Hukkem is the "best qualified to be your sovereign." To this they signified their immediate assent, and the Khelaufut was unanimously decreed to Merwaun; to whom they proceeded on the spot to pledge their allegiance, as the supreme and absolute monarch of Isslâm, which, from this date, he may accordingly be considered.

When this unexpected event became known to Zohauk and his associates, now assembling at Merjeraumet, that chief entered upon the most formidable preparations, in order to defeat an arrangement to which he declared a resolution, while he had life, never to accede. The most pressing applications for troops were dispatched to the different towns in Syria which had declared for Abdullah Zobair; and that prince was himself solicited for succors in a contest, in which nothing less was to

A.H.LXIV. A. D. 684. Tarikh Tebry.

decided than his own claims to the empire of the world. At the same time, while a numerous force was collecting from all quarters round the standard of Zohauk, Merwaun was not, on his part, inattentive to the means of supporting his authority. He conferred on Obaidullah Zeiaud the appointment of lieutenant general, and sent him shortly afterwards, at the head of a powerful army, towards Merjeraumet. A desperate conflict ensued, in which the fortune of Merwaun and the superior talents of his general prevailing, the troops of Zohauk were defeated with great slaughter, and he himself killed; while the fugitives dispersing in all directions, filled the cities into which they fled for shelter, with dissension and alarm. Niauman was compelled to fly from Hemess, in which he had probably sought protection after the battle, but was soon overtaken and put to death by his pursuers. The victory was decisive of the supremacy of Merwaun, whose officers were now put in possession of all Syria; and having thus permanently established his authority at Damascus, that prince proceeded next, in person, into Egypt, which had long since submitted to Abdullah Zobair. But, the lieutenant of the latter disappearing at his approach, Merwaun was suffered to take possession of the province with little opposition. After about a month's residence on the banks of the Nile, and entrusting that fertile province to the management of his kinsman Omar the son of Sauid, Merwaun returned again to Damascus; of which he assigned the nominal government to Khaled the son of Yezzeid, whose views on the tiara of the Khalifs had, on the very verge of possession, been by him thus unexpectedly frustrated.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

By the original intention of Merwaun however, this young prince appears to have been designed for the government of Hemess, but from that he receded on the persuasion of Obaidullah Zeiaud; and from a consideration of the impolicy of consigning an inexperienced youth to the snares and seductions of the disaffected and turbulent. By nominating him therefore to the government of Damascus, his object was more immediately to keep him under his own eye; but in order to divest him of every possible motive to be troublesome to his authority, he was further advised, by marrying his mother the widow of Yezzeid, to adopt the disappointed Khaled into the more intimate relations of his own family. To which, in an evil hour, Merwaun was induced to agree. He united himself to the

dowager princess, and proceeded to exercise the functions of the Khelaufut in the entire plenitude of authority. A.H.LXIV. A. D. 684.

The reader will not have forgotten, that after inviting him from his sacred retreat at Mekkah, to take possession of a monarchy, a majority of the people of Kûfah had suffered themselves to be deterred by their cowardly fears of Obaidullah Zeiaud, not only from assisting the unfortunate and martyred Hûsseyne in the hour of distress and danger, but had been driven, many of them, to the baseness of appearing in the ranks of his assailants. Many days had not, however, succeeded to that deplored event, before they were smitten with a sense of their pusillanimous conduct in all its deformity; and they did not fail to congratulate each other, on the load of infamy with which they had covered themselves in this world, and the eternity of punishment which awaited them in the next, for having betrayed and abandoned the grandson of their prophet, to the mercy of his ruthless destroyers. But, as far as it was now possible, to relieve themselves from the painful stigma, it was early determined to enter into an association to avenge the blood of him, that, in life, they had so basely abandoned; and to raise the son to the dignity which they had destined for the father: and in order to promote the execution of the design at a proper period, the preliminary measures were entrusted to the discretion of five principal leaders, of whom Sûliman the son of Sûrred, of the tribe of Khozzaï, ultimately became the chief. An interval of four years was, however, consumed in bringing their plans to maturity: during which, the agents of Sûliman were employed to engage the people to join the standard of the Sheiahs in every quarter of Irâk. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Nevertheless, when he marched out of Kûfah, in the month of Mohûrrim of the year sixty-five, and encamped at Nokheilah, Sûliman found that instead of one hundred thousand men, of whom he had received the assurance, not more than ten thousand had been induced to make good their engagement. This scandalous failure produced, not without reason, a considerable degree of resentment in the mind of Sûliman; but he was perhaps too far advanced in the enterprize now to recede. It required, however, some deliberation to determine, where, and against whom, they they should commence hostilities; some of his associates proposed, that as A.H.LXV. A. D. 684. August.

A. H. LXV. A. D. 684. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Omar the son of Saud, and the greater part of Hûsseyne's murderers, were still to be found in the city of Kûfah, the career of vengeance should be opened at that place: while others contended, that the presiding principle of the mischief, Obaidullah Zeiaud, whose abode was at Damascus, should be the first object of attack; and the latter falling in with his own opinion, Sûliman put his troops in motion accordingly in the direction of Syria, along the course of the Euphrates upwards. In the mean time, a person was employed by Abdullah the son of Zeid, who governed at Kûfah on the part of Abdullah Zobair, to dissuade Sûliman from an enterprize, in which, with numbers so disproportionate, he would find himself opposed by an army of two hundred thousand soldiers inured to war; or to induce him to suspend his further progress, at least, until joined by the reinforcements on their march from Abdullah Zobair; when it would be in their power, with accumulated and united strength, to prosecute the design against the common enemy. But these prudential counsels produced no impression on the mind of Sûliman; who, after a solemn and mournful procession at the head of his troops, to implore forgiveness for their infamous dereliction, at the grave of Hûsseyne and his martyred companions at Kerbêla, advanced by successive stages to Kerkeiah, or Kerkessiah,* of which the gates were, by the governor Kerrein ul Hâreth, secured against him. On a proper explanation of his views, he received, however, from the latter, a gratuitous and liberal supply of every kind; together with information, that Merwaun was dead, and had been succeeded by his son Abdulmêlek, by whose directions a formidable army was now on its march to oppose him, under Obaidullah Zeiaud.

These circumstances, together with some further friendly admonition from the governor of Kerkessiah, combined to hasten the departure of Sûliman; who now advanced with the utmost expedition to Ayn ul werda, which he placed in the rear of his army, and in that position awaited the approach of the enemy. But obtaining intelligence that a detachment of the Syrians, under the command of Serjil the son of Zûlkellaugh, was arrived within one stage of his encampment, he determined on an attempt to surprise that commander; and Mosseyb the son of Yaheiah marching accordingly under cover of the night, came unexpectedly upon the enemy one morning at break of day; and succeeding to the utmost of his hopes, returned without loss to the camp of his general. This prosperous

* The ancient Circesium.

beginning was not, however, destined to produce any thing permanently favorable to the views of the insurgents. Very shortly afterwards, Hûsseyne the son of Temeir, one of Obaidullah Zeiaud's lieutenants, appeared before their position, at the head of a superior force; with which, under many disadvantages, they continued with undaunted resolution to maintain an unequal conflict for three successive days. But as the enemy continued to be supplied with daily reinforcements of fresh troops; and Sûliman, with most of their principal officers, having fallen by the conclusion of the third day, the Sheiahs, now reduced to two thousand, began to exhibit the ordinary symptoms of discouragement: when Reffaia the son of Shedaud, to whom, by the appointment of Sûliman, the command had devolved on the death of his associates, availing himself of the obscurity of the fourth night, hastily withdrew to save the remnant of the slaughter; with whom he ultimately made good his retreat to Kûfah.

A.H.LXV. A.D. 684. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

It would now appear that, at the period of his accession to the Khelaufut, Merwaun had entered into some kind of engagement with Hussaun the son of Malek, the governor of the territories on the Orden, or river Jordan, by which it was stipulated, that at his decease, the succession should revert, to the prejudice of his own offspring, to Khaled the son of Yezzeid. But he no sooner perceived that his authority wore every appearance of becoming permanent, than the secret purposes of his heart began to disclose themselves; and having, by a liberal distribution of his favors, succeeded in depriving Khaled of the attachment of Hussaun and his other friends, he experienced but little difficulty in securing their allegiance for Abdulmêlek, whom he proposed for his successor. And this point established, he conceived it no longer necessary to preserve appearances with the son of Yezzeid; whom he did not scruple henceforward to insult and irritate on every occasion. But proceeding one day to entertain the young prince with observations which severely reflected on the character of his mother, Khaled flew to apprize her of what he had been thus insultingly condemned to hear; and she came to an immediate resolution, to adopt the most summary and effectual method of vindicating both his wrongs and her own. This she is said to have accomplished by the following means: she embraced the first opportunity that offered, while her husband

A. H. LXV. A. D. 684. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

lay fast asleep in her apartments, to cover his face with a pillow, and seating herself above, thus pressed upon him until he was smothered to death; after which she called out to the attendants, that the Khalif had died suddenly; a circumstance, if he had attained to the age of eighty-one, that might, without great improbability have occurred. According to others, he was not more than sixty-one.

This event is stated to have taken place in the month of Ramzaun, of the year sixty-five;* when Merwaun had been in possession of the government, either ten months, as recorded by some historians, or a year and three months, as would appear from the statement of others. Of his father, Ul Hukkem, we are informed, that he did not become a convert to Isslâm until the conquest of Mekkah; and that having incurred the displeasure of the prophet, he was at a subsequent period, together with all his family, expelled from Medeinah, and continued in banishment until the reign of Othman; by whom, from a blameable partiality to his relatives, as we have already seen, to his own ruin, they were recalled. We are further told, that when he was disposed to treat him reproachfully, the father of Merwaun would salute him with the appellation of Bennû ur Zerreka; the latter being the name of his grandmother; a woman of infamous character, who, previous to her union with Abi ul Auss, gave lodging to licentious females, and announced her occupation to the public, by exhibiting a flag at the top of the house. And it lastly remains to state, that the Khalif Merwaun left four sons; Abdulmêlek, Mahommed, Besher, and Abdulaziz, of whom, the former succeeded to his father; and in the process of time and circumstances, extended his authority to the whole of the Mahommedan world.

* April, A. D. 685.

CHAP. XIII.

CONFINED to the limits of Syria and Palestine, the sovereignty of the house of Ommeyah descended without opposition to ABDULMELEK, through the previous arrangements of his father; but beyond those limits the whole territory of Isslâm appears at the death of Merwaun to have been either subject to the authority of Abdullah Zobair, or those who in some shape or other were disposed to favor his ascendancy. There existed however a formidable body of insurgents in Parss and Kermaun, which seems for a long time to have set at equal defiance, the party of the Sheiahs, and the adherents of the house of Ommeyah. These insurgents were originally composed of a number of the inhabitants of Bassorah, who raised the standard of independence as far back as the Khelaufut of Yezzeid; and establishing themselves about Ahûauz and the adjoining territory, obtained the appellation of Azaureka or Azrekites, from Nauffia the son of Azrek, whom they chose for their leader. Having rendered themselves already formidable, by defeating a body of two thousand horse, detached against them by Obaidullah Zeiaud, they acquired, on the death of Yezzeid, additional strength and reputation, by two successive victories over the troops further employed against them, by the government of Bassorah. So that, alarmed by repeated discomfiture, the denizens of that place were at last constrained to apply to Abdullah Zobair, for a general by whose assistance they might be able to combat with the insurgents with a better chance of success. In compliance with this application, Hâreth the son of Abdullah the Mekhzûmite, was immediately deputed to preside over Bassorah; though the conduct of the war against the Azaureka was entrusted by that chief, on his arrival at the seat of his government, to Mohilleb the son of Abi Seffrah, one of the principal feodatories of the province of Khorassaun; through whose talents and activity, after Nauffia and the greater part of their leaders had fallen in a series of obstinate conflicts,

A H LXV. A. D. 685. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

ABDULMELEK, Vth of the house of Ommeyah.

A.H. LXV. A. D. 685. the insurgents were ultimately subdued. But this is, at the same time, acknowledged to have furnished considerable employment, during much, if not the greater part, of the disputed reign of Abdulmêlek, and Abdullah Zobair.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

But that which seemed for a long time to threaten the most extensive and important consequences, was the insurrection produced at Kûfah, under the influence of the celebrated Mokhtaur. This distinguished chieftain was the son of that Abû Obaidah ben Mûssaoûd, who perished in the discomfiture of the bridge; as was formerly related among the events which immediately preceded the memorable and fatal battle of Kadsiah. Surpassing his compeers in intellectual, and every other endowment, the ambition of power became early implanted in the bosom of Mokhtaur; and at the same time that Sûliman Sûrred was employed in exciting the people of Kûfah to rise against the executioners of Hûsseyne, he was not less actively engaged in promoting the cause of discord and hostility; alleging that he was possessed of the commands of Mahommed Haneifah, authorizing him to vindicate the sacred rights of his family, so cruelly violated in the person of his brother on the desert of Kerbêla.

Tarikh Tebry.

When Reffaia and the fugitives from Ayn ul werda, reached Kûfah, Mokhtaur was brooding over his ambitious projects in the solitude of a prison; from which he wrote to condole with the party on the recent disaster, and to assure them, that if he lived to be enlarged from his present duresse, the death of Hûsseyne should not be unrevenged; that as much blood should yet flow for that guilty transaction, as was shed among the children of Israïl,* by Bukhtenasser, for the murder of John the Baptist. The hopes of the insurgents were thus reanimated; they rejoiced that there still existed one man, on whose zeal and talents they could rely for the prosecution of their just revenge; and Reffaia, with several of his associates, obtaining access to the prison of Mokhtaur, immediately proposed to raise a disturbance in the town, during which, they might seize an opportunity to set him at large. To this, however, he objected; alleging, that he did not despair of procuring his liberty, without having recourse to any

* The vulgar tradition is, that seventy thousand Jews were massacred at Jerusalem, by Serûzadan, the general of Goderz, one of the race of the Arsacides who reigned on the Tigris, for the murder of John the Baptist. An expiation, which, by mistake, is here ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar.

means of premature violence. And this indeed he shortly afterwards appears to have accomplished, by taking an oath, that he should confine himself to his own house: in which state he was not precluded from receiving the visits of the insurgents, who repaired to him as often as it was necessary, in private, to concert with him their plans of revolution and revenge. A.H.LXV. A. D. 685. Tarikh Tebry.

The power of Mokhtaur was thus secretly gaining ground, when, early in the year sixty-six, his designs were discovered to Abdullah Zobair; who was urged to prevent the mischief, by immediately securing his person. Of this prudent precaution, he neglected, however, to avail himself; suffering Mokhtaur to elude the summons which he had sent him to appear in his presence, by a vague pretext of illness. In the mean time the conspirators were called together by Mokhtaur, and stimulated to an immediate commencement of hostilities; to which he stated the necessity of proceeding the very next day, by putting the governor to death, and making themselves masters of the town. At such a crisis, they required a further delay of one week, in order, as they said, to adjust their arms, and warn those of their intentions, who were engaged to join them: though the real object appears to have been, to ascertain how far Mokhtaur was warranted in his representation, that his proceedings were sanctioned by the name and authority of Mahommed Haneifah; on whom he had thought proper to bestow the title of Mehedy. And for this purpose a deputation was accordingly dispatched to Medeinah; where they learnt from the son of Haneifah in reply, that it was the duty of every Mûssulman to avenge the blood of Hûsseyne; although he forbore to explain whether the proceedings of Mokhtaur were, or were not, authorized by his instructions.

As he had some reason to apprehend, that his proceedings would have been expressly disavowed by Mahommed Haneifah, the ambiguity of this reply was such as to afford considerable satisfaction to Mokhtaur; who took advantage of it to assume, with his accomplices, a tone of greater confidence; insisting that, as their scruples were thus entirely removed, there could now exist no possible plea for further procrastination. The conspirators, though they gave him every assurance of a disposition to submit to his orders, suggested, notwithstanding, that the concurrence of Ibrauhim, the son of the loyal and intrepid Malek Ashtur, was, from his

A.H.LXVI. A. D. 685. Tarikh Tebry.

extensive influence at Kûfah, still necessary to ensure success to the design. To that chieftain, a message was therefore dispatched by Mokhtaur, inviting him, as the heir of his father's distinguished attachment to the house of Ally, to join in the association which was forming to avenge the massacre of his family. Ibrauhim was prevailed upon without much difficulty to engage in the enterprize, but expressly stipulated that he should himself be placed at the head of the association; to which it was objected, that the first place had been necessarily assigned to Mahommed Haneifah; that Mokhtaur had been by him nominated to the post of lieutenant general; and in that character, acknowledged by all engaged in the design. Ibrauhim desired the messenger to quit him for the present, as he wished to reflect further in the business before he came to a decision.

Under these circumstances, Mokhtaur determined to seek a personal interview with Ibrauhim, and for that purpose proceeded immediately to his house, accompanied by fifteen of those who had assembled to promote the enterprize. Very honorably received by Ibrauhim, he produced a letter purporting to be dictated by Mahommed Haneifah, and addressed to that chief; in which it was announced that Mokhtaur had been formally deputed to Kûfah, under the authority of the son of Haneifah; that as the son of him who had given such frequent and splendid proofs of his attachment to the cause of Ally, it was expected that he would cheerfully recognize the lieutenant of his Imaum; and finally that Ibrauhim was invested with the government of all he should acquire by conquest, beyond the Syrian frontier: all which, he called upon God to witness. Ibrauhim demanded, if any of those present were disposed to bear witness to these declarations; when the whole of the fifteen persons who had accompanied Mokhtaur, very readily attested the truth of them. On this, without further hesitation, Ibrauhim quitted the litter on which he was seated by the side of Mokhtaur, and on his knees pledged obedience to his authority. On the following day it was finally determined between them, that the insurrection should explode on the night of one of the Thursdays in the middle of the first month of Rabbeia, of the year sixty-six.*

The whole of the design had, however, been nearly disconcerted by the vigilance of Ayauss, the captain of the governor of Kûfah's guards; by whose suggestions a detachment of five hundred men, was posted in each of the seven Mohellahs, or wards, into which the city was divided; with orders, on the first alarm, to repair to the spot where it should arise; and to

* October 20th, A. D. 685.

punish with instant death any movement which appeared to indicate the crisis of the insurrection. In consequence of this, when Ibrauhim the son of Malek Ashtur, on the night appointed, placed himself at the head of those of the insurgents who had assembled before his house, one of the first objects that met his view was the same Ayauss approaching with one of his divisions, evidently dispossd to interrupt these hostile proceedings. But Ibrauhim having fortunately pierced their leader through the belly with an arrow, his followers immediately dispersed; and the son of Malek Ashtur hastened to the dwelling of Mokhtaur, by whom he was now speedily joined; the insurgents also assembling from all quarters beneath the standard of their chief. As the disadvantage under which they laboured, from the precautions of the established government, was already sufficiently striking, Ibrauhim lost no time to propose to his collegue, that he might be suffered to traverse the different quarters of the town with his party, in order to favor the appearance of the insurgents; who were otherwise exposed to the danger of being cut to pieces, before they were in sufficient strength to defend themselves. This was acceded to without hesitation; and Ibrauhim, at the head of his followers, passing through the several streets, gave to the numbers who were engaged in the design, an opportunity of joining their associates, without the hazard of destruction in detail: and having overcome all resistance, returned with a considerable augmentation of force to the aid of Mokhtaur, whom he now found before the gates of the palace, opposed to the troops of the enemy. These were immediately attacked by Ibrauhim in the rear, and dispersed with little difficulty. Abdullah Mûtteia continued, neverthless, to maintain his post at the gates of the palace, with very superior numbers, until day broke, and discovered to the insurgents, that their whole force did not yet amount to more than eighteen hundred men. With these, however, Mokhtaur declared himself confident of success, in the prosecution of what he considered so just; but conceiving it, at the same time, immediately necessary to withdraw from the town, he proceeded without further delay to carry that measure into execution.

A.H.LXVI. A. D. 685. Tarikh Tebry.

The retreat of the insurgents was no sooner perceived by the governor of Kûfah, than he sent out two distinct detachments of superior force, with instructions to intercept, and attack them from opposite sides. Of these, one was successful in defeating the division employed by Mokhtaur to

A.H.LXVI. A.D.685. Tarikh Tebry.

oppose it on one quarter; while the other was put to flight, and its commander slain by the division of Ibrauhim. And intelligence of this latter advantage being conveyed to Mokhtaur, at the moment the fugitives of his other party were pressing upon him for protection from their pursuers, he contrived to rally them, by announcing the victory of Ibrauhim; who now hastened without delay to their support. The station of Deir-ul-Hind, or monastery of Hind, at which Mokhtaur appears to have taken post on this occasion, was immediately assailed on all quarters; but though reinforced by a body of twelve thousand fresh troops from the town, the singular valour and exertions of the son of Malek Ashtur proved at last triumphant over the superior numbers of the assailants; who were driven in the utmost disorder, and pursued into the heart of the city by their victorious opponents. The cause of the insurgents having thus taken a turn decidedly favorable, Abdullah Mûtteia was compelled to shut himself up in the palace of Kûfah: in which he was on all sides immediately invested by the troops of Mokhtaur. At the expiration of three days a scarcity of provisions produced among the besieged a disposition to capitulate, and surrender the town to the insurgents; their governor taking a formal leave of the garrison, and letting himself down from the walls under cover of the night, escaped; and afforded an opportunity, of which they availed themselves, to open the gates of the palace to Mokhtaur; by whom it was accordingly taken possession of; and a treasure of nine millions of dirhems,* which he distributed on the spot among his followers, proved an ample encouragement to future exertions.

In the mean time, Abdullah Mûtteia, the deposed governor, had taken refuge in the mansion formerly belonging to Abû Mûssa the Aishaurite; a circumstance which was soon communicated to Mokhtaur: fortunately the irritation of recent hostilities had not with the latter extinguished the recollection of the former friendship which had subsisted between them. A message was sent to apprize Abdullah that the place of his retreat was already known; and to recommend to him an immediate departure from the city, lest the insurgents should discover and put him to death. And when he intreated a delay of three days, he received from the bounty of Mokhtaur a present of one hundred thousand dirhems† to supply his immediate wants, and enable him to prosecute his journey to Mekkah. But as

* About 206,250*l.* † 2,291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

his residence at that place either proved obnoxious to Abdullah Zobair, or in some shape irksome to himself, he found it expedient to remove to Bassorah, where he ultimately fixed his abode. The reputation of Mokhtaur thus conspicuously advanced by the possession of Kûfah, his authority was in a short time extended on one side into Hejauz, by the submission of Medeinah, and into Persian Irâk and Jezzeirah, by that of the cities of Medâein and Mossûle; to secure the allegiance of all which, several of his captains were immediately dispatched, as well as into the remoter territory of Azerbaijaun; which is here included among the provinces that early recognized the authority of Mokhtaur. Assuming, however, the modest title of Khaleifah, or lieutenant of Mehedy, the latter being, as we have already noticed, the appellation by which he chose to distinguish the Imaum Mahommed Haneifah, Mokhtaur continued to sanction his proceedings under the name of that illustrious chief; to whom he did not fail to communicate the hitherto successful progress of his plans. To the honor of his memory, it is at the same time recorded, that his government was distinguished for its impartial justice; and that he dedicated, like every virtuous prince, a considerable portion of every day to investigate the complaints, and redress the injuries of the people entrusted to his protection.

A.H.LXVI, A.D.685. Tarikh Tebry.

While engaged in providing for the security and happiness of his newly acquired government, the attention of Mokhtaur was suddenly awakened by intelligence, that the armies of Abdulmêlek, to the number of eighty thousand horse, were approaching under Obaidullah Zeiaud, for the recovery of Irâk and Hejauz; and that they had encamped at Nessebein, or Nisibis. To oppose this formidable power, either trusting to the justice of his cause, or to the enthusiasm of his followers, Mokhtaur adventured to detach Yezzeid the son of Aunis, of the tribe of Assud, with a body of cavalry which, if the statement of the original is to be relied upon, did not exceed three thousand men; although they probably were, as they are represented to have been, selected from among the flower of the Sheiahs. At the distance of five farsangs, or about eighteen miles from Mossûle, this detachment was opposed by six thousand of the troops of Obaidullah; over whom, though chained to his litter by a violent and fatal disorder, the general of Mokhtaur obtained a very signal victory. And as a foretaste of

A.H.LXVI. A. D. 685. Tarikh Tebry.

that scheme of vengeance which they seemed determined to pursue, three hundred prisoners of different descriptions, who had fallen into the hands of the victors, were deliberately doomed to massacre in cold blood; although, speechless, and in the agonies of dissolution, Yezzeid could no otherwise communicate the sanguinary fiat than by passing his hand across his throat. He soon afterwards expired; and his successor receiving intelligence of the approach of Obaidullah Zeiaud at the head of the main body of the Syrians, found it expedient to return within the frontiers of Irâk; dispatching to apprize Mokhtaur of the nature of those circumstances by which he had been compelled to retreat.

In the latter end of the year sixty-six, while he was at Mekkah in the performance of the duties of his religion, Mahommed Haneifah, with seven of his family, was seized, and confined to the structure which incloses the fountain of Zemzem, by Abdullah Zobair; because he refused to acknowledge his authority; and was even menaced with death, if, at the expiration of two months, which, at the instance of the people of Mekkah, had been allowed for his final determination, he did not pledge his allegiance to the son of Zobair. In this situation he resolved to apply for assistance to Mokhtaur; who, rejoicing in the opportunity of signalizing his zeal, as well as of exhibiting a conspicuous proof of his power, immediately sent off towards Mekkah a detachment of one thousand chosen horse, in order to effect his deliverance. Having entered the city by surprise, these troops succeeded in liberating the person of the Imaum without much difficulty; and after producing some species of accommodation between him and Abdullah Zobair, returned to Kûfah.

A.H.LXVII. A. D. 686.

In the commencement of sixty-seven, Ibrauhim the son of Malek Ashtur was chosen by Mokhtaur, with twelve thousand horse, to put a stop to the progress of Obaidullah Zeiaud; and to take command of the troops already employed in Jezzeirah. But this chief had not proceeded beyond a few marches on his way towards Mossûle, when a formidable conspiracy broke out among the principal citizens of Kûfah, associated with Shemir zil Jousheny, Mahommed the son of Aishauth, Omar the son of Saud, and others of the murderers of Hûsseyne; who had, from the first, yielded but a very reluctant submission to the authority of Mokhtaur. Instructed by necessity, Mokhtaur found means to temporize with the conspirators; while his messengers hastened to apprize Ibrauhim with the unlooked for danger which had assailed him. The latter returning to Kûfah with equal zeal and

expedition, immediately attacked and defeated the insurgents; of whom fifty of the principal leaders were put to the sword on the spot: and of those who were taken prisoners, two hundred and fifty that had been engaged with Omar the son of Saud, in the massacre of Kerbêla, were condemned to subsequent execution, as some atonement for the atrocities committed on that day. Omar the son of Saud and Zil Jousheny were also taken on this occasion, and put to death, together with many others who had been long since marked for destruction, for the insults which had been offered to the lifeless remains of the martyred Hûsseyne. That miscreant, in particular, who conveyed the head of the unfortunate Imaum to the son of Zeiaud, had his legs and arms cut off, and was left in that situation to perish miserably before the gates of Mokhtaur's palace.

A.H.LXVII. A. D. 686. Tarikh Tebry and Khol-aussut ulakhbaur.

The conspiracy thus signally chastized, Ibrauhim was dispatched to prosecute his operations against Obaidullah Zeiaud. Advancing to the territory of Mossûle, Ibrauhim found the Syrian general encamped along the Jaroûd, a river which intersects that country, and immediately gave him battle. After a most sanguinary conflict, in which the son of Malek Ashtur long in vain expected to be favored by the desertion of Amrû the governor of Damascus, one of Obaidullah Zeiaud's most distinguished captains, victory, towards the decline of day, declared for the standard of Mokhtaur. And to render it complete, while Ibrauhim, after the hour of evening prayer, was perambulating the bank of the river, his attention was arrested by the appearance of a stranger, whose splendour of apparel bespoke him of the highest distinction; but what more immediately excited the curiosity of Ibrauhim, was the rich and valuable scimitar which he bore in his hand; and to make himself master of this he immediately attacked and killed him. Next day, in relating the circumstance to his attendants, he expressed an opinion, from the smell of musk, with which he appeared to be highly perfumed, and of which he was known to be extravagantly fond, that the person, who had fallen by his hand, was no other than the general in chief of the Syrian army. In which he was not mistaken; for on proceeding to the spot, the body was found and identified to be that of Obaidullah Zeiaud: and the head being struck off, was transmitted by Ibrauhim, together with that of Hûsseyne Temeir and several other Syrian chiefs, to Kûfah. In proportion to the magnitude of this splendid success was the joy of Mokhtaur; of which, together with the bloody and disgustful trophies of his victory, he immediately conveyed the intelligence to Mahommed

A.H.LXVII. A. D. 686. Tarikh Tebry.

Haneifah. Ibrauhim repaired soon afterwards to Kûfah, where he experienced that reception, to which, by his late distinguished services, he was so justly entitled; the Syrians having lost in the battle to which we have just adverted, according to the statement of one respectable historian, not less than seventy thousand killed, and ten thousand eight hundred wounded.

Not less artful than ambitious, Mokhtaur, about the period in question, in order to supply an ostensible object, by which to animate, as occasion should require, the enthusiasm of his followers, determined to employ for that purpose, the chair from which the venerated Ally had been accustomed to pronounce his decisions. Of this precious deposit, Teffeil, the sister's son of that prince, now residing at Kûfah, was supposed to be either in possession, or capable at least of giving information; and to him Mokhtaur applied, promising him the most valuable compensation, if he would, by any means, contrive to produce the article. Either unwilling to part with it on any consideration, or ignorant of its existence, the man in vain made use of every protestation to relieve himself from the threats and importunities of Mokhtaur; who at last admonished him at his peril to produce it in three days. In the anxiety of his heart, he determined to have recourse to an imposition; and going to a dealer in oil, who lived at the head of the same street, he purchased from him an old chair; and having secretly conveyed it home, and carefully washed and scoured it, brought the same to Mokhtaur. The latter, with as much apparent transport, as if the mantle and staff of the prophet had fallen into his hands, did not fail to reward the impostor to the utmost of his promise; then quitting his seat, he pressed the precious relic to his lips, and raised it above his head; and having repeated two rekkauts, or courses of prayer, declared to his auditors that this chair should be to the Sheiahs, an object of as much, and as exalted veneration, as the sanctuary of Abraham to the Mosslems in general, and the ark of the covenant the sacred depository of the law of Moses, to the children of Israel. He further hailed it as a pledge, that the blessing and providence of God would be present in all their enterprizes; and when his followers had demonstrated for it the same proofs of veneration, as he had exhibited by his own example, he caused this sacred memorial of their departed hero, to be enclosed in a wooden cabinet, or ornamented coffer, under a lock and key of silver; and having consigned it to the custody of a particular

set of men, whom he distinguished by the appellation of "guards of God," he lodged it in the principal mosque of Kûfah; where it continued to receive from the people in the course of their devotions, those proofs of veneration excited by the remembrance of its supposed original, and revered proprietor. In the expedition against Obaidullah Zeiaud, it was entrusted to Ibrauhim, with directions that it should be borne at the head of the army; on whom, in the battle which we have just had occasion to mention, it might possibly have produced such an impression, as to have contributed in no small degree to the ultimate success of the day. A.H.LXVII. A.D. 686. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time, while his affairs proceeded in a train so favorable to his ambition, and the whole territory from Kûfah to Medâein, and from the Diaur Rabbeiah, in Upper Mesopotamia, to the province of Egypt, had passed into the possession of his agents, the assiduity of Mokhtaur began to relax; and particularly in a point, which, with the party whose cause he had nominally espoused, seems to have absorbed every inferior object; the extermination of the destroyers of Hûsseyne. His forbearance in this respect did not long escape the observation of Mahommed Haneifah, and the violent Sheiahs; and they began to reflect, without disguise, upon the sincerity of his attachment to the family of Ally, since the most atrocious of its persecutors, the murderers of Hûsseyne, were, many of them, still suffered to enjoy an unmolested residence in the very town of Kûfah. These and similar reflections were not concealed from the knowledge of Mokhtaur, and he was compelled to confess, that the reproach was not entirely unmerited; but that his sincerity might be no longer suspected, he caused a list of all such as had been present at the massacre of Kerbêla to be immediately compleated by the captain of the guards; of whom, as hath been already intimated, all that fell into his hands were accordingly condemned, with unsparing vengeance, to die by the hands of the executioner: and the same Kharezmian author formerly quoted, further records on this subject, that, exclusive of those who perished in the field of battle, there fell by the hands of the executioner, and by various modes of punishment, during the power of Mokhtaur, not less than forty-eight thousand five hundred and sixty-four of the adversaries of the prophet's sacred family.

Some of these contrived, however, to effect their escape to Bassorah, at this period under the authority of Abdullah Zobair; and among others,

A.H.LXVII. A. D. 686. Kholaussût-ul-akhbaur.

Sheith the son of Rabbeia, and Mahommed the son of Aishauth ben Keyss, who employed every argument they could devise, to prevail upon Mûssaub the son of Zobair, who administered the government of Bassorah on the part of his brother, to turn his arms against their implacable enemy. Yielding to their importunities, Mûssaub accordingly sent for Mohilleb the son of Abi Seffrah, from Ahûauz, where he had been successfully employed against the Azaureka; and dispatched him at the head of a powerful army towards Kûfah. On the part of Mokhtaur, the son of Shemeit, with thirty thousand men, advanced from the latter place to give him battle: but victory suddenly deserting the standard of Mokhtaur, principally through the instability, or treachery of the men of Kûfah, his troops were totally defeated with the loss of their general, and a multitude of his followers. Anxious to restore the sinking reputation of his arms, Mokhtaur assembled a fresh army, with which he hastened in person against the troops of the son of Zobair. The issue of a second conflict, which now took place, was equally unfortunate to the cause of Mokhtaur; although it is said to have cost the victor the lives of some of his most distinguished commanders; among whom are to be found the names of Mahommed the son of Aishauth, one of the promoters of the enterprize, and of Omar the son of Ally, who appears on this occasion to have combated on the side of the enemies of his family.

Mokhtaur was now compelled to retire with precipitation into Kûfah, where he shut himself up in the palace of government; which, with six thousand men, the remnant of his army, he immediately prepared to defend against his pursuers. He was soon afterwards invested by the troops of Mûssaub; and as it was early found that the place was entirely destitute of provisions, he proposed to his followers to cut their way through the besiegers; or perish sword in hand, rather than by the lingering and accumulated horrors of famine. This they, however, declined, signifying their desire to throw themselves rather on the mercy of Mûssaub. Never to place himself at the discretion of his enemies; but, to combat them to the last extremity and to surrender his sword only with his life, was the resolution of Mokhtaur. The next morning, accordingly, after performing his ablutions, and dispatching the early duties of his religion, he took leave of his followers with a solemn assurance, that when he was fallen, they were not to flatter themselves, that they should escape the unsparing vengeance of the

enemy. Perceiving, however, that they continued deaf to every appeal, he finally quitted the palace at the head of nineteen of his most faithful associates, all clad like himself in their winding sheets ; and generously sought, and obtained a glorious death in the thickest ranks of the enemy. The besieged immediately surrendered at discretion ; and being lead handcuffed to the great square of Kûfah, called the Kennaussah, they were, every man of them, there put to death, through the importunities of some of their fellow citizens ; although Mûssaub seemed himself very well disposed to spare them. This event, from a reproach subsequently cast upon Mûssaub, by Abdullah the son of the Khalif Omar, appears to have taken place in the month of Ramzaun, of the year sixty-seven.* The head of the unfortunate Mokhtaur, after having been for some time suspended before the principal mosque of Kûfah, was then transmitted to Abdullah Zobair in proof of this important victory ; while Mûssaub took up his permanent residence in that city, to enjoy the fruits of his success. And yet, while Ibrauhim the son of Malek Ashtur, with his followers, continued unsubjugated at Mossûle, this success could not but be considered as rather precarious : a letter was therefore dispatched to that chieftain by Mûssaub, offering to continue to him the government of the provinces in his possession, provided he would acknowledge the authority of Abdullah Zobair. Ibrauhim, upon this, repaired without delay to Kûfah, where he tendered, without hesitation, his allegiance to the son of Zobair ; but the province of Mossûle, and the rest of Jezzeirah, was now, with little ceremony, transferred to Mohilleb ; while Ibrauhim found himself cajoled by a promise, that when they should be masters of Damascus, he should be governor of Syria.

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A. D. 687.

Tarikh Tebry.

In the mean time the views of Abdulmêlek continued, in spite of repeated discomfiture, incessantly occupied towards the recovery of Arabian Irâk ; and in sixty-eight we find him proceeding in person at the head of an expedition against that country ; having entrusted the government of Damascus, and his hereditary states, to his cousin Amrû, the son of Sauid, surnamed Eshduk, (the bold) one of the ablest and most powerful of the house of Ommeyah. This chief had himself, formerly, entertained some well founded expectations on the empire ; of which he had, like some

* Latter end of March, A. D. 687.

A.H.LXVIII. A. D. 688. Tarikh Tebry.

others, been completely outwitted by the artful and fallacious promises of Merwaun; and he perhaps conceived the present a favorable opportunity of retrieving what he had lost through former simplicity, or supineness. At any rate, when he had proceeded as far as the station of Aynulwerda, Abdulmêlek found himself constrained, by the rigours of an inclement winter, and not improbably by some intimation of the designs which were hatching against him, to return with his army into Syria; where on his arrival, he discovered that his ambitious kinsman had openly revolted against his authority, and had shut the gates of his own capital against him. After a siege of four months in Damascus, however, the rebel, being deserted by the greater part of his garrison, thought fit to enter into negociation with Abdulmêlek; who, to regain his capital, consented to some sort of compromise for the injury which had been offered to his crown and dignity; and even took a solemn oath that he would never retaliate upon the person of Amrû. An engagement, to which, for some time, he very scrupulously adhered, treating his kinsman, while thus in his power, with the most studied and distinguished attention; among other proofs of which he invariably placed him beside himself on the throne, whenever he had occasion to receive him.

The invention of Abdulmêlek was, nevertheless, all the while employed, in devising the means of ridding himself of this powerful and obnoxious relative, with the least hazard of failure in the execution, and of exciting fresh commotions. At last he sent to invite him one morning to his presence. On which occasion, his mind misgiving him, Yaheya the brother of Amrû, confessed that his apprehensions were considerably alarmed; and intreated that he would, on some pretence or other, postpone his visit. Amrû, rather haughtily observed, that if he chose to sleep, it was not in the power of Abdulmêlek to awaken him; he therefore desired his brother to lay aside these groundless apprehensions: but in compliance with his further intreaties, he put on a suit of armour beneath his ordinary apparel, and so proceeded to the palace, attended by one hundred of his domestics. He was received by Abdulmêlek with more than ordinary civility, and placed as usual on the throne beside him. And in this situation, the Khalif laughing, entered into discourse with him on the circumstances of his recent defection, and the siege of the town; all the while hand in hand with him, and affecting the utmost apparent good humour. Amrû intreated

that he would dismiss a subject which could be so little entertaining to him. The Khalif proceeded, however, in his discourse; and at last intimated, that although he was perfectly sincere in his forgiveness of what had happened, he had, under the smart of hostilities, taken an oath, that if ever the son of Sauid was in his power, he would put a collar and chain upon his neck. "Where would be the harm," continued Abdulmêlek with the same affected good humour, "if I am permitted to absolve myself of my "oath?" Amrû endeavoured to elude the insidious proposal, by requesting that the joke might be postponed to some other opportunity; but the other members of Abdulmêlek's court expressing their astonishment that he should for a moment hesitate to give the Khalif an opportunity of fulfilling his oath, with so little detriment to himself, Amrû demanded if he once suffered him to put these bonds on his person, who would promise to take them off. Abdulmelek immediately swore that he would himself perform for him that office; whispering at the same time in his own mind, that it should not be until he was dead, and incapable of further mischief. "Then," said Amrû, "I am at your disposal;" and Abdulmêlek having sent for a collar, it was immediately fastened on his neck, while he directed his hands to be manacled; and Amrû having stood some time in this situation, demanded his further pleasure. "Have a little patience," replied Abdulmêlek; "I have had sufficient patience," added Amrû, "thou art "surely not disposed to betray me, or be guilty of a breach of faith:" "that is a circumstance, of which thou art to accuse thyself," said Abdulmêlek; and suddenly rising from his seat, and seizing him by the collar of his robe, immediately began with his fist to belabour him on the mouth, until he had broken several of his teeth. Hearing the mûezzin, however, give the call to prayers, Abdulmêlek was compelled to desist, for the purpose of attending at public worship; but in going away, he charged his brother Abdulazziz with the task of completing his vengeance, by putting the traitor to death. This prince was accordingly preparing to carry his brother's orders into execution, and had drawn his sword for the purpose; when, on a forcible appeal to his compassion, from his forlorn and suppliant couzin, who demanded whether the saving himself from the guilt of a kinsman's blood could, in any respect, ever prove injurious to him?

A.H.LXVIII. A. D. 688.

Tarikh Tebry.

A.H.LXVIII. A. D. 688. Tarikh Tebry. the benevolent Abdulazziz, with the clemency which was natural to him, gave way to the feelings of humanity, and afforded to the wretched Amrû a short reprieve from the fate which hung over him.

In the mean time, the attendants of Amrû perceiving that Abdulmêlek had quitted the audience chamber, unaccompanied by their master, suspected what had befallen him; and hastened to communicate their suspicions to his brother. The latter collecting his slaves and domestics, to the number of a thousand persons, proceeded at their head, to the mosque, in which Abdulmelek was engaged at his devotions, and immediately rushing in, Yaheya, in reply to a question of the Khalif's, as to the reason of this unseasonable interruption, demanding his brother, Abdulmelek told him with affected unconcern, that he had left him with Abdulazziz to adjust some matter of business. "Give orders," said Yaheya rather sternly, "that he may come out." Abdulmêlek embracing the opportunity of returning to his palace, was followed by Yaheya and his associates, whose entrance was, however, opposed at the gates by the guards of the palace. Abdulmêlek before he was yet in sight, called out to Abdulazziz to know if his orders had been obeyed, and learning to the contrary, he cursed him and the mother that bore him; then seizing a javelin, he made a violent push at the belly of Amrû; but the point being turned aside by the armour under his clothes, the Khalif clapped his hand upon his shoulder and perceived the truth. "Miscreant," said he, "thou art come prepared then," and throwing him upon the floor, in that posture cut his throat. His attention being now called to the clamour at his gates, he demanded the occasion of it. "Yaheya "the son of Sauid, with his slaves and domestics," said his courtiers, "are "investing the palace;" "take the head of Amrû," said Abdulmêlek, addressing himself to Abdulazziz, "and cast it, with ten thousand dirhems, "among the multitude." Which being accordingly done, and engaging the assailants in a scramble for the money, they soon afterwards entirely dispersed. The person of Yaheya was secured the same evening, and as he and his whole family were now thrown into prison, the tumult entirely subsided. When they had continued however a month in confinement, the heart of Abdulmêlek began to relent; and as he expressed a repugnance to put them to death, though he felt it requisite to secure himself against their vengeance, he took the advice of his counsellors to be satisfied with their expulsion from Syria.

The commencement of the year seventy is recorded to have brought with it a formidable invasion of Syria, by the armies of the Greek emperor of Constantinople,* the circumstances of which are however not explained to us; further than that, unable to contend with superior numbers, Abdulmêlek was compelled to purchase peace, by submitting to a monthly tribute, of five thousand dinaurs,† which he agreed to send to the treasury of that monarch. The adherents of Abdulmêlek were still sufficiently numerous in the cities of Irâk, and at Kûfah and Bassorah in particular; and as he had received frequent solicitations to appear among them, he determined in the course of this year to employ Khaled the son of Abdullah, in a private way to secure the allegiance of the inhabitants of the latter city in his favour; and to alarm the apprehensions of the sons of Zobair for that quarter, while he should advance himself towards Kûfah. This emissary was however ultimately compelled to quit Bassorah, and return to his master with the loss of an eye. A.H.LXX. A. D. 689. Tarikh Tebry.

In the course of seventy-one, Abdulmêlek carried into final execution the design which he had so long meditated against Irâk; which province he now entered with a powerful force. In the neighbourhood of Kerkessia, at the village of Jauthleik, according to some authors, he was opposed by Mûssaub; over whom, through the proverbial treachery of the people of these provinces, he obtained a signal victory; the brave Ibrauhim the son of Malek Ashtur, and Eissa the son of Mûssaub, who scorned to abandon his father in defeat, being killed in the action; and the general himself, though invited to accept of liberal terms by the friendship of the conqueror, prefering death to mercy, perished soon after, by the hand of Reidah the uncle of Mokhtaur; who cut him through the middle, when already grievously wounded by a volley of arrows. Shortly afterwards, in the first month of Jummaudy,‡ Abdulmêlek entered Kûfah, then considered the capital of Irâk, in triumph, and received the unanimous submission of the people. When seated in the palace of the son of Abi Wokauss on this occasion, to receive the congratulations of his army, and the head of Mûssaub was laid before him; one of the bystanders could not forbear giving expression to the feelings excited by the strange and rapid vicissitudes of which, on the same spot, it had been his destiny to be an eye A.H.LXXI. A. D. 690. Tarikh Tebry and Kholaussut ulakhbaur.

* Either Justinian II. or Leontius. † About 2,300*l.* at the lowest calculation.
‡ October, A. D. 690.

A.H.LXXI. witness. "Under this same roof," said he, "have I beheld the head of
A. D. 690. "Imaum Hûsseyne at the foot of the son of Zeiaud; the head of the son
"of Zeiaud at that of Mokhtaur; and that of Mokhtaur laid before
Tarikh Tebry and Kholaussut ulakhbaur. "Mûssaub. Perhaps the head of Mûssaub which I now observe at the
"foot of the sovereign of the believers," continued he, "may be the last
"instance, which I shall live to witness, of a reverse so fatal and instruc-
"tive." An inference so obvious could not fail to convey to the mind of Abdulmêlek the most serious reflections; but the only impression which they appear to have produced for the present, was, an order which he immediately issued, to rase the palace to the ground.

Having thus added Arabian Irâk to the territories which had embraced his authority, Abdulmêlek conferred the government of Bassorah upon Khaled the son of Abdullah; whom he instructed to enter into a correspondence with Mohilleb, still employed against the Azaureka in the territory of Ahûauz; and to conciliate him with offers of favor and oblivion, provided he would immediately submit to his authority. These overtures were not unacceptable to Mohilleb, who was easily prevailed upon to enrol himself among the feudatories of Abdulmêlek; and continuing to prosecute his operations against the followers of Azrek, without intermission, he succeeded at last, after exterminating the leaders of the insurrection, in reducing, not only that of Ahûauz, but the entire provinces of Parss and Irâk Ajem, to the authority of his new sovereign.

Tarikh Tebry. The attention of Abdulmêlek was next directed towards the rich and powerful province of Khorassaun; which had continued, ever since the reign of Yezzeid, in the hands of Abdullah Hauzem, subject to the authority of Abdullah Zobair. It was accordingly thought advisable in the seventy-second of the Hidjerah, to write a letter to that chieftain, offering to give him the government for seven years longer, provided he would transfer his allegiance to Abdulmêlek. The proposal was however rejected on the part of Abdullah Hauzem, with considerable disdain; and with the significant remark, that although Mûssaub had fallen, the rightful sovereign of the believers, Abdullah Zobair, was still alive; and in a situation to bid defiance to his enemies. In addition to this, the agent who had been employed by Abdulmêlek to convey the proposal, reported on his return, that the name of his master had been treated with contempt and abuse; and that the governor of Khorassaun had even presumed to declare,

that if it were not repugnant to the maxims of civilized nations, the embassador of Abdulmêlek should not live to communicate the result of his mission. This haughty and insolent reply is said to have considerably embarrassed, or rather irritated, Abdulmêlek, since he does not appear to have been either much at a loss, or very scrupulous about the means of signalizing his vengeance. Wokkeil, the name of one whom Abdullah Hauzem had raised to be his lieutenant in the province, was the person selected by the Khalif, on this occasion, to punish the insult; and he accordingly wrote to him, to say, that the government of Khorassaun was his, if he would put his principal to death. The temptation was too powerful for the integrity of an Asiatic. He proceeded, without hesitation, to swear the inhabitants against the authority of his master; but as the treachery could not be long concealed from the vigilance of Abdullah Hauzem, he was attacked by the latter, at the head of his troops, before his designs were perfectly ripe for execution. The treason had, however, become already sufficiently formidable and extensive; Abdullah Hauzem, in the midst of battle, perceived himself assailed from behind, by a body of Arabs, of whom he might probably have entertained little apprehension; and was thrown from his horse, covered with wounds: and in this situation, Wokeil approaching for the purpose of taking off his head, he suddenly opened his eyes, and recognized his aggressor. "Miscreant," said he, spitting in his face at the same time, "art thou then, whom I have "raised to manhood, the wretch to supersede me! away with thee; no "longer disturb the attention of the brave by thy polluted presence." These stern reproaches did not, however, deter Wokeil from his purpose; he immediately struck off his head, and dispatched it to the presence of Abdulmêlek; and for this acceptable piece of service, retained the government of Khorassaun from that time to the year seventy-five; when he was recalled by Abdulmêlek, and the province transferred to Ommeyah the son of Khaled.

A.H.LXXII. A.D. 691. Tarikh Tebry.

Having thus annihilated all further opposition to his power in Arabian or western Irâk, and extended his authority to the remoter provinces of the east, Abdulmêlek was now returned to Damascus: Abdullah Zobair, who still maintained himself in independent sovereignty at Mekkah, being the only remaining obstacle to his undivided possession of all the territory of Isslâm to the eastward of the Nile. His daily exhortations were there-

A.H.LXXII. A. D. 691. Tarikh Tebry.

fore for the future employed to engage the Syrians to undertake an expedition into Yemen. From an habitual veneration for the temple and sanctuary of the Kaaubah, these exhortations were, however, for some time, listened to in obstinate silence; until the undertaking was at last accepted by Hejauje the son of Yûssef the Thâkefite: who occupied at this period, if we believe the historian, the very lowest station in that society, of which he was destined to become the scourge and terror. Abdulmêlek seemed at first disposed to decline the services of so obscure an individual; but Hejauje alleging, as his motive for thus obtruding himself on the notice of his sovereign, the circumstance of a recent dream, in which he conceived that he was employed in stripping off the skin of the son of Zobair; Abdulmêlek resolved, on further reflection, to give him an opportunity of realizing this prophetic vision; and accordingly dismissed him at the head of twelve thousand men, for the conquest of Mekkah.

With this force, Hejauje proceeded to enter the province of Hejauz; and took post at Tayef, about seventy miles to the south east of Mekkah. Here he was repeatedly attacked by the troops of Abdullah Zobair; but proving uniformly victorious, he succeeded at last in extinguishing the confidence of Abdullah's followers, and establishing the superiority of his own; after which he no longer hesitated to appear before the gates of Mekkah; where the son of Zobair had determined to abide the crisis of his destiny. The place was immediately invested by Hejauje, who did not forbear to employ against it every species of annoyance, at that time adopted into the system of Arabian warfare. The siege continued to a protracted period; during which, the distresses of the inhabitants were every day accumulating, and as usual in most such cases, a dreadful famine completed the measure of their calamities. In this extremity, the son of Zobair was gradually abandoned by most of his followers; some of them submitting to Hejauje, and others making their escape into different parts of the Arabian peninsula. At last he was even deserted by his two sons, Hamzah and Habeib; who left their father to his fate, and threw themselves on the mercy of Hejauje, whose sanguinary disposition had, perhaps, not yet displayed itself.

Aware of the situation to which he was now reduced, a message was dispatched by Hejauje to dissuade Abdullah Zobair from rushing upon absolute selfdestruction; and to offer him the most liberal terms, if he

would consent to quit the town, and place himself at his disposal. These were rejected by the son of Zobair with lofty disdain, since he could not admit that he was yet fallen to so abject a state, as to become the suppliant of such a being as Hejauje; whom he desired to be further informed at the same time, that his reliance was placed, where he was least likely to be deceived, in the mercy of his creator: from which it was not difficult to infer, that he was resolved on death. Hostilities were accordingly resumed with fresh vigour and animosity, until the companions of Abdullah Zobair were reduced to five persons. In this extremity he repaired to pay a last visit to his mother Essema; the sister of Ayaishah, and daughter of Abû Bukker; a woman of such excellent understanding, that, though at this period she was upwards of ninety, he never took any final resolution without her previous concurrence. "My beloved parent," said he, addressing her on this occasion, "I am at last left to oppose the vengeance of mine enemies "almost alone; and I am destined to experience, from the ingratitude of "mankind, the same fate with the unhappy Hûsseyne; with this afflicting "difference, that his children continued to the last moment of life to com- "bat in defence of their father, while mine have basely deserted me, and "surrendered to the mercy of the worthless Hejauje: he has also offered "me a capitulation, on whatever terms I may think proper to prescribe. "How then would my venerable parent advise me to act? if thou art "conscious of a just cause," replied his mother, "beware of putting thyself "in the power of the Benni Ommeyah. It is unnecessary for me to "remind thee of that period of life to which thou hast attained, and that "after all it is allotted for thee once to die. Thy aged mother is persuaded "that thou art prepared to meet death with an unblemished fame, rather "than in any shape to fix the stain of dishonor on thy memory. It is "even as you have said," rejoined Abdullah, "and my own reflections had "already dictated to me the same sentiments. Resolved to embrace an "honorable death, I was only desirous of consulting you for the last time, "and to bid you an eternal farewel. Through life uniformly devoted to "the cause of truth, I have ever studiously avoided the mazes of error. "To no man have I been guilty of either oppression or injustice; neither "have I in any instance been negligent of the worship of, or of rendering

A.H.LXXIII. A.D. 692. Tarikh Tebry.

A.H.LXXIII. A. D. 692. Tarikh Tebry.

"myself acceptable to that Almighty being, who is the judge and witness "of every action of my life." He then took an affectionate leave of his mother; and proceeding to the sanctuary of the Kaaubah, there, in company with the few faithful individuals who determined to share his fate, passed the whole of the night in devotion. The ensuing day, having discharged the duties of morning prayer, he armed himself, and at the head of his five brave companions sallied out upon the besiegers, of whom he put many to the sword; while he continued to proclaim at every exertion, how easily he could have chastized their malice, if his friends had not abandoned him. He maintained the conflict until the hour of meridian prayer, when he submitted to take a short respite; after which, renewing his efforts, he drove the enemy before him to the foot of a neighbouring hill, from the summit of which he was struck on the head and severely wounded, by a stone. He now fell, and being surrounded by the hostile multitude was immediately cut to pieces; his head was then struck off, and for some time suspended to the Naudaun or aqueduct, or perhaps dome of the Kaaubah; in which latter, according to other historians, he is at the same time stated to have met his fate.

Tarikh gûzeidah.

The death of Abdullah Zobair is recorded, in the Tarikh gûzeidah, to have taken place on the thirteenth of the first month of Jummaudy, of the seventy-third year of the Hidjerah,* at the advanced age of seventy-one. To some extraordinary circumstances attending the siege of Mekkah, as described on the same authority, the reader will probably not be disposed to yield implicit credit. Among these we are to note the intervention of angels to avert from the sanctuary of the Kaaubah, the stones hurled by the catapultæ and other warlike machines; and the flight of the same celestial agents, to avoid pollution from the impious assaults of Hejauje; the consequent destruction of one half or side of the sacred edifice; the eclipse of the sun, which is gravely said to have taken place when a stone from one of the machines struck the roof of the sanctuary; and the whirlwinds, and flashes of lightning which astonished and terrified, and for some time suspended the efforts of the soldiers of Hejauje. All were, however, employed to no adequate purpose. After a resistance of about nine months, the sacred city was compelled to submit to the obdurate and impious Hejauje; whose earliest attention, after claiming the unconditional allegiance of the inhabitants for his sovereign, appears to have been directed

* September 20th, A. D. 692.

to the repair of the temple; which, in concurrence with the advice of the Seyeds, he first of all caused to be rased entirely to the ground: then excluding the part erected by the unfortunate son of Zobair, he rebuilt this celebrated edifice on the same plan and dimensions as it exhibited in the time of the prophet. A.H.LXXIII. A. D. 692. Tarikh gûzeidah.

We may now consider, with the antiquated, but still respectable author of the Tebrian chronicle, that the whole Mûssulman world was at last subjugated, without a single opponent, to the authority of Abdulmêlek; who in approbation of his services, conferred the government of the recent conquest on Hejauje. About the same period he consigned the provinces of Jezzeirah and Armenia to his brother Mahommed, and that of Arabian Irâk to his other brother Besher. And at the close of the year we are told that the pious Abdullah the son of the Khalif Omar, exchanged this perishable world for a residence in paradise, at the age of seventy-eight.

In the course of the year seventy-four, Abdulmêlek found it expedient to remove Wokkeil, or as he is here denominated, Bukker the son of Weshauh, from the government of Khorassaun; which he transferred to Ommeyah the son of Abdullah son of Khaled. And the following year, the government of Arabian, or western Irâk, becoming vacant by the death of his brother Besher, that province was consigned by Abdulmêlek to Hejauje: in addition to which, according to the Tarikh gûzeidah, we find him now invested with the superintendance of those also of Irâk Ajem, Khorassaun, and Farss; the latter being delegated by Hejauje to his brother Mahommed ben Yûssef, he there constructed the celebrated city of Shirauz, at a subsequent period the favorite residence of the Persian muses. The government of Egypt was about this time bestowed, by his brother, upon Abdulazziz. Hejauje proceeding to take possession of the province of Irâk, appeared at Kûfah; and in the short space of a few days gave to the inhabitants, a sufficient specimen of the treatment which they were to expect from the iron hand of this dire oppressor. From thence he hastened to Bassorah, where he exercised the same uncontrouled indulgence of a tyrannical and sanguinary disposition. A.H.LXXIV. and LXXV. A. D. 694-5. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the year seventy-six a fruitless effort, to resist the oppressions of Hejauje, was made by the principal citizens of Bassorah, headed by Abdul-

A.H.LXXVI. A.D. 695. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

lah Jâroud; but their leader having fallen in an early stage of the insurrection, his followers were compelled to disperse. Another and more serious insurrection made its appearance about the same period, in the territories adjacent to Mossûle, ascribed to the same cause; as well as to the extortions of some of the agents of Abdulmêlek's government. The leaders of this revolt were Salah the son of Mesreh, of the tribe of Temeim, a noted recluse of that age, and Shebeib the son of Yezzeid the Sheybanian. Against these a force was in due time dispatched, by Mahommed the son of Merwaun, under Auddy the son of Auddy, the Kendian, whom the insurgents appear to have defeated. A second detachment was employed against them with better fortune: for after sustaining an action during the whole of an entire day, the insurgent chiefs found it convenient to withdraw under cover of the night, with their troops, towards one of the mountainous districts in the neighbouring territory; where they took post. In this situation they were sought out by a body of troops now sent against them by Hejauje, under Hâreth the son of Aumer, and in the battle which ensued, Salah, one of their leaders was killed; but Shebeib, the other leader, effecting his retreat with a part of his followers, to an antiquated fortification in the neighbourbood, from thence took advantage of the night to surprise the camp of Hâreth; in which he completely succeeded, the latter being in his turn compelled to seek for safety in a precipitate flight. And upon the whole, continues our author, the revolt which is the subject of our present consideration, was protracted notwithstanding the utmost exertions of Hejauje, for a period of two years; during which, in nearly twenty different actions that he fought against the troops of the tyrant, victory never once quitted the standard of Shebeib.

According to the Tarikh gûzeidah, the year seventy-six was selected by Abdulmêlek for the reduction to a specific standard of the precious metals throughout the empire, and for the establishment of a regular coinage; the Arabs having adopted none of their own, previous to the reign of this prince.

As a proof of the enterprizing spirit which animated the Sheybanian, we are told that, on one occasion, appearing suddenly before the gates of Kûfah, he would have made himself master of the place, but for the unexpected return of Hejauje; who hastened from Bassorah on intelligence of the design, and arrived just in time to frustrate its execution. Compelled

to quit the town, Shebeib determined to leave behind him a proof at least of matchless personal strength, and with a single stroke of his mace, demolished the castle gate. Not yet discouraged, he hazarded a second attempt to possess himself of the capital of Irâk; but in this he was also foiled by the equal vigilance and activity of Hejauje, who defeated him in person, and forced him to retire, through Farss, into Kermaun. A.H.LXXVI. A.D.695. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

But in the course of seventy-seven, as he was again proceeding towards Arabian Irâk, he was opposed, unexpectedly, on the banks of the river of Ahûauz by a division of troops under Soffeyan the son of Abiberda, detached against him by Hejauje. These troops he engaged until sunset; and he was crossing by the bridge with his followers, to encamp on the opposite side, when, about half way over, his horse rearing upon a mare which preceded, he lost his seat, fell into the middle of the stream, and was immediately drowned. His body was afterwards found by the soldiers of Hejauje, and on cutting open the breast, his heart was discovered to be of a substance rigid and hard as stone. To close his account of this bold adventurer, our author further relates, that when the report of her son's death was communicated to the mother of Shebeib, she refused to give credit to it, until the particulars of his fate were described to her. She then no longer restrained her grief; observing that at his birth, a flame of fire seemed to separate from her, and from that moment she was persuaded that by water alone was fire to be extinguished. Of his dauntless courage it is moreover affirmed, that on horseback Shebeib would not hesitate single handed to assail three hundred; and that with a thousand horse, no superiority of number whatever was sufficient to deter him from giving battle. Before the conclusion of the year, the same Soffeyan united his troops to those of Mohilleb; who was still employed against the followers of Azrek in the heart af Kermân.* A dissension among themselves had already split the insurgents into two parties; and the more numerous having chosen a certain Abdurrub ul Kebbeir for their chief were most of them about this period destroyed by Mohilleb. The other party contrived to withdraw under the conduct of Kettry the son of Fedjah into the passes and defiles of Tebrestaun, between Raï and the Caspian; where they were pursued by Soffeyan, and their chief having fallen from a rock, these insurgents were ultimately dispersed, and never after reunited. A.H.LXXVII. A.D.696.

* Tarikh Tebry.

A.H.LXXVIII. A. D. 697. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The only occurrence thought worthy of record under the year seventy-eight, appears to be the removal of Ommeyah the son of Abdullah from the government of Khorassaun; which was now added by Abdulmêlek, according to our author, to the other important provinces already under the authority of the cruel Hejauje. After some demur, Mohilleb was delegated by the latter to the government of that country; and Obaidullah the son of Abi Bukkerah to that of the neighbouring territory of Seiestaun.

The province of Kabûl had long since submitted to become tributary to the Mahommedan governments on that remote frontier; but as the payment of this tribute was extremely precarious, and was occasionally withheld altogether, Obaidullah the governor of Sejestaun, in the year seventy-nine, received orders from Hejauje to invade that country; and, peremptorily, not to return until he had either completely subjugated, or destroyed the whole province. In compliance with his instructions, Obaidullah accordingly entered the territory of the prince of Kabûl, whose name of Reteil* or Retpeil, would bespeak him either a Tartar or Hindû. Artfully retiring before his invaders until he had engaged them sufficiently within his country, this prince detached his troops into the rear; and blocking up the defiles, completely cut off the retreat of the Mahommedan army. In this situation, exposed to the danger of perishing by famine, Obaidullah condescended to purchase the liberation of himself and followers, from the snare into which he had so imprudently led them, for a ransom of seven hundred thousand dirhems. Shorreiah the son of Hauny, however, although at this period more than one hundred years of age, disdained to avail himself of the ignominious compromise, and bravely perished on the swords of the enemy. Obaidullah on his part, by depositing the stipulated ransom in the hands of Retteil's agents, was permitted to withdraw from the country without molestation. While these events were occurring at a distance, Abdulmêlek was compelled to contemplate at home the horrors of a dreadful plague; which, according to the Tebrian chronicle, this year swept off prodigious numbers of the inhabitants of Damascus, and other parts of Syria.

* From a similarity of form in the letters *Re* and *Vau*, which is familiar to the Persian reader, this name may possibly have been Vittel. Very common among the Hindûs, as Vittledas; Rajah Vittel perhaps. It will be seen a little further on, that the family of this prince had considerable possessions in Bokhâria. It will also be recollected, that the laws of Bûdhû extended at one time over a great part of Tartary; though the dominion of the Hindûs may probably have been confined within the river Indus.

In entering on the detail of the inveterate hostility, which for several succeeding years, ensued between Hejauje and Abdurraihman the son of Mahommed ben Aishauth, the narrative recites, on the authority of the Rouzut ussuffâ, that the former took an opportunity of remarking to that chieftain, one day, rather sarcastically, that he must allow him the advantage of a very prepossessing exterior: to which Abdurraihman replied, that peradventure, the internal qualities of his mind would be found of a character not less enviable. Shortly after retiring, Hejauje could not forbear avowing when he was gone, that Abdurraihman never met his eye, that he did not feel a violent inclination to cut his throat. This malignant speech being soon afterwards made known to Abdurraihman, implanted in his bosom that irreconcileable animosity, which, at a subsequent period, broke out with such violence between him and Hejauje. A.H.LXXIX. A. D. 698. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The person whom he had thus mortally offended, notwithstanding, Hejauje, on intelligence of the miscarriage in Kabûl, without hesitation, selected to supersede Obaidullah; whom he immediately deposed from his command. In the year eighty, Abdurraihman proceeded accordingly at the head of forty thousand men into Seiestaun, and having there united to his own, the troops of the province, marched without delay into the territories of the prince of Kabûl. Conceiving that he might with equal effect put in practice upon Abdurraihman the manœuvre which he had so successfully employed against his predecessor, the prince of Kabûl continued to retire, as formerly, before the invader into the interior of the country. But Abdurraihman, instructed by the example of the recent unfortunate campaign; averted a similar catastrophe, by establishing posts at proper intervals in his rear; and occupying them with soldiers, on whose valour and experience he could venture to rely. The designs of Retteil were thus completely frustrated, by these precautions. Abdurraihman is also said to have succeeded in reducing a great part of the province of Kabûl; but having loaded his followers with booty, instead of remaining to secure the conquest, returned into Seiestaun, from whence he dispatched to acquaint Hejauje with the success of the expedition. A.H.LXXX. A. D. 699.

The retreat of Abdurraihman was, however, but little consonant to the temper or views of Hejauje; and he accordingly wrote to inform him, in terms of considerable asperity, that unless he dispatched his business with the Seysses, or stable boys, of Retteil, before this year was at an end, he

A.H.LXXX. A.D. 699. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

must require him to resign the command of his army to Isshauk the son of Mahommed. The letter which conveyed this imperious mandate, was communicated by Abdurraihman to the principal commanders who served under his authority; when they expressed with little reserve their execrations against the conduct of Hejauje, and immediately entered into a resolution to unite with their general, in open hostility to his government.

A.H.LXXXVI. A.D. 700.

In the eighty-first of the Hidjerah, in order to avail himself of every possible acquisition of strength against the formidable resources, which would doubtless be accumulated to overwhelm him, Abdurraihman determined to conclude an immediate treaty with the enemies of his faith. And for this purpose he engaged, in the event that his designs against Hejauje should be attended with success, that the prince of Kabûl should be absolved from every species of tribute or contribution; provided the latter would, on his part, engage to afford him an asylum in his territories, if the enterprize proved unfortunate. And having thus prepared for the worst, Abdurraihman, at the head of a numerous army directed his march towards Irâk.

Tarikh Tebry.

Before we proceed in the narrative it will, in this place, not be improper to state, that during the year eighty, which was equally memorable for a plague, which carried off great numbers of the people at Bassorah, and for an extraordinary inundation which took place at Mekkah, Mohilleb the governor of Khorassaun, quitting Merû, with the troops of the province, proceeded across the river of Bâlkh, and the other branches of the Oxus, to the city of Kesh, at this time in the possession of the cousin, or uncle's son of the prince of Kabûl. The governor of Kesh appears to have united himself to the army of Mohilleb; since the latter is now said to have employed him immediately in conjunction with his son Yezzeid, on an expedition into the neighbouring territory of Khotil, or Khotlan; where the prince of Kesh falling into the hands of the chief of the country, another of his relatives in the same degree with the prince of Kabûl, he was put to death in return for his attachment to the invaders: and Yezzeid the son of Mohilleb, finding on inspection that the fortress into which the chief who ruled in Khotlan had thrown himself, was impregnable against any effort that he could employ, accepted of a reasonable contribution, and returned to join his father. Hâbeib, another son of Mohilleb's had in the mean time been also detached against Bokhâra; but being powerfully

opposed in the field, the design of reducing that city, after some trifling advantages obtained by the son of Mohilleb, was postponed to another opportunity. In other respects, this expedition of the governor of Khoras-saun, appears to have been distinguished by no very remarkable event. After continuing at Kesh for the period of two years, he found it expedient to recross the Oxus, and return to Merû. A.H.LXXXI. A. D. 700. Tarikh Tebry.

Having received timely intelligence of the hostile designs and approach of Abdurraihman, Hejauje hastened without further delay to oppose the progress of the enemy; who appears to have experienced no material obstacle until he reached Tûster, the capital of Khûzistaun: in the neighbourhood of which place, the Susa of the ancients, the hopes of these rival chiefs were now cast upon the hazard of a battle. In this, fortune in a signal victory declared for Abdurraihman: the sanguinary Hejauje being compelled to fly with considerable precipitation towards Bassorah. A liberal distribution of his treasures to the amount of an hundred and fifty millions of dirhems,* however, soon enabled him to levy fresh armies, with which he encamped at a station called Zawiah. In the mean time Abdurraihman also advanced to Bassorah; of which the inhabitants of every order immediately submitted to his authority. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the beginning of Mohurrim of the year eighty-two, Abdurraihman, now equally formidable in the reputation of his victories, and the number of his followers, proceeded again to attack the troops of Hejauje; but fortune resuming her predilection for the arms of the latter, Abdurraihman was ultimately constrained, about the end of the same month, though not without repeated and sanguinary conflicts, to fly towards Kûfah. Under this sudden reverse, the inhabitants of Bassorah submitted their destiny to the disposal of another Abdurraihman, descended from Hâreth the son of Abdulmûtleb, sometimes called the Hâshemite. But as this chief, after sustaining the assaults of Hejauje for five days and five nights successively, betook himself to join his namesake at Kûfah, the people of Bassorah were compelled to witness the slaughter of eleven thousand of their fellow citizens; who were put to the sword by the conqueror, to cure them, perhaps, of those turbulent revolutionary habits which had too frequently prevailed among them. A.H.LXXXII. A. D. 701. February.

* About 3,437,500*l.*

A.H.LXXXII. A. D. 701. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The grandson of Aishauth, notwithstanding the precarious complexion of his fortune, received on his arrival at Kûfah the prompt allegiance of the greater part of the surviving companions of the prophet and their clientage; so that he was able to appear again in the field, soon afterwards, at the head of one hundred thousand horse, with whom he encamped at a station called the Deir, or monastery, of Jemaujem. Hejauje having also been joined by considerable reinforcements from Syria, presented himself with an army, very powerfully augmented, before the camp of Abdurraihman.

While the hostile chiefs had been thus contending for the favorite regions of Isslâm, some of the most distinguished of the noble tribe of Koraish ventured to intimate, to Abdulmêlek, the expediency of superseding Hejauje in his government of the two provinces of Irâk; as the only method of appeasing the distractions, which they entirely ascribed to the unrelenting severity, and vindictive disposition of that man. Persuaded of the utility of such a change, Abdulmêlek dispatched his son Abdullah, and his brother Mahommed Merwaun, in company with the reinforcements which were proceeding to the assistance of Hejauje; with instructions, provided, on investigation, it was found that these sanguinary contests originated in the administration of Hejauje, to depose that chief from his authority; which was in this case to be transferred to the same Mahommed the son of Merwaun; and that such cities as Abdurraihman laid claim to in Irâk should be ceded to him without further dispute. But if, contrary to expectation, the result of their inquiries should prove of an opposite tendency, Hejauje, was to be confirmed in his authority. However, when these personages reached the scene of operations, and communicated the nature of their instructions to the chiefs of Abdurraihman's party; the latter openly avowed their hostility to the government of Abdulmêlek himself, as well as to that of his representative, and their final resolution to abide by the fate of war.

In the mean time, Hejauje, was not ignorant of the measures in agitation against him; and justly apprehensive of the odium in which his person was held throughout Irâk, had written to caution Abdulmêlek, in the most solemn manner against indulging that inconstant people in their capricious prejudices; lest they should combine against his own authority, as they had left him a memorable example in their conduct towards the unfortunate Othman; whom in one short year, after he had yielded to their

complaints against Saüid the son of Ul Auss, they had murdered in the sanctuary of his own palace. "Remember," said he in the conclusion of his letter, "that iron is not to be wrought by a softer substance than itself." And in effect, these and similar arguments had already prevailed upon Abdulmêlek to subscribe to his opinion, when Hejauje was left by the hostile resolution of his enemies, to employ without further interposition, the means within his power to bring the contest with Abdurraihman to a speedy decision. A.H.LXXXII. A.D. 701. Tarikh Tebry.

It continued, however, to engage his utmost exertion for the whole of the period between the third day of the first Rabbeia, on which Abdurraihman formed his encampment at Deir-e-Jemaujem, and the fourteenth of the last Jummaudy,* on which he was finally defeated. On that day hostilities had been resumed with singular fury and obstinacy; when the left wing of Abdurraihman, commanded by Abred, the Temeimite, unable to sustain the attack made upon it, by the opposite wing of the enemy led on by Soffeyan the son Ul Abred, at length gave way; and quitting the field in the utmost disorder, brought on the total discomfiture of the whole army. Under these alarming circumstances Abdurraihman continued, notwithstanding, with a steady eye and unappalled attention, to view the progress of his misfortune, from a moveable tribunal on which he had taken his station during the action; and from which, with his voice and gesture, he now endeavoured to rally the fugitives, of whom a few were at last prevailed on to make a stand round his person. In this situation, the arrows of the enemy falling thick about him, he was accosted by one of his followers, who intreated that he would descend from the tribunal, if he did not wish to expose himself to immediate captivity; and that fortune might yet, on some future occasion, bring to his standard those that would still enable him to take ample vengeance on his enemies: and he was at last persuaded to withdraw from the danger, setting his face once more towards Kûfah; to which he was followed by those who had escaped the slaughter of the field of battle. On his arrival, he proceeded unarmed to the residence of his family; from whom he took an affectionate leave, with assurances that the same benevolent being who had hitherto provided for

* From the 15th of April, to the 24th of July.

A.H.LXXXII. A. D. 701. them, would not forsake them in his absence; and having thus bidden farewel to his children, he quitted Kûfah for the last time.

Tarikh Tebry. Satisfied with having driven his adversary from the field of battle, Hejauje restrained his troops from the pursuit; causing it to be proclaimed to the vanquished, that all such as repaired to him, should be safe from injury. He soon afterwards came to Kûfah; and having demanded from the inhabitants a renewal of their allegiance, appears to have confined his vengeance to a few only of those who had ventured to declare for the party of Abdurraihman. Among these was Kemmeil or Mekkeil, one of the sons of the celebrated Zeiaud, at a very advanced age.

Of the numerous progeny of Mohilleb equally distinguished for personal valour and ability, Moghairah dying about this period in Khorassaun; of which he had been left in charge, while his father was engaged on the other side the Jeyhûn, in the neighbourhood of Kesh, as has been already noticed, Mohilleb transferred the employments rendered vacant by the death of his brother, to his other son Yezzeid; and having concluded with the inhabitants of Kesh, to which he had probably laid siege, a treaty, by which they contracted for the payment of a stipulated tribute, he returned in person into Khorassaun; but falling ill of a *burning diarrhoea*, on his arrival near Merû ul rûd, or Merû on the river, he there expired in the month of Zilhudje, of the year eighty-two;* bequeathing his government to Yezzeid, although he acknowledged his inclinations to be in favour of his other son Habeib. Be this, however, as it may, Yezzeid was confirmed by Hejauje, in the government of Khorassaun.

On his recent flight from Kûfah, Abdurraihman directed his steps towards Bassorah; but as that city was held for Hejauje by one of his captains of the name of Obaidullah, the latter announced to Abdurraihman on his appearance in the neighbourhood, that he should oppose his entrance into the place: he was therefore compelled to proceed to a station called Meskah, or Mesken,† where he entrenched himself, conducting the waters of the adjoining river into the ditch with which he was surrounded; and here he prepared to hazard another conflict with his formidable opponent, being joined by some troops from Khorassaun, and by numbers who escaped from Kûfah. Hejauje, being on his side further reinforced

* January, A. D. 702.

† Something similar to this is to be found in the name of Mokesseh, some distance on the Tigris, above its junction with the Euphrates.

by a detachment from the same province under Abdulmêlek, a fifth of the sons of Mohilleb, advanced without delay to attack the position in which Abdurraihman had fortified himself. After a gallant resistance of fifteen days, and as many nights, to the incessant efforts of Hejauje, Abdurraihman was again defeated, and driven to make the best of his way for the province of Seiestaun; where he might probably hope to retrieve his shattered fortunes. He was, however, closely pursued by Mahommed the son of Hejauje, overtaken on his retreat, and finally routed; his force being now too greatly reduced to oppose any effectual resistance to his pursuers. He contrived, notwithstanding, to escape through Kermaun, to Zarenje, expecting that he should there find a temporary asylum from his misfortunes, since the governor was an officer of his own creation. In this he was destined to be disappointed. The gates of the town were closed against him; and he was compelled, after remaining for some time before it, in the hope that a sense of gratitude might yet operate in his favor, to continue his retreat to Bost, in the same direction; the commander of which was also an officer of his own appointment. Here he experienced at first the most friendly reception, the more effectually to ensnare him to his ruin. His followers, however, had no sooner dispersed in the confidence of security, than his person was seized and loaded with fetters, for the purpose of being delivered over to the mercy of Hejauje. But Retteil the prince of Kabûl, being apprized of this detestable piece of treachery, hastened at the head of his troops to surround the town; sending to acquaint the governor that if he injured a hair of Abdurraihman's head, he should not quit the spot, until he had impaled him and his garrison before the gates of the place. By these menaces he succeeded in intimidating the traitor; who consented to release the person of Abdurraihman, provided his conduct should be no further called in question; and Abdurraihman being accordingly dismissed in safety, departed in company with his preserver, from whom he continued to experience for some time the most humane and generous treatment.

A.H.LXXXIII. A.D. 702. Tarikh Tebry.

In the mean time, unwilling to confide to the doubtful clemency of Hejauje, the adherents of Abdurraihman again gradually assembled and followed their chief into Seiestaun, to the number of sixty thousand men; and he was induced to put himself once more at their head. He had availed himself of the return of his power to punish, as he deserved, the

A.H.LXXXIII. A.D.702. Tarikh Tebry.

ingrate who had closed against him the gates of Zarenje, when the troops of Hejauje under Aumar the son of Temeim, were announced to be at hand; and he received from his followers a proposal to abandon Seiestaun, and proceed into the more spacious and populous province of Khorassaun; where they expressed their belief that they should be joined by more numerous bands of malcontents than had been formerly experienced. Abdurraihman in vain endeavoured to dissuade them from this design, by representing that Yezzeid the lieutenant of Khorassaun, was possessed of too much courage and ability to relinquish his province without opposition; in which he would doubtless be assisted by the whole force of the Syrian party; but he was ultimately constrained to yield to their importunities. They had however proceeded no further than Herât, when they found that one of their most distinguished captains had deserted them with twelve thousand men: and Abdurraihman, embracing the opportunity to remind them of the arguments which he had urged against this ill judged and imprudent intrusion, announced his resolution to quit them, and take up his abode with his faithful ally, the prince of Kabûl; for whose territory he immediately departed with all those who were particularly attached to his person: the Irâkian insurgents chusing his namesake Abdurraihman the Hâshemite, the son of Abbas, for their general.

Yezzeid the son of Mohalleb, on intelligence of this irruption into the boundary of his province, dispatched to inform the general of the intruders, that however numerous its inhabitants, the world was yet wide enough for all; if he sought supplies, he would assist him liberally, but he must caution him immediately to retire. To this, the Hâshemite desired it might be understood, that in entering Khorassaun, he neither entertained any design of hostility, nor of taking up a permanent abode. His object was to repose for a few days only, after which he should proceed on his march. Of the assistance, however, which Yezzeid thought fit to offer, he disclaimed the necessity. Abdurraihman, nevertheless, continued stationary, and proceeded to lay every species of arbitrary exaction on the inhabitants; which compelled Yezzeid to hasten his prepararions for the expulsion of the insurgents. He accordingly left Merû Shahjahaun, (Merû of the great king) the then capital of Khorassaun, in charge of his uncle Khodeia, and marched at the head of eight thousand men in two divisions, by the route of Merû ul rûd, (Merû on the river Mûrghaub) to

dislodge the invaders from Herât. On reaching the neighbourhood of that city, he sent however a further message to the Hashemite, to desire that, now he had sufficiently reposed himself, grown fat, and abundantly replenished his treasury, he would withdraw without further inconvenience. That if he was not yet satisfied with what he had collected from the people, he was still willing to supply him to his heart's content. He was only desirous that he should quit the province, from a wish, to the last moment, to avoid engaging in hostilities with him. A.H.LXXXIII. A. D. 702. Tarikh Tebry.

These overtures made, however, no impression upon the new chief of the invaders, who openly prepared for battle; and as Yezzeid became now apprized of his attempts clandestinely to seduce his troops from their fidelity, he declared that he could no longer preserve any medium; that he must either hasten to breakfast at the expence of his enemy, or his enemy might chance to sup at the expence of himself; and he therefore determined to assail him without further delay. Being however, from his extraordinary corpulence, unable to take an active part in the conflict, he consigned his army, after having disposed it for battle, to the management of his brother Mûsekkel, a sixth of the sons of Mohilleb whose name has been rescued from oblivion; and seated himself calmly on a chair, from which he might view to advantage the exertions of the combatants. After a contest of some duration, fortune declared against the Hâshemite; whose army was entirely defeated, leaving a multitude of prisoners in the hands of the conqueror. Among these was Mahommed the son of the celebrated Saud-e-Wokauss, to whom, from his extraordinary stature, they gave the appellation of Zil Sheytaun. He was conveyed to Hejauje, by whom, after suffering the most brutal treatment, he was condemned to lose his head.

Seduced by the promises, or intimidated by the threats of Hejauje, Retteil the prince of Kabûl, in the year eighty-four, treacherously seized upon the person of his guest, the unfortunate Abdurraihman the grandson of Aishauth; whom he conveyed together with the remnant of his followers, for the purpose of being delivered up, towards the camp of Aumar, or Aumaurah, who commanded the troops on that frontier. Watching, however, his opportunity; Abdurraihman threw himself from a precipice on the way, and by an immediate dissolution, frustrated the vindictive designs of his enemies. During the same year, Hejauje laid the foundation of Waussit, A.H.LXXXIV. A. D. 704. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

A.H.LXXXIV. A. D. 704. a town situated, as the name implies, about midway between Bassorah and Kûfah, on the river Tigris.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. During the following year, Yezzeid the son of Mohilleb was recalled from the government of Khorassaun, and imprisoned by Hejauje; by whom Kateibah the son of Mosslem, the Bahelite, perhaps Babelite or Babylonian, of whom much hereafter, was now selected to superintend in that important province. The other events of the year eighty-five, thought worthy of record, are the death of Abdulazziz, who presided in Egypt under the authority of his brother; the assignment of that province by Abdulmêlek to his son Abdullah; and the nomination by that prince of Walid to succeed him in the Khelaufut, with reversion to his second son Sûliman.

A.H.LXXXVI. A. D. 705. 7th or 8th of October. In the year eighty-six, and in the middle of the month of Shavaul, terminated the life and reign of the Khalif Abdulmêlek, at the mature age of sixty. If we calculate from the period at which he first received the allegiance of the Syrians to the day of his death, he enjoyed the throne of the Khalifs, according to the Tebrian chronicle, for twenty-one years, one month, and fourteen or fifteen days. But as he could not be justly considered as entire master of the empire, until the death of Abdullah Zobair, in the seventy-third of the Hidjerah, his reign as sole and undisputed Khalif may be limited to thirteen years four months and seven days.

We are gravely told in the Tarikh gûzeidah, that some time previous to his death, Abdulmêlek dreamed that he made water four times in the pulpit of the Kaaubah; which was considered, by his flatterers, as indicating that four of his children should be called to the imperial dignity. Neither was it, at any rate, contradicted by the event; since his four sons, Walid, Sûlimaun, Yezzid, and Heshaum, each of them successively ascended the throne of their father. And in truth, continues the author of the same work, the sovereignty of the race of Ommeyah cannot be considered as any thing less than such a gross pollution of the sanctuary of the believers. Nevertheless, he cannot withhold from this prince the merit of promoting liberal knowledge, in the translation of the works of the Persian poets into Arabic, which was first encouraged under his reign.

His birth is said to have taken place in the twenty-sixth of the Hidjerah, under the reign of Othman; of whose tragical exit, at ten years of age, he was a spectator. In addition to the familiar appellative of Abdulwalid,

by which this prince may have been known in domestic life, those who have been inclined to treat his memory with severity, have bestowed upon him the harsher names of Shaikh ul hidjaurah, or father flint, from his avaricious temper, and Abdulzebaub, or father of flies, from the offensiveness of his breath; which was such, that if a fly settled on his lips, it immediately perished. He was, by four wives, the father of sixteen sons and three daughters. Of his sons, four have been just mentioned. A fifth, Mosslemah, became very celebrated under the succeeding reigns. The others, it would be scarcely necessary to name. He is further said to have had for his concubine one of the daughters of the Khalif Ally.

A.H LXXXVI
A. D. 705.

Tarikh Tebry and Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

CHAP. XIV.

A.H.LXXXVI. and LXXXVII. A. D. 705-6.

HAVING committed his father's remains to the silent mansions of the dead, Walid succeeded without opposition to the throne of the Khalifs, continuing to Hejauje, with all his former powers, the government of Irâk and Khorassaun. In eighty-seven, he removed Heshaum the son of Issmauil the Mekhzûmite from the government of Medeinah, and deputed his couzin, the virtuous Omar the son of Abdulazziz, to preside over that city, and its dependencies.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Walid VIth. of the house of Ommeyah.

Kateibah the son of Mosslem, delegated by Hejauje to the government of Khorassaun, had reached Merû some time in the former year; and resolved to signalize his administration, by extending the dominion of Isslâm into the neighbouring territory of the infidels. And for this purpose, having succeeded in animating the zeal of his followers, he assembled a competent force, whom he led towards the district of Tâlekan. He was there met by some of the principal inhabitants of Balkh and the adjoining villages, who conducted him across that branch of the Oxus. Passing that river, he received a deputation, with presents, from the prince or petty chief of Tcheghânian, and soon after from those of Ekhrûn or Ekrûn, and Shaman, both in Tokharestaun. And having concluded a treaty with these several chiefs, by which they agreed to become tributary to his government, he returned to Merû. But before he recrossed the Jeyhûn on this occasion, he found himself engaged in hostilities with the people of Balkh, who had receded from their treaty with him. In the course of these hostilities, among the captives who fell into the hands of his troops, was the wife of Bermek, the father of Khaled ben Bermek. This female was consigned to the share of Abdullah the son of Mosslem, the brother of Kateibah; but the people of Balkh shortly afterwards concluding a fresh treaty with him, the latter directed that the several captives should be set at large: the wife of Bermek declaring, however, on her departure, that she was preg-

Tarikh Tebry.

nant by the Arab, Abdullah left it on his death bed as a charge to his sons, that they should either claim the child, of which the woman had announced herself pregnant, or call it after his name. In the mean time, the lady was restored to her husband. In the reign of the Khalif Mehedy the son of Ul Munsûr dowânek, both Khaled and his mother became subject to this claim on the part of the sons of Abdullah; but appear to have been liberated from it by the decision of their cousin, Mosslem the son of Kateibah. The same Khaled, reputed the son of Bermek, but whom, from these circumstances, the author seems disposed to believe the offspring of the forced intercourse with Abdullah, embracing the profession of medicine; and having at a subsequent period established some reputation for medical skill, by performing a considerable cure on Mosslemah the son of Abdulmêlek, became the founder of the celebrated family of the Barmecides.

A.H.LXXXVII. A D. 706. Tarikh Tebry.

After intimidating Neirek, the petty prince of Bâdgheiss, to submission, the arms of Kateibah were next employed in a remoter quarter; in the subjugation of Bêykund, denominated the city of merchants, here described as nearest to the boundary of Khorassaun of the towns on the Ebleb rûd, the river of Bokhâra, and situated on the edge of the desert. In the course of this expedition he was exposed to considerable danger; his communication with Khorassaun being for some time entirely destroyed. But he surmounted every obstacle by his own invincible intrepidity and perseverance. The ultimate capture of Beykund rewarded him with an incalculable booty; even more than had hitherto fallen into the hands of the Mahommedans by the conquest of the entire province of Khorassaun; and the unfortunate merchants of the town, having been absent on a trading excursion while their country was assailed by the enemy, and finding their habitations desolate on their return, contributed further to enrich the invaders, by the ransom which they paid for the recovery of their wives and children. The ornaments alone, of which these women had been plundered, being melted down, produced, in gold, one hundred and fifty thousand meskals, of a dram and a half each. Among the articles of the booty, is also described an image of gold, of fifty thousand meskals; of which the eyes were two pearls, the exquisite beauty and magnitude of which, excited the surprise and admiration of Kateibah. They were transmitted

A.H.LXXXVII. A. D. 706. Tarikh Tebry.

by him, with a fifth of the spoil, to Hejauje, together with a request that he might be permitted to distribute, to the troops, the arms which had been found in the place in great profusion. The soldiers became so enriched by the spoils of this wealthy city, that they purchased arms and horses at almost any price, and even fought for them among themselves; as an illustration of which, the author remarks, that a cuirass, or coat of mail, was valued at seven hundred dirhems,* and a spear, or lance, at seventy dirhems.†

A.H.LXXXVIII. A. D. 707. May.

In the second month of Jummandy, of the year eighty-eight, the strong city of Tuânah, probably Tyana, was captured by a division of the Mahommedan troops under Mosslemah the son of Abdulmêlek. The same year gave birth to Yezzeid the son of the Khalif Walid; and a little before, that is to say in the month of Suffer of the year eighty, Omar Abdulazziz proceeded, by the Khalif's instructions, to the enlargement of the mosque of the prophet at Medeinah; being authorized for that purpose to purchase at an equitable valuation, from the women of Mahommed's family, and other proprietors, the contiguous dwellings, so as to give to the sacred edifice a ground plan of two hundred erish‡ square. A hundred artificers were sent by Walid from Damascus, to assist in carrying on the work; but what appears rather extraordinary, is, that the Greek emperor§ should have furnished at the request of Walid an hundred workmen, and one hundred thousand meskals of gold, to promote the undertaking; while Mosslemah, at the head of the troops of the Khelaufut was making continual incroachments on his dominions; the three towns of Constantein, Ghezzâlah, and Hessen ul Ehrem, being all captured from him in the course of the year.

A.H.LXXXIX. A. D. 708.

The following year the Mahommedan troops were again employed in the territories of the Greek emperor, in two separate divisions, the one under Mosslemah proceeding to the reduction of Sûreinah, described as a place of great strength and opulence; and the other under Abbas the son of Walid, to the subjugation of Erzûliah, Mamûriah, Erkûla, and Keyûlah, or Kebûlah, probably in Asia minor; but of which, the names are scarcely in a single instance to be recognized in the ichnography of the present day. Mamûriah and Erkûla may, however, be Amorium, and Heraclea or Erekli. In the reduction of some of these places, Abbas is said to have experienced

* About 16*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* † About 1*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* ‡ Cubits, § Justinian II.

considerable resistance on the part of the enemy, in the field, but not to prevent the ultimate subjugation of all, in the course of the campaign. At the same time, we find Mosslemah, before the conclusion of the year, opposed to the Turks on the side of Azerbaÿjaun, and chacing them to the gates of Derbund. A.H.LXXXIX. A.D. 708. Tarikh. Tebry.

Having failed on a former expedition, in which he had been engaged against Bokhâra, Kateibah proceeded in the year ninety, in consequence of instructions from Hejauje, to make a fresh attempt against that celebrated city. After he had commenced the investiture of the place, he was attacked with great impetuosity by the inhabitants reinforced by the neighbouring Tartar tribes, and driven in the utmost consternation to his camp; but his troops being at last compelled to return to the combat, by the blows and reproaches of their women, the Tartars were repulsed to their former position. Nevertheless, the Arabs appear to have been so completely terrified on this occasion, that Kateibah in vain endeavoured to animate them to repeat their attack; until a division of the Benni Temeim, not exceeding eight hundred men, having thrown a temporary bridge over the river which separated them from the enemy, passed, under one of their chiefs to the opposite side, and resolutely falling in among the Tartars, succeeded in putting them to confusion. The troops of Kateibah, encouraged by his voice to take advantage of the disorder which was soon to pervade the squadrons of the enemy, now hastened across the river to the assistance of their associates; and enabled them to complete the victory, with prodigious slaughter to the people of Bokhâra, and their allies the Tartars; of whom the Khâgan, or Khâkan, and his son, were both wounded. Discouraged by this defeat, Terkhûn, prince of Sogdiana, and probably of Bokhara, hastened to solicit terms from Kateibah; from whom he obtained peace, on engaging for the payment of a stipulated tribute, and giving hostages for the performance of the treaty. A. H. XC. A.D.708-9.

Kateibah was now returning to Merû; when Neirek, who appears to have been prince of Tokharestaun, and had accompanied him on this last expedition, taking some occasion of discontent, on parting with him, to proceed into his own territory, openly revolted against his authority; and prevailing upon the chiefs of Merû ul rûd, Balkh, Talekan, and the surrounding places, to unite in his designs, further engaged the prince of Kabûl to support him in case of emergency. To check the progress of

A. H. XC. A. D. 709. Tarikh Tebry.

this dangerous conspiracy, Kateibah, the greater part of whose troops had already dispersed to their ordinary stations, at first dispatched his brother Abdurraihman, to make head against the revolters; but followed in person, with all the troops he could collect, as soon as the winter was over. In the neighbourhood of Tâlekan his advanced guard under Abdurraihman was attacked by the insurgents, whom he, however, repulsed at the first onset; and pursuing them with great execution, marked the progress of his vengeance by either impaling or hanging them on gibbets for the space of four farsangs. Proceeding to Merû ul rûd, and thence to Bâlkh, he there, as well as in the towns in the neighbourhood, succeeded without great difficulty in restoring his authority. But, without proceeding to detail these operations at length, it is sufficient to observe, that this rebellion occupied the utmost attention of Kateibah for several months; Neirek having secured himself in the inaccessible passes at the back of Tokharestân. From these he was, however, ultimately seduced by the address of Seleim Nausseh, a skilful agent of Kateibah's; by whom he was persuaded to quit the impregnable post, or castle of Lerouh, to which he had retired, and deliver himself into the hands of his master, without even stipulating for personal safety. Kateibah seemed at first disposed to spare him; but the orders of the inexorable Hejauje condemned the enemy of Mûssulmans, the irreclaimable apostate, to death. And he accordingly suffered, together with two nephews and several more of his family, to the number of seven, who, with him, had been thus betrayed into the hands of Kateibah.

A. H. XCI. A.D.709-10.

In the year ninety-one, the governor of Shûman having withheld his tribute, and expelled the agents of Kateibah, that chieftain again passed the Jeyhûn; and having killed the refractory governor of Shûman in action, and reduced the town, continued his march to Kesh and Nekhsheb, and ultimately to Bokhâra; all of which had embraced the opportunity of his absence to cancel their engagements, and were again, without much difficulty, compelled to return to their allegiance. His brother Abdurraihman was now detached against Terkhûn the prince of Soghd, formerly noticed, whom he as easily terrified into submission, as his neighbours. Having once more established a nominal authority in these fertile regions, Kateibah returned as usual to the capital of his government. In the mean time the natives of Soghd, or Sogdiana, the territory of Samarcand, rose against the authority of Terkhûn; declaring that they could no longer submit to be

governed by a prince who had so disgracefully compromised the honor of his country, in the humiliating treaties which he had concluded with their barbarous invaders; that his age had moreover rendered his government no longer desirable to them; and that they were determined to elect another in his stead. A prince or chief, of the name of Ghûrek was accordingly substituted for the deposed sovereign; who not unreasonably remarking, that blood must be the inseparable concomitant of the loss of empire, immediately forced himself on the point of his sword. A. H. XCI. A. D. 710. Tarikh Tebry.

The same year Walid removed his uncle Mahommed the son of Merwaun, from the government of Jezzeirah, or Upper Mesopotamia, which he now bestowed on his brother Mosslemah: while he deprived his other brother, Abdullah, of the government of Egypt, to bestow it on Kerrah the son of Shereik. In the course of the same year, the Khalif paid a visit to the two sacred cities, during which, he conferred the government of Mekkah on Abdullah Kesheiry; with whom it continued to the death of Walid.

In the course of ninety-two, Mosslemah, and his nephew Omar the son of Walid, were again employed against the territory of the Greek emperor; in which they added to former conquests, by the reduction of three more towns or fortresses, of which, the names are not recorded. But what rendered this year most memorable, though but slightly noticed by our antiquated original, was the passage into Spain of the troops of the Khelaufut, under Târik, by some authors represented as the son of Zeiaud; probably the same Zeiaud so distinguished as the reputed half brother of Mauweiah. However that may be, we learn from the manuscript before us, that he was opposed in the field by Retouk, or Rûtrik, the prince of the country, descended from the ancient monarchs of Persia; most probably adverting to the Gothic origin of king Roderick. And that after an arduous conflict, of which, the king seated on his throne was a spectator, the Arabians were ultimately victorious; the monarch being killed on the field of battle, and Andalusia, and an immense booty, becoming the reward of the conquerors. An event, which the reader will find more particularly described by the rapid and eloquent pen of Mr. Gibbon. Another important occurrence which we find recorded under the year ninety-two, is the reduction* of the island A. H. XCII. A.D.710-11.

* Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

A. H. XCIII. A.D. 711-12. of Serdâbah, Serdânah, or Sardinia, achieved by Mûssa the son of Nezzeir, one of the vassals of Walid.

Tarikh Tebry. After noticing the capture of Semeitah, Seleitah, and Hessen ul jedeid, all in the territory of the emperor of Constantinople, which took place during the year ninety-three, the former by Abbas the son of Walid, and the two latter by Mosslemah, we are led to accompany the proceedings of Kateibah; by whom the Mahommedan troops were conducted in the course of this year into the province of Khârezm. The legitimate sovereign of the country at this period bore the name of Jeyfal or Jeyfan; who was induced to call in the aid of foreign force, by the usurpation, violence, and profligacy of a younger brother, of the name of Khûrzaud. As Jeyfal had engaged to become his vassal, if Kateibah succeeded in destroying his brother, the invitation was cheerfully accepted; and as Kateibah had already assembled his troops for an expedition against the infidels, the messenger who returned into Khârezm with his reply, was instructed to circulate the report, that he was marching into Sogdiana. Lulled into security by such a report, Khûrzâd neglected the means of defence; and betook himself with his followers, to the indulgence of his debauched habits, until Kateibah was announced to have encamped at Hazaurasp, one of the principal towns of Khârezm. He became then aware of the correspondence between his brother and the invader; and would have put the former to death had he not been apprehensive of the disposition of his soldiers; he therefore assembled his adherents, and came to Medeinet ul feil, the city of elephants, another of the cities of Khârezm; Jeyfal, delivering Hazaurasp, and two other asps, or towns of his dominions, into the hands of Kateibah, on whose protection he immediately threw himself.

Terrified at the contemplation of dangers, against which he was so little prepared, Khûrzâd dispatched to propose an accommodation with Kateibah; who announced to him in reply, that if he made his peace with his brother he had nothing to apprehend from himself. On this, declaring that after all he could but die, Khûrzâd chose the latter extremity rather than submission to to the mercy of a brother. And with this resolution he came to give battle to Kateibah. The victory did not long remain in suspense. He fell into the hands of his enemies, and was put to death by the orders of the Arabian general; as were the whole of his adherents who could be collected together, to appease the yet unsated vengeance of Jeyfal. Kateibah then entered Medeinet

ul feil, having received from his ally, in compensation for his assistance, a hundred captives and one hundred thousand suits of apparel. Jeyfal now fixed his residence at the last mentioned city; but as the prince of the adjoining territory of Jaumjerd had annoyed him by frequent hostilities, he availed himself of the presence of Kateibah to put an end to all future inconvenience from that quarter. Abdurraihman the brother of Kateibah proceeded against the chief of Jaumjerd, killed him in battle, and took possession of the country; after which he returned to Kateibah, with four thousand prisoners, all of whom were cruelly put to death by that commander, who appears to have partaken, in an eminent degree, in the sanguinary disposition of his principal.

A.H.XCIII. A.D.712. Tarikh Tebry.

Whilst he yet remained at Medeinet ul feil, after adjusting the concerns of the Kharezmian, it was suggested to Kateibah that if he was desirous of avenging himself on the people of Soghd and Samarkand, for their recent breach of treaty and deposition of his tributary, he could not avail himself of a fairer opportunity than the present; when he was at a distance of ten days journey from that celebrated capital. This design he immediately determined to execute; and having taken the precaution to conceal it under the most profound secresy, he sent for his brother Abdurraihman, and directed him to put his camp equipage in motion towards Merû. Abdurraihman accordingly put these orders in execution; and had himself proceeded a day's march with the army, when he received a letter from his brother, desiring him to quit the baggage and heavy equipments, and with all his cavalry and infantry, immediately to take the route of Sogdiana, without confiding his instructions to any person whatever; and that he should himself be with him at a moment's warning. In the mean time he apprized his followers on the spot, of the provocations which he had received from the people of Samarkand and the circumjacent territory, in withholding from him the stipulated tribute, and in deposing their lawful chief. He therefore called upon them to hasten with him to chastize this perfidious breach of treaty, declaring, that he was but little apprehensive of the event. He then led them directly towards the territory of Soghd, and invested the city of Samarkand; his brother having arrived there four days before him, at the head of twenty thousand men. It has been already

A.H.XCIII. A. D. 712. Tarikh Tebry.

observed that a previous revolution had placed the country under the authority of a prince of the name of Ghûrek, who had succeeded to the former chief called Terkhûn.

After contending in daily conflicts with their besiegers for some time, without the gates of the town, the garrison of Samarkand were heard one day to expostulate with the Arabs from their ramparts, on the inutility of those toils and dangers to which they were exposing themselves; for they were assured in the writings of their forefathers, that their city was not to be subjugated, but by a person whose name implied the pack saddle, or dorsers of a camel. The circumstance coming to the ears of the general of the Mosslems, he immediately gave the usual cry of triumph, Allahû-akbar, his name of Kateibah bearing in the idiom of the Arabs that express signification. He therefore encouraged his followers by such an assurance of success, to redouble their exertions against the enemy. The prince of Sarmakand had, however, dispatched to solicit the aid of the people of Auje, a neighbouring Tartar city, whom he summoned to his support on considerations of mutual safety; since there could be little expectation that when masters of Samarkand, the Arabs would forbear to extend their usurpation further into Tartary. This people hastened therefore to the assistance of their neighbours, whom they desired to occupy the attention of their besiegers, while they should endeavour to make an attack upon them in the night. But the vigilance of Kateibah was not to be eluded by an ordinary stratagem; he obtained intelligence of the design. The enemy fell into an ambuscade which he laid for them on their approach, and were defeated with great loss; and the Arabs pursuing them in their flight, were left to possess themselves of a vast booty, in arms and horses, and collars of gold, with which they returned in safety to their general.

A breach was, however, at last effected in the walls of the city, by the warlike machines of Kateibah; and some of the most daring of its defenders having fallen by the skill of his archers, the besieged demanded a cessation of arms to the following day, when they promised to capitulate. The request was acceded to by Kateibah; and a treaty was the next day accordingly concluded between him and the prince of Samarkand, by which the latter engaged for the annual payment of ten millions of dirhems,* and a supply of three thousand slaves; of whom it was particularly stipu-

* 229,166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

lated, that none should either be in a state of infancy, or ineffective from old age and debility. He further contracted that the ministers of his religion should be expelled their temples, and their idols destroyed and burnt; that Kateibah should be allowed to establish a mosque in the place of the principal temple, in which, to discharge the duties of his faith; and to to render the pollution complete, to regale himself according to the usage of his nation. To all this, Ghûrek, with whatever reluctance, was compelled to subscribe, and he proceeded accordingly to prepare for the reception of Kateibah; who at the period agreed upon, entered Samarkand with a retinue of four hundred persons, selected from his own relatives, and the principal commanders of his army. He was met by Ghûrek, with a respect bordering on adoration, and conducted to the gate of the principal temple, which he immediately entered; and after performing two rekkauts of the ritual of his faith, directed the images of pagan worship to be brought before him, for the purpose of being committed to the flames. From this some of the Turks or Tartars of Samarkand, endeavouring to dissuade him, by a declaration, that among the images, there was one, which if any person ventured to consume, that person should certainly perish; Kateibah informed them, that he should not shrink from the experiment, and accordingly set fire to the whole collection with his own hands: it was soon consumed to ashes, and fifty thousand meskals of gold and silver, collected from the nails which had been used in the workmanship of the images. Having then with his attendants partaken of a sumptuous repast provided by Ghûrek for his entertainment, Kateibah called for secretaries, and dictated the substance of the following treaty.

A.H.XCIII. A.D. 712. Tarikh Tebry.

"In the name of God, of the merciful most merciful; these are the "stipulations of a treaty entered into by Kateibah the son of Mosslem the "Bâhelite on one part, and Ghûrek the Soghdian on the other, in behalf "of the cities of Samarkand, and Kesh, and Nakhsheb, with the several "places thereon depending. Videlicet: The abovenamed Ghûrek, on "his part, engages for the immediate payment of ten millions of dirhems, "and to secure to such agents, as may be established for the purpose, an "annual payment of two hundred thousand dirhems.* He further contracts "to furnish the Mahommedan general with three thousand captives, of the

*4,583*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

A.H.XCIII. A. D. 712. Tarikh Tebry.

"stipulated value of two hundred dirhems each,* and to be obedient to his "good brother Walid the son of Abdulmêlek. Kateibah on his part reci- "procally engaging to entertain no designs to the prejudice of Ghûrek; to "adhere faithfully to the conditions of the treaty; and to continue the "sovereignty of Samarkand, with the several formalities of the ring and "seal, to that prince and to his issue." The treaty was guarantied under the name of the God of Mahommed; of Walid the son of Abdulmêlek; of Hejauje and Kateibah, and finally of all the faithful. It was dated in the ninety-third year of the Hidjerah; and having been ratified by the seal of Kateibah, and attested by those of his chief commanders, it was in that state delivered into the hands of the subjugated prince. Kateibah now returned in triumph to the capital of Khorassaun; and with the customary fifth of the spoil, dispatched to announce to Hejauje the success of his expedition, from whom he received in return the most flattering encomiums on the achievement of a conquest which had surpassed the exertions of all before him. He further encouraged him to hold with a strong hand what God had thus bestowed upon him, and to evince by his actions that he was not ungrateful.

Accordingly, if we are to regard with any attention the statement of the author before us, the stipulations of the treaty with the prince of Samarkand, did not long continue to influence the conduct of Kateibah. He had left his brother Abdurraihman in government of the city, with a sufficient garrison and every requisite; and with instructions to suffer no infidel to remain within its gates longer than a ring of wet clay preserved its moisture on his finger; for if it became dry before he quitted the town, he was to put the infidel to death without mercy, together with every Turk or Tartar whom he saw in arms. And in these severe regulations he was to fail at his peril.

In the course of ninety-three, Mûssa either received or affected to have received, the instructions of Walid, to remove Târik from the government of Andalusia, and to establish his own son Abdullah the son of Mûssa in his place. Such at any rate is the construction which we are able to make of the passage of the original on this subject. Our author continues to relate that Târik having however succeeded in vindicating his conduct in the presence and to the satisfaction of Mûssa, was by him sent to the city of Toleitah, or Toledo; here said, but that is of little importance, to have

* 4*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

been twenty days' journey further within the Spanish or Andalusian territory. He was probably twenty days in conducting his army to the walls of that city; and there he is said to have found the table of Sûliman the son of David, enriched with gold and jewels, to an amount beyond all human calculation. This, doubtless, was the table of emerald, described by Mr. Gibbon to have been transported from the east by the Romans, and acquired by the Goths among the spoils of Rome. About the same period, the mild and benevolent Omar the son of Abdulazziz, was removed from the government of Medeinah, at the suggestion of Hejauje; because he had made too frequent complaints to the Khalif of the apprehensions, under which the people of Kûfah and all Irâk were suffering, from the violence of the same Hejauje and his agents. A.H.XCIII. A.D. 712. Tarikh Tebry.

Kateibah was employed during the ninety-fourth of the Hidjerah, in a combined expedition against Khauje, or Ghauje, and Ferghânah, in which he was assissted by twenty thousand auxiliaries from Khârezm, Kesh, and Nakhsheb. On his arrival at Samarkand, he dispatched the latter against the territory of Khauje; while he proceeded with his own division towards Ferghânah, by the route of Khojend. Here he appears to have met with considerable opposition from the natives, but he surmounted all obstacles with his usual good fortune; and penetrating to Kashan, at this period represented as the capital of Ferghânah, the inhabitants were compelled to submit to the same terms, as had been imposed upon the city of Samarkand and its dependencies. Kateibah returned again triumphant to his capital of Merû. A.H.XCIV. A.D.712-13.

About the period of which we are now treating, Yezzeid the son of Mohilleb, who had been for some time held in confinement by Hejauje, and cruelly persecuted for the payment of six millions of dirhems, alleged to be the arrears of the revenue of Khorassaun, contrived to escape from his guards; and with his brothers, Mûfuzzel and Abdulmêlek, took refuge with Sûliman the brother of the Khalif, in Palestine. The death of Hejauje, which took place shortly afterwards, may probably have rescued them from that vengeance with which he would otherwise never have ceased to pursue them.

Of the many distinguished persons who had associated in the insurrection of Abdurraihman the grandson of Aishauth, Sauid the son of Hobair, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to Hejauje, by his repeated

A.H. XCV. A.D. 713. Tarikh Tebry.

breach of faith and allegiance. On the final defeat of the design in which he had engaged against the authority of the tyrant, this person had alternately removed, as the danger of seizure menaced him, from Isfahaun to Azerbaijân, and from thence, after a residence of some years, to Mekkah, where he now remained. Previous to the arrival of Khaled the son of Abdullah Kesheir, from whose malevolent temper they boded him no good, his friends advised him to consult his safety by removing to some other place. Of this precaution, however, Sauid refused to avail himself; declaring, that he was at last ashamed before God and man, of the fugitive and ignominious existence to which he had so long submitted; and that, at any rate, he should not die before the period inscribed by his creator on the record of his destiny. Accordingly when Khaled reached Mekkah, one of the earliest objects of his attention, was to apprize Hejauje that several of the chiefs of Irâk, who had conspired against his authority some years ago, were now residing under his government. And on this, Hejauje wrote to Walid to intimate, that if he saw nothing to the contrary, he should request his highness's permission to dispose of these men, in a way which he well knew how to prepare for them. In consequence of which, orders were immediately dispatched to Mekkah, to seize the obnoxious persons, and convey them to Hejauje.

Such, however, was the veneration in which this Sauid, one of the last of the survivors of the prophet's companions, was still held by all classes of the people, that on his way towards Waussit, where he was to be brought before Hejauje, one of the guards who had him in custody, declared that he had been admonished in a dream, to shun the guilt of Sauid's blood; and he therefore entreated him to embrace the opportunity, which he now offered him, to make his escape. But the same resolution to abide his destiny, which had recently fortified him against the remonstrances of his friends, now influenced him to decline the offer; and he was soon afterwards conducted to the presence of Hejauje.

As he had, when questioned as to the motives by which he had been actuated in his conduct towards Hejauje, with sufficient candour replied, that with other Mûssulmans he had been occasionally subject to error, the tyrant appeared for a moment disposed to relax from his ordinary severity; but proceeding, in the course of the conference, to allege that he was bound under certain indispensable obligations to the grandson of Aishauth, the

indignation of Hejauje was excited; and he angrily demanded, if on the capture of Mekkah, when he had triumphed over the son of Zobair, and required the allegiance of the inhabitants for Abdulmêlek, he was not among those who pledged their fidelity on that occasion. Again, when he took possession of Kûfah, and required a similar pledge of submission to the Khalif's authority, if he had not been equally ready to concur with the inhabitants of that place. And lastly, if he had not confirmed all these obligations, by taking him under his own personal protection. "And "couldst thou," added Hejauje sternly, when Sauid had admitted the truth of the statement, "couldst thou so easily absolve thyself of thy fidelity, thus "doubly pledged to thy sovereign, to fulfil thy engagements with a "traitor?" And without further ceremony, directed the executioners of his vengeance to strike off his head; when, strange to relate, the head, though severed from the lifeless trunk, and weltering on the floor, repeated three times, in a manner to be perfectly intelligible, the former half of the Mahommedan creed, "*Laillauh il Ullah;*" there is no God but God! Surprised and disconcerted by a circumstance so extraordinary, Hejauje gave expression to his feelings, by bitterly cursing that spawn of a christian parent, Khaled the son of Abdullah, whose officiousness had compelled him to be the witness of such an appalling spectacle; for if left to his own inclinations, Sauid might still have survived, with full remission for the past, though he were perfectly apprized of the place of his abode at Mekkah. In forty days from the execution of the son of Hobair, Hejauje was himself summoned before the eternal judge, to answer for his misdeeds; the ghastly resemblance of Sauid never ceasing to haunt his imagination to the day of his death.

A.H.XCV. A.D.714. Tarikh Tebry.

When the sickness of death had thoroughly reduced the unhallowed frame of Hejauje, observes another historian,* he ventured to consult an astrologer whether the position of the stars, that year, prognosticated the demise of any person in power. To which the astrologer replied, that a prince would shortly die, who either bore or had borne the appellation of Kelleib; and Hejauje confessing that his mother had in his infancy been accustomed to address him by that name, (puppy perhaps) the astrologer rashly declared that the person whose death was indicated could be no other than himself. "At least thou shalt precede me," said Hejauje, and

* Author of the Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

A.H. XCV. A. D. 714. the unfortunate wizzard was ordered to be immediately dispatched by the attendants.

Tarikh gûzeidah. This ferocious tyrant, whose memory has been indeed loaded with sufficient obloquy by the Sheiahs, and whom he on his part never ceased to persecute with unsparing vengeance, expired, at the age of fifty-four, about the twenty-fifth day of the month of Ramzaun, in the ninety-fifth year of the Hidjerah.* Some time previous to his death he complained that his bowels were lacerated by dogs; and a roll of flexible silk being passed down his throat, by the physicians who attended, it was drawn up, covered with vermin. And though it does not appear to have rendered his government at all more palatable, it is recorded, probably as a proof of his boundless prodigality in the public expenditure, that among the disciples of the Korân, he was the first who, on one occasion, displayed a thousand tables for the entertainment of the people; or in a single donation disbursed a million of direms.

Exclusive of those who perished in battle, the amount of whom could be estimated by HIM alone who knows all things, there fell by the arbitrary mandates of Hejauje, not less than one hundred and twenty thousand persons.† Nevertheless, in a dream, in which he is said to have appeared to some one a short time after his death, he is made to declare, that, though for each on this numerous list of the victims of his fury, divine justice was satisfied with inflicting on him the punishment of a single death; yet that for the execution of Sauid alone, he was condemned to suffer seventy times the agony of dissolution.‡ There were, after all, found in the different prisons of his government, when providence thought fit to relieve mankind from his oppressions, no less than thirty thousand men, and twenty thousand women; many of these confined in that species of prison invented by himself, without roof; in which, alternately exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, and the vicissitudes of cold heat and rain, the unhappy victims were left to suffer under every variety of pain and wretchedness.

To the execration in which he was universally held by the subjects of his authority, Hejauje was not entirely a stranger. One day while passing through a piece of ground in the neighbourhood of Medeinah, he observed

* June 12th, A. D. 714. † Tarikh Tebry. ‡ Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

a man employed in the culture of the soil; with whom, entering into conversation, he asked him, among other questions, what sort of a man he considered Hejauje to be. The peasant, ignorant of the person to whom he was addressing himself, very bluntly replied, that he was a profligate and flagitious miscreant. "Knowest thou me," said Hejauje; "perhaps not," replied the peasant; "I am Hejauje," exclaimed the tyrant." "And I," added the peasant with considerable presence of mind, "knowst thou who "I am?" "No," said Hejauje: "I am," proceeded the other, "one of "the clients of the unfortunate house of Zobair, among my other afflictions, "subject to a derangement of intellects for three days in the year. To "my misfortune, that on which we have met is one of those days." Smiling at the promptitude of the reply, Hejauje quitted him without further notice. On his death bed he also appears to have been haunted with a similar curiosity on this subject; and he employed one of his confidential servants to collect from the conversation of the people their opinion of his character. He had the consolation to learn, that, if there was a finger's breadth in hell, it would be reserved for Hejauje.

A.H. XCV. A.D. 714. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur and Tarikh gûzeidah.

Among the circumstances recorded under the ninety-fifth of the Hidjerah, we find the birth of Abdullah the son of Ally, and great grandson of Abdullah Abbas, at a subsequent period sufficiently celebrated, under the title of Abû Jauffer, or more contemptuously of Abû dowânik ul Mansûr,* the second Khalif of the house of Abbas; and a mortality at Bassorah, which carried off, to the number of three hundred a day; followed by an earthquake, the shocks of which were repeated for forty days successively.†

There appears, however, to have been one person in the empire, to whom at least, the death of Hejauje became a matter of serious regret. And this was the able and warlike subgovernor of Khorassaun, whose interests he had ever strenuously promoted; and who received the intelligence of that event, while engaged in a fresh expedition to complete the reduction of the territory of Khauje. He returned straight to Merû, deeply lamenting his loss; having frequently expressed his conviction that while his patron lived, he should never have reason to be tired of existence. He was, however in some degree consoled on his arrival at Merû,

* Or Ul Manzor. † Tarikh Tebry and gûzeidah.

A.H. XCV. A. D. 714. by the letters which he received from Walid, assuring him, that his distinguished services against the enemies of his faith, were well known to his sovereign, who would not cease to promote his welfare and aggrandizement; that it was expected he would continue his exertions for the glory of Isslâm, with entire confidence in the favor of the vicar of God; and charging him at the same time, as usual, to be punctual in his correspondence, that the Khalif might, on all occasions, be apprized of his proceedings.

Tarikh Tebry.

Towards the conclusion of his reign, Walid became desirous of frustrating the claims of his brother Sûliman to the Succession, and of securing it for his own son Abdulazziz. And for this purpose, having failed in some former applications, he was proceeding on a journey to visit his brother, to obtain his concurrence, when he was suddenly taken ill, and died on a Tuesday in the middle of the first month of Jummaudy,* of the year ninety-six; at the age of forty-five, and after possessing the Khelaufut for a period of nine years and three or four months. According to the Syrian writers, this monarch, in ability and intellectual endowments, was not surpassed by any of the princes of the house of Ommeyah. Of his magnificence, the noble structure of the mosque of the Benni Ommeyah at Damascus, and the re-edification and enlargement of that of the prophet at Medeinah may be cited as splendid proofs.† Another ascribes to him the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem, if that place is always to be understood by the appellation of Mesjide aksy.‡ The mosque at Medeinah he decorated with marble pillars transported from Damascus, and a roof either of ebony, or of the Sauje or Sabin tree. And in the construction of that of Damascus, exclusive of the valuable materials contributed by foreign princes, he is said to have expended six millions of dinaurs of gold.§ Many also were the hospitals which he built for the reception of the sick, and the stranger, in which he set an excellent example to those who came after him.

A.H. XCVI. A. D. 715.

We have already noticed the conquests in Spain, and the countries beyond the Oxus, which were achieved under the reign of Walid. It also appears that a portion of Hindûstaun, probably that lying towards the delta of the Indus, was annexed to the territory of Isslâm under this reign, by Mahommed the son of Abûl Kessem, one of the vassals of Hejauje.

* End of January. † Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

‡ Tarikh qaseidah. § At the lowest computation about 3,437,500*l.*

We further learn that Walid was the first who introduced into the architecture of his mosques, the slender structure of the minaret, for the purpose of announcing the hour of prayer. And yet we are told that the majority of historians have recorded this prince as a monster of oppression; and bearing as well in name and disposition, a striking resemblance to the worst of the Pharaohs. He left nineteen sons, two of whom, Ibrauhim and Yezzeid, at a remote period ascended the throne of the Khalifs. A.H. XCVI. A. D. 715. Tarikh Tebry.

Suliman the son of Abdulmêlek, seventh Khalif of the house of Ommeyah, is said to have succeeded to the empire, and to have received the homage of his subjects on the very day of his brother's death; notwithstanding the exertions which had been making in favor of his nephew. The first measures of his government were to confer upon Yezzeid the son of Mohilleb, whom he had uniformly protected against his brother, the lieutenancy of Irâk, and to substitute a more moderate and equitable class of men, to the severe and oppressive tax gatherers of Hejauje; from the effects of whose tyrannical administration, the inhabitants do not appear to have been hitherto relieved. Suliman VIIth. of the house of Ommeyah.

As he appears to have subscribed to the arrangements of the late Khalif for the exclusion of his brother, Kateibah experienced considerable alarm when the accession of Sûliman was announced to him; and he conducted his troops without delay, across the river of Balkh, a principal branch of the Jeyhûn frequently so called, with the design of fortifying Samarkand for the security of his family. When he had, however, passed that river, he directed his march towards Kashghâr, here stated to be the nearest city of the territory of Khoten. The prince of Khoten informed of his approach, immediately sent a messenger to request that he would depute one of his principal commanders to his presence; in order to reply to certain inquiries which he should propose, and particularly to explain to him the doctrines of his religion. Not unwillingly availing himself of this overture, Kateibah selected, from among his followers, twelve of the most remarkable for their martial appearance and powers of elocution; and having furnished them with arms, appointments, and apparel, in a style of singular magnificence, he dismissed them for their journey, charging their leader, who happened to be Hobairah the Kûlaubite, distinguished for elo-

A.H. XCVI. A.D 715. Tarikh Tebry.

quence and superior sagacity, to acquaint the prince, or monarch of Khoten, that he had sworn not to draw back until he had trodden under foot the soil of his country; until he had bound in chains the necks of his noblest subjects; and rendered them tributary to his authority.

Hobairah with his associates proceeded accordingly into Khoten, and was shortly after his arrival summoned to the presence of the prince. At this moment they had just been enjoying the luxury of a warm bath: but it was determined that they should make their first appearance, habited as they then were, in white linen vests and mantles, with slippers on their feet. In this guise they were admitted to the palace, or pavilion of the prince of Khoten, by whom they were directed to seat themselves. After a reasonable interval they quitted the presence without having uttered a syllable to any one. When they had withdrawn, the prince demanded of his ministers what ideas the appearance of these men had impressed upon their minds; they observed, that like their language, their characters were yet a mystery to them. The next day they were summoned to another audience, and they now presented themslves in habits and turbans of silk, of the richest and most delicate texture; still preserving, however, the same unaccountable and obstinate silence, and were again dismissed in the same manner: the courtiers acknowledging to the prince that this their second appearance seemed to bespeak something more of humanity than the first. The third day, however, when sent for to repeat their visit, they equipped themselves in all the trappings of martial pride; and helmeted and mailed from head to foot, with scimitars to their sides, lances in hand, and bows slung to their shoulders, they presented themselves mounted on stately chargers at the entrance of the palace. The impressions received from their present appearance were extremely different from what had been formerly experienced. The prince beheld their approach even at a distance with terror and alarm, and directed that they should withdraw before they had been suffered to seat themselves, as they had been hitherto permitted to do. "To day," said the prince, addressing himself to his courtiers, "how do these strangers appear in your eyes?" "Heaven is witness," "answered they, "that in intrepid mien and equipment for battle, such "men have never before attracted our notice."

The prince of Khoten now sent to desire that one of the most intelligent of their number, might attend his presence; and the choice falling of

course on Hobairah, that chief proceeded accordingly to the palace. A.H.XCVI, A.D. 715. Tarikh Tebry.
"Thou hast witnessed," said the prince, addressing himself to Hobairah on his admission, "the magnitude of my dominion, and the uncontroulable "extent of my royal authority; both thy associates and thyself are placed "entirely at my discretion, and there is no human power that can interfere "to screen you from my resentment. Attend to my words. I shall ask "thee a few plain questions, to which, if thou answerest not with truth and "sincerity, thou and thy associates shall surely die." "Say on," said Hobairah. "To what am I to ascribe," the prince proceeded to demand, "that diversity of appearance under which you exhibited your persons on "the three occasions, on which you were summoned to my presence? "On the first day," replied Hobairah, "we came before thee in the habits "in which we are accustomed to visit our women and children. The "second day we appeared as we present ourselves to our princes and other "great men. And the third day we appeared before thee in the "garb and equipment with which we march to combat our enemies.

In some degree surprised at the singularity of the circumstance, the prince confessed that the expedient was not unworthy of his approbation. But he desired that Hobairah and his associates would immediately return, and charge the general to withdraw from his frontier; for that he was not a stranger either to his inordinate ambition, or to the extent of his resources; otherwise he might be constrained to employ those against him who would not fail to overwhelm with destruction, both himself and all his followers. "What sort of a man he is," observed Hobairah, "his "friends, at this distance, will not pretend to discuss; but that Kateibah "has ambition, his numerous conquests too loudly proclaim, even though "he had forborne to come thus far in search of fresh victories at thy "expence. It may however be necessary to apprize thee that the threats "of death can avail but little with men, who are persuaded that each has "his day appointed, and of which they entertain neither horror nor alarm. "After all," resumec the prince, "you may be disposed to advise me of the "steps which I ought to pursue, in order to appease and conciliate this "formidable chieftain. At any rate I am permitted to inform you," replied Hobairah, "that he has solemnly sworn, not to retire until he has accom- "plished three points;" which the delegate accordingly repeated to the prince. "From the obligation of this oath," proceeded the prince of Khoten,

A.H.XCVI. A. D. 715. Tarikh Tebry.

"I trust that I have found an expedient to relieve him. It needs only to "send him a small portion of earth from this my capital, whereon to place "his foot; and he becomes absolved of that part of his oath. For the rest "a group of my own children shall accompany you to receive from his "hands the ignominious badges of subjugation. And with respect to "money, I will engage to furnish you with what will be sufficient to "satisfy his utmost avarice." Then calling for a golden tray, he caused it to be covered with earth taken from the spot, and delivered to Hobairah and his associates; whom he now dismissed with sumptuous and splendid dresses for themselves, and a vast assortment of silken suits, with money in proportion, to be presented to their general; accompanied, as he had proposed, by four of the princes of the royal race of Khoten. Thus far successful in their mission, the delegates now returned to Kateibah; and the tribute being satisfactorily received by that general, the four princes, after submitting to the degrading formality to which they were destined, were sent back in safety to their country; Kateibah having first appeased his conscience in their presence, by treading on the soil of their native city. After which he, once more, retraced his steps to Merû.

The apprehensions of Kateibah, with respect to the views of the new Khalif, were in the mean time not without sufficient grounds; since it was impossible for Sûliman to dismiss from his recollection, that he and Hejauje were the only chiefs, throughout the empire, who could be prevailed on to concur with Walid in the design to exclude him from the succession. Another no less powerful cause of alarm was the elevation of Yezzeid the son of Mohilleb to the highest dignities under the authority of Sûliman; and every object of Yezzeid's ambition was known to be concentrated in the province of Khorassaun. Besides, the austere rigour with which, in concurrence with his patron Kateibah, he had prosecuted the claims against the family of Mohilleb, had rendered him particularly obnoxious to all that race. He had therefore, at an early period, taken the precaution to fix at Neyshapûr, on the high road to Irâk, those in whom he could confide, to forward immediate intelligence of the proceedings of Yezzeid. And he was accordingly soon apprized of the appointment of that chief to the government of Irâk: on which he immediately drew the conclusion, that that of Khorassaun would at no distant interval be added by the partiality of his sovereign. He therefore determined to antieipate the event, by preparing to retire;

into Khârezm, where he now proposed to place himself in a posture of defence against the attacks of his enemies. A.H.XCVI. A.D.715.

Before he carried this design into execution, however, Kateibah contrived to fabricate a letter from Sûliman to himself; in which the Khalif was made to state, that being impressed with an irresistible conviction, that the city of Constantinople was destined to open its gates to one of the princes of the race of Ommeyah, who should convey from thence, that which was described to be the skirt, or remnant of the apparel of the first parents of mankind; and that trusting that Almighty God had selected him for his instrument to subjugate the city of the Cæsars, he had determined to march against it in person. "In the mean time," the Khalif is made to add, "when this letter reaches thee, thou art required without delay to "enter Ferghânah, and from thence to proceed into Khoten; where it is "expected that thou wilt exert the utmost of thine accustomed activity "and diligence: of thy zeal and loyalty I have long been well apprized, "and I only look forward to an opportunity of raising thee to the highest "dignity near my own person." Kateibah called his followers together, and communicated to them the contents of this fabrication; at the same time directing them to hold themselves in immediate readiness to proceed on the expedition. Tarikh Tebry.

By some means or other, information of his plans was conveyed to Sûliman; by whom letters were immediately transmitted to recal his minister, who had proceeded to adjust some of his concerns at Bassorah. On repairing to the presence of his sovereign, the latter addressed the son of Mohilleb in these terms. "What I have to communicate is this. Katei- "bah has taken the alarm at the idea that thou art to supersede him in the "government of Khorassaun. My advice is, that a letter be immediately "written to express an entire approbation of all his arrangements for the "expedition against Ferghânah; enjoining him at the same time not to leave "that country, until the whole of its fortresses are in his entire and "absolute possession. Thou wilt, however, instruct the messenger, to "whom the conveyance of this letter is entrusted, to announce to the "troops of Khorassaun that the Khalif has added one hundred dirhems* "each to the customary donation on the commencement of a new reign; "and that he has moreover granted them permission to retire to their fami- "lies, whenever they find themselves disposed to avail themselves of

* About 2*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*

A.H. XCVI. A. D. 715. Tarikh Tebry.

"such an indulgence. For the soldiers, must be doubtless anxious to "revisit their homes, after a tedious absence; and as this would be parti- "cularly inconvenient to Kateibah at such a crisis, he will necessarily "oppose their inclinations, which in all probability must produce on "their part an immediate mutiny against his authority."

In conformity to the instructions thus imparted by his sovereign, Yezzeid dispatched a letter to the governor of Khorassaun, which was received by the latter with a momentary sensation of pleasure and surprise. He hastened therefore to read it to the public; but when he had finished his disclosure of the contents, the messenger, by whom it had been delivered, arose; and announced to the troops, as he had been instructed, the additional proof of their sovereign's bounty, which had been decreed for them; and the further indulgence which he freely offered them of his permission, whenever they chose to avail themselves of it, to revisit their long forsaken homes. In an instant perceiving that the drift of such a communication was to seduce his soldiers from their obedience, Kateibah addressed himself without delay to counteract the impression which it threatened to produce to his disadvantage. "Good people," said he, addressing himself "to the multitude, "the discourse with which this man has endeavoured "to amuse you, is fraught with the grossest falsehoods: his object being "widely different from that which he wishes you to conceive. It is the "crafty Sûliman, who is endeavouring to defraud you of your allegiance in "favor of his son Ayûb. Of that slave in whose sacrifice* it would be "pollution to partake. Slave did I say; the slave who serves a master is "infinitely superior to Ayûb the son of Sûliman."

Kateibah now withdrew to his palace, where he dictated three separate dispatches to Sûliman: in the first of which he expatiated at considerable length on his numerous victories, campaigns, and services; on the reputation and influence which he had established among the natives of the Persian empire. He then lavished upon the race of Mohilleb every expression of contempt and obloquy; concluding with a solemn oath, that if Yezzeid was created governor of Khorassaun, he renounced his allegiance to Sûliman; and that he should oppose his lieutenant, in arms, and furnish him with such employment as had probably not yet entered his conception. In his

* Alluding probably to the sacrifice of the tenth of Ziljhudje, distributed to the pilgrims at Mekkah.

other dispatches he appears to have briefly and formally denounced, that he abjured the authority of Sûliman; with whom he therefore declared himself in a state of hostility and open rebellion. One of his domestics having undertaken to deliver these dispatches to the Khalif, he received from his master at the same time the following instructions. If on perusal of the first dispatch, Sûliman handed it over to Yezzeid, the messenger was then to present the second; and if this was perused and passed over by Sûliman to his minister, he was to deliver his third dispatch. If, on the contrary, Sûliman, on perusal of the dispatch, reserved it to himself without communicating it to Yezzeid, the messenger was in this case forbidden either to deliver the remaining letters, or in any manner to discover that they were in his possession.

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With these instructions the messenger accordingly proceeded from Merû to Damascus, and delivered his first dispatch to Sûliman, in the presence of Yezzeid; and as the Khalif consigned it on perusal, to the hands of his minister, the messenger, as he had been authorized by his master to do, produced his second, and then his third dispatch; which were like the former alternately communicated to Yezzeid. Under these circumstances the Khalif, with singular moderation, proceeded to express his acknowledgments of the wrongs of Kateibah, and of the merits and services of that distinguished chieftain. After which, directing that the messenger might be hospitably entertained in the interim, he sent for him the next day; and with a present of one hundred dinaurs for himself, announced his resolution to forward a patent, investing Kateibah with the government of Khorassaun: and for this purpose a person of the tribe of Abdul Keyss, was ordered to accompany the messenger of Kateibah to the presence of his master. When they reached Hûlwaun they were however informed, by the people, of the revolt of Kateibah; on which the messenger of Sûliman returned immediately to Damascus. The other proceeding into Khorassaun, made known to his patron the unexpectedly favorable arrangement, which had been so unfortunately rendered unavailing by his precipitate violence; laying before him the Khalif's patent, now, of no further use than to sharpen the sensations of disappointment and regret.

Under the perplexity to which he had thus reduced himself, Kateibah sought relief in the advice of his brothers; all of whom concurred in the

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Tarikh. Tebry.

declaration, that there could be no longer safety on the side of Sûliman. He next summoned to his councils Tehery, or Tehessery, the son of Abdullah, a man of noble extraction, and powerful influence among the people of Khorassaun; to whom, after expressing the confidence with which the experience of former services had inspired him, he proceeded to unfold what he thought necessary of his embarassments with Sûliman, requesting to hear such advice as he might be prepared to offer on such an occasion. "Sûliman," observed this person, "is too well acquainted "with thy merits and loyalty, and entertains too just an opinion of thy "services against the enemies of the faith, to call thee to an account for "the past: or at the worst, to do any thing that shall affect thy life. "'Tis "not of death that I am afraid," replied Kateibah, "my apprehensions are "that Sûliman should give the government of Khorassaun to Yezzeid, "recal me to his presence, and expose me to that degradation before man-"kind, than which death would be to me a thousand times more accept-"able." "I cannot pretend to determine," said his adviser, "that Yezzeid "must necessarily treat thee with severity, though he should obtain the "government of Khorassaun; but my chief hope is that the return of thy "messenger may yet bring thee from the Khalif a grant for that government; "I would therefore advise thee by no means to engage in any precipitate "measure, for it is impossible to say how matters may turn out." "Alas," added Kateibah, "it is but too true that my messenger has brought me the "grant to which thou hast alluded; but the messenger of Sûliman who "was to have lodged it in my hands, returned from Hûlwaun, on hearing "that I had abjured the authority of his master."

To Hûsseyne the son of Mûnzer, to whom he next applied under his perplexities, Kateibah is said to have disclosed himself as follows. "I "have a measure in contemplation," said he, "that may possibly in the "event prove injurious to Khorassaun. "Of what nature?" demanded Hûsseyne. "I propose," replied Kateibah, "to detach a body of troops "to take possession of, and fortify the approaches from Kashghar, of "which I have reason to entertain some apprehensions." "General," observed Hûsseyne rather drily, "there is one approach against which, if "you can but contrive to secure yourself, you may venture to be perfectly "regardless of every other." "What may that be," said Kateibah; "*the approach of death*," replied Hûsseyne. When with an impatience

which ill became his character, Kateibah, dashing his tiara, or helmet, of whatever it was that he wore on his head, to the floor, it severed into two parts; and Hûsseyne took the opportunity to observe, pointing to the fractured head piece, that this was rather an inauspicious omen. On which he arose and went away, Kateibah angrily declaring, that the moroseness of this man's remarks should have long since convinced him, that he was uniformly disposed to thwart him in all his wishes. A.H.XCVI. A. D. 715. Tarikh Tebry.

Kateibah now thought fit to confine his consultations to the circle of his own relatives; of whom, his brother Abdurraihman avowed his preference for the plan, formerly agitated, of withdrawing to the territory of Samarkand; first of all ascertaining those who were sincerely attached to his interests, by proclaiming to the troops, that all such as were desirous of returning to their native countries should be at full liberty to do so, without being exposed to any manner of interruption; while such as were inclined to abide his fortunes, should find that there was no advantage in his power to bestow that should be withheld from them. That he might then proceed, if he conceived it expedient, to abjure the authority of Sûliman, and publicly invite the people to follow his example. This plan as it coalesced with his own opinion, Kateibah finally determined to adopt: and he hastened without further delay to the requisite preliminary of sounding how far the troops were disposed to favor his views. Of this, an opportunity was not long wanting, in his discharge of the duties attached to his important command. "Men of Khorassaun," said he in the harangue which he addressed to them on this occasion, "during the period in which I have been your "governor, you will do me the justice to acknowledge, that I have never "withheld a brother from his brother, or a son from the wishes of his "parent; that the fruits of your victories have ever been impartially and "scrupulously divided amongst you; and that by me neither stipend, nor "donation has in any instance been ever intercepted on its way to you. "Of the chiefs who have preceded me in my authority, you have also had "ample experience. I shall, however, venture to bring to your recollec- "tion one particular instance, in Abdullah Hâzem; who from the time of "his entrance into Khorassaun, to that of his departure, never subjugated "a single foreign adversary, nor gave you an opportunity of a single booty.

A.H.XCVI. A.D. 715. Tarikh Tebry. "By which he was of course constrained to represent to Abdulmêlek that "the resources of this great province, were inadequate to the support "of his army. And in this way, in order to prove your fidelity, did he "contiuue to hold you in a state of suspense and incertitude, until your "clothes and arms were worn to shreds, and rendered unfit for any kind "of service. So without victory, and without booty, your necessaries and "equipments were at last reduced to nothing. If, on the contrary, your "uniform experience can attest, that my conduct towards you has been "invariably just and liberal, the moment is now arrived in which you may "prove by your actions, the sense which you entertain of my services,"

To his equal surprise and mortification all this was listened to without a single acclamation or reply. Yielding therefore to the impulse of his present feelings, Kateibah did not forbear to give a loose to his resentment, in a manner which could not fail to aggravate the dislike, rather than awaken the benevolence of his hearers. He called upon God Almighty to discard from his favor that man, who for the future should have the folly to place any reliance on the support of such a people. "Arabs, ye truly "are," said Kateibah, "accursed be the race of you! Now that you have "been enriched by the spoils of the Persian empire, and that the princes "of Sogdiana have been compelled to serve you, I am to look for the "reward of all my labours, and all my sacrifices, in the basest hypocrisy and "ingratitude. Peradventure, when the son of Mohilleb becomes your "governor, he may find a method of subduing that spirit which has made "you forgetful of your obligations to the man, who from a state of penury "and contempt, hath raised you to opulence and splendour." The multitude continued, notwithstanding, to observe the same obstinate and sullen silence; and soon afterwards arose from the assembly and dispersed to their several habitations. While Kateibah retired to his palace to meet the expostulations of his brothers, and the members of his family; who united in censuring that indiscriminate abuse in which he had been indulging himself, without exempting even the tribes which were best affected to his interests. He endeavoured to justify himself, however, by the sullen and disrespectful silence which had excited his indignation. But with regard to the tribes to whom they alluded, there was not one which he did not proceed to stigmatize by some odious and contemptuous comparison. "The Aleiahs of Bassorah," said he, "are nothing better than the alms

"camels indiscriminately collected together from different quarters, without "regarding either age or condition. As to the Benni Bukker ben Wayeil, "I can only compare them to those abandoned prostitutes who submit "themselves te the embraces of every creature that is male. And for the "Benni Temeim and Benni Abdul Keyss, I shall not hesitate to compare "the first to the uncleanest of dogs, and the last to those detestable and "savage beings who haunt and devour the forlorn and helpless wanderer, "in the solitude of the desert. And heaven forsake me, if, when I "become their prince, I do not retaliate upon them for the dishonor of this "day." A.H.XCVI. A.D. 715. Tarikh Tebry.

In the mean time, some of the men whom he treated with such little ceremony, hastened to unburden their insulted feelings to Abdurraihman the Kessrian, who was suffering under injurious treatment received from Kateibah; and of whom they angrily demanded if he had not been a witness to the language in which this governor of theirs had so liberally indulged himself. Abdurraihman told them that the subject of their displeasure had already reached him, and requested to know what was the further object of their visit. They informed him it was their wish to repair immediately to Kateibah, and demand permission to retire to their families. Abdurraihman then observed that they could be no strangers to the animosity which at present subsisted between him and Kateibah; nevertheless, he could yet venture to communicate with his brother Abdurraihman, whom he had ever considered as the most respectable of the family. To which they agreed; and the Kessrian immediately proceeded to pay his proposed visit to that chief. To him he disclosed his business, by observing, that he had reason to believe there was a dangerous spirit of disaffection prevailing against his brother; and were he not the man from whose injustice he had been a sufferer, that he had something to communicate, which might be the means of preventing an immediate insurrection against his authority, that might ultimately terminate in an attempt against his life. "I would "therefore advise thee," continued the Kessrian, "to recommend to him "to give to the troops immediate permission to return to their homes, "while the matter is not yet beyond his controul." "This is a measure," replied Abdurraihman, "which my brother has already had in contempla- "tion; and in truth, if I were at all consulted in the business, these men "would have been long since dispersed to seek their subsistance from

A.H. XCVI. A.D. 715. Tarikh Tebry.

"mountain to mountain." "Peradventure," added the Kessrian, considerably irritated, "thou hast also ensured the means to prevent their "reuniting against you;" and in this temper of mind, left him to communicate to his brother the subject of their conference; and the contempt with which Kateibah affected to treat the intermediation of the Kessrian, being further reported to the latter, he employed a person to inform those who had sought his interference, that he had acquitted himself to his conscience; and that it was now at their discretion to proceed as they thought proper.

Without however further accompanying our original, in the recital of the instances of inflexible obstinacy with which Kateibah continued to reject every proposal, either to adopt the means of providing for his security by the immediate destruction of his enemies; or once more to reconcile the Arab tribes to his interest, it will be sufficient to remark, that he at last succeeded in producing an almost total alienation from his own authority, while his efforts were directed to subvert that of another. The result it will not be difficult to conjecture, when from a subsequent statement it appears, that there were at this period in Khorassaun, serving under the banners of those chiefs, whose angry passions, with an infatuation bordering on insanity, he thus laboured to inflame against his person, not less than eighty or ninety thousand veterans, drawn from the dependencies of Kûfah and Bassorah; all of whom, in the short space of a few days, were alternately prevailed on to unite in a conspiracy combined for his destruction.

As Hûsseyne the son of Mûnzer, the chief of the tribe of Benni Bukker, had repeatedly declined the importunities of the malcontents, to place himself at the head of the combination, they at last turned their attention towards Oukia the son of Asswad, of the tribe of Benni Temeim; a man of equal valour and abilities, whose keen resentment for degradation from rank and authority, made it not difficult to prevail upon him to enter into their views against Kateibah. To this person, accordingly, most of the chiefs, and among others of considerable celebrity, Hussaun the son of Ayauss, surnamed from a defect of speech, Bonty, the stammerer perhaps, who commanded the Persian mowâlies, or auxiliaries, by some reputed a native of Khorassaun, by others of Deylem, either publicly or privately engaged h eir fidelity. Yet the same insensate fatuity which hath so frequently urged the unfortunate to their ruin, continued in spite of repeated informa-

tion, to blind Kateibah to the dangers by which he was menaced to the very last moment; when, after eluding several messages dispatched to require his attendance, the alarming truth became at once disclosed by the appearance of Oukia, at the gates of his palace, at the head of eighty thousand followers, every instant increased by the traitors, and other malcontents, who hastened from every quarter to join in the attack. Hussaun Bonty, with the Persian mowâlies, appeared at first disposed among the defenders of the palace; but the moment he perceived his opportunity, he hastened to fulfil his engagements, and with the whole of his followers, went over to the insurgents. In the same manner Kateibah perceived himself gradually abandoned by the whole of his troops; and his gallant brothers and their sons, to the number of eleven, having alternately perished in his defence, he was at last left entirely alone. The Ezdians and Benni Bukker no longer restrained by opposition from within, rushed on, and cutting the cords by which the hangings of the state apartments were suspended, they discovered the person of Kateibah, seated in sullen majesty on his throne. The unhappy chief was immediately transfixed by an arrow from the hand of one of his assailants, while another with his scimitar put a period to his existence. His head was soon afterwards laid before Oukia, and by him, as usual, transmitted to the presence of Sûliman; who doubtless rejoiced at an event by which the government of Khorassaun was with so little difficulty restored to his authority.

Nevertheless, when it was announced to the Persians that Kateibah had thus fallen, they, rather tardily, discovered their veneration for his character; by affirming that had he been one of them, his remains inclosed in an ark, should have constantly preceded their armies, as the sure pledge of success and glory. Neither is it denied that the exploits and victories of Kateibah, in the government of Khorassaun, were of an extent and magnitude which seldom fall to the lot of any individual. Accordingly, as if the exit of such an illustrious chief could not be entirely dismissed, without some circumstance approaching to the marvellous, we are further told, that a company of men stationed on the borders of Irâk, observing a stranger coming along the road, staff in hand, and in other respects equipped like a traveller, they demanded whence he came and what news! He told them that he was from Khorassaun, and if it was of any importance to them to hear, Kateibah had been put to death the day before. Perceiving their surprise and

A.H.XCVI. A.D. 715. Tarikh Tebry. disbelief of what he said, he demanded in his turn, if they had any conjecture, how far he had travelled since the preceding night. And when they told him, that they could not pretend to say, he added, "only from "Africa," and continued his journey; but conceiving that he sported with their credulity, they set off in pursuit of him, as fast as their horses could gallop; he parted from them, however, with the speed of an arrow, though on foot, and like an arrow instantly disappeared.

A.H.XCVII. A.D. 715-16. The narrative now enters into the ninety-seventh year of the Hidjerah, when the Khalif Sûliman dispatched a powerful armament, under his brother Mosslemah, to lay siege to the imperial city of Constantinople; with orders not to withdraw from before that capital, until he was master of it. At the same time, that he might be at hand to promote the success of the enterprize, he removed his own residence to a town called Danek, near Kunserein, the ancient Syrian Chalcis. Having already reduced the fortress of Hessen Ayûf, in the course of the preceding year, Mosslemah accordingly now presented his army without further opposition before the gates of Constantinople. His troops had been previously instructed to furnish themselves with two months' provision, with which they loaded their horses: and this he now further directed them to lodge together in one enormous and mountain-like pile on one side of his encampment. They next received instructions to provide themselves with habitations of wood, and to prepare the ground for tillage, since they were destined to remain there for the winter. And here accordingly they did remain, occasionally subsisting themselves on the plunder of the countries adjacent, until the period of harvest; when they secured a pretty ample supply from the produce of their own labour.

In the mean time the fame of his former victories had rendered Mosslemah, and his troops, extremely formidable to the degenerate descendants of the ancient masters of the world. And under these circumstances, Aleiûn, the name by which the emperor Leo the Isaurian, is distinguished by the Asiatics, thought fit to try the effect of a negociation with his besiegers; and for this purpose he dispatched a message to Mosslemah, requesting that he would send a person into the city, to hear certain proposals which he had to communicate. In consequence of this application, a chief of the name of Hobairah proceeded to confer with the Greek prince; whom we find at the opening of the interview, rather absurdly, taxing the

Mahommedans with their folly, in appeasing the calls of hunger without scruple, with any thing that fell in their way: to all which, with their other inconveniences, he alleged that they had been condemned by Sûliman, in order to humble them by every species of degradation. "We are "men," replied Hobairah, "who learn, from the study of our religion, "obedience to the will of our sovereign." "Thou hast truly said," observed Aleiûn; "the same religious opinion is the cause of those hostili- "ties which subsist between us; and perhaps the contest may be brought "this day to a termination. However, if thou wilt undertake to promote a "conclusion so desirable, I will engage to pay a contribution of one dinaur "in thirty, if the Mahommedans can be persuaded to raise the siege." With this proposal Hobairah returned to Mosslemah, by whom it was immediately rejected; and the negociator repairing once more to the city, acquainted the emperor Leo with the failure of his mission: palliating the refusal, however, by an apology so extraordinary, that it is scarcely possible to believe he was serious. For he represents that when he proceeded to communicate the proposal of the Greek prince to Mosslemah, he found him retired to sleep, after an immoderate meal in which he had been brutally indulging himself; and that when he awoke, he appeared so overcome with phlegm, and the torpor of indigestion, that it was impossible to make him comprehend what was said to him.

A.H.XCVII. A. D. 716. Tarikh Tebry.

The patricians, and other principal inhabitants of the city proceeding however to threaten their emperor with immediate degradation, if he did not, by some means or other, contrive to relieve them from the presence of Mosslemah, the Greek prince dispatched another message to acquaint the Mahommedan general, that a notion prevailed in the town that it was not his design to engage in direct hostilities; but to pass away the time until his stock of provisions was consumed. He therefore ventured to make the extraordinary request that he would set fire to his magazine, and that he would then immediately put him in possession of the city. But what is equally extraordinary, we find that Mosslemah did not hesitate to comply with this request, by immediately burning his provisions; to the infinite gratification of the besieged, who were thus encouraged to defend themselves with greater ardour and confidence; while their assailants were

A.H.XCVII. A. D. 716. shortly reduced to a state of distress and hardship, little short of total destruction.

Tarikh Tebry. The expedient by which Leo contrived to overreach the circumspection of Mosslemah on this occasion, is however a little further on, described with some variation. Observing the enormous supply of provisions which had been accumulated by the besiegers, the Greek monarch sent to request that the inhabitants of the town might be permitted to draw what was sufficient for immediate subsistance from the districts adjacent; which he said, would at the same time contribute to inspire them with a high opinion of the justice of Mosslemah, and put them less on their guard against his soldiers. To this, with singular condescension, Mosslemah gave his consent. And as the whole Grecian fleet had been already disposed to take advantage of the opportunity, every article of provision which had been collected round the town and neighbourhood, was in the course of a single night, completely swept within the walls of Constantinople; scarcely an article of any species of consumption being left without by the return of day. The astonishment and consternation of the besiegers was such as to confine them, for some time, entirely to their entrenchments; daily exposed in their turn to the now unrestrained insults and exertions of those whom they had been so long accustomed to despise. After devouring all their quadrupeds, they were at last reduced to such extremity, as to depend for subsistance, not only on the leaves and bark of trees, but on the most loathsome and disgusting materials of every description: while their sovereign, in his abode at Kunserein, found every attempt to relieve them impracticable. And in this state they are said to have continued, until the accession of Omar the son of Abdulazziz, by whom, as will be seen hereafter, Mosslemah was recalled from his very arduous and perilous situation. In the mean time, it will doubtless appear extraordinary to the reader, that our author should be disposed to ascribe the miscarriage of his countrymen on this occasion, rather to the simplicity of their general, than to the operation of that fearful agent of destruction, the *Greek fire*, to which it is in general attributed by other historians.

While the attention of Sûliman was thus engaged in prosecuting hostilities against the metropolis of Constantine, his lieutenant Yezzeid the son of Mohilleb, undertook the reduction of the strong city of Gûrgan, or Jûrjân, as it is indifferently denominated, towards the south east extremity

of the Caspian, or sea of Khârezm. This city, according to our author, A.H.XCVII. A.D. 716. together with a long and lofty wall which extended on one side to the sea, like that on the opposite coast at Derbend, formed an almost impregnable bulwark against the inroads of the Turks or Tartar hordes from the side of Kharezm; and had often bafled the efforts of some of the most powerful of the ancient Persian monarchs. Of its strength and magnitude, in the numerous masses of burnt brick, some traces remained to be seen in the middle of the tenth century of the Christian era; that being the age in which the compiler of the original chronicle appears to have flourished, under Munsûr the son of Nouh, the Samânian prince of Khorassaun.* And up to the period now under consideration, the only Mahommedan chief by whom it had been seriously assailed, was Sauid the son of Ul Auss, who led an army against it in the reign of the Khalif Othman; and he had been induced to make peace with the inhabitants, on receiving a contribution of two millions of dirhems. Among other circumstances, however, which rendered its reduction of considerable importance, it appears in a great measure to have commanded the communication between Khorassaun and the cities of Damaghaun and Raï; to which it was impossible to approach in that direction without the utmost difficulty and hazard; and it is further observed, that the communication with Irâk lay through the southern and circuitous route of Kermaun, until the recent and memorable government of Kateibah; who to facilitate his correspondence with Hejâuje, first opened a practicable road by the way of Koumess. He had also repeatedly solicited from Hejauje his sanction to undertake the subjugation of this formidable city; and had been as repeatedly forbidden by the cautious policy of that odious and sanguinary chieftain. It is here further observed, that when his master held out to the admiration of his courtiers, the frequent victories of Kateibah, Yezzeid invariably decried them as trifles of little importance. "Let him," said he, "make himself master of "Jûrjaun, and he will then in truth have achieved a conquest, which defied "the efforts of the most powerful of the Persian monarchs."

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Accordingly when he became invested with the government of Khorassaun, Yezzeid seems to have discarded from his mind every other object of

* Abû Salah Munsûr the son of Nouh, the Samânian, monarch of Bokhâra, and Khorassaun, died about the fonrteenth of March, A. D. 976, after a reign of fifteen years.

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ambition, but the conquest of this important station. And having continued at Merû for the space of four months, to complete his arrangements, and to adjust the affairs of his province, he left it under the care of his son Mokhulled; and led his troops, which independent of the Persian mowaulies, and Maumlûks, amounted, on this occasion, to thirty thousand of the veterans of Syria and Irâk, towards Dehestaun. In the course of his march, he passed over the scene of a dreadful carnage, where he was informed that Sûl the prince of Jûrjân now reported to be in that place, had on some recent occasion been defeated by Kateibah; but who hastened on intelligence of the approach of Yezzeid to join his army in the Dehestaun, estimated at two hundred thousand strong. Notwithstanding this apparent superiority of number, they were however defeated in several actions by the efforts of superior discipline; and ultimately cooped up within the walls of their capital, without a possibility of escape. And as so numerous a garrison must have soon exhausted almost any stock of provisions, the prince was in a short time constrained to propose an accommodation with Yezzeid; who sent to inform him that he should have terms provided he immediately came out of the town. This he consented to do, and to surrender the place into the hands of the Mahommedans, if on his part Yezzeid would promise security to his person, family, and property. On these terms a treaty was immediately concluded and faithfully adhered to on both sides; Yezzeid being put in possession of this capital of the Dehestaun, with an incalculable booty, without further resistance. He now proceeded to the principal object of the expedition, the reduction of Jûrjân; the inhabitants of which were, however, so terrified by the fame of Yezzeid's exploits, that they immediately supplicated for peace, and obtained it on terms extremely moderate, if the sum for which they purchased it, is correctly stated, at three hundred thousand dirhems.*

Having left Asseid the son of Abdullah, of the tribe of Ezd, with a body of troops to keep possession of his conquest, Yezzeid now directed his march towards Tebrestaun, the ancient Hyrcania; at this time under the government of a prince, whom in the first instance we find entitled the Gueil Gueilan, but in the sequel Sepahbed, or general; whose numerous forces were perhaps sufficiently formidable to intimidate a less adventurous commander than the man who now approached his territory. A body of pioneers had been employed by Yezzeid to cut through the intervening

* 6,875*l.*

forests, and open a practicable road for the march of his army. And these had been followed, or more probably accompanied, by a division of four thousand men, as an advanced guard, under his brother Mûdrek the son of Mohilleb. When apprized of the appearance of the Mosslems, the prince of Tebrestaun seemed at first disposed to abandon his country, and take shelter in the territory of Deylem; but having, on further reflection, more generously determined to oppose the invaders, he sent to request the assistance of the ruler of that country, from whom he readily received a reinforcement of ten thousand men; with which he prepared to give battle to the Mosslems. On intelligence of this menacing disposition, Yezzeid, without delay, dispatched a body of twenty thousand men, under one of his own sons, to the support of his advanced guard. A fierce and obstinate conflict immediately ensued between these troops, and Sûliman, who commanded the Sepahbed's army; by whom they were, while engaged in these dangerous and difficult defiles, on all sides desperately assailed. Finding it impracticable to gain the surrounding heights and precipices, from which the Deylemites in particular, incessantly plied them with arrows, pikes, and even stones and rocks, the Mussulmans were at last constrained to draw back, and retire to their main body, under Yezzeid. All the passes and defiles were immediately taken possession of by the troops of the Sepahbed; who now wrote to the Merzbaun, or prince of Jûrjân, to avail himself of the opportunity to attack the detachment which had been left to overawe his country; and by seizing the communications in the rear, to cut off the retreat of Yezzeid. Seduced by the promises of the Sepahbed, and the stronger incentive of revenge, the prince of Jûrjân immediately attacked the detachment under Asseid the son of Abdullah; of whom great numbers having been cut to pieces, the remainder contrived to take a lateral position, in which they successfully defended themselves until subsequently relieved by their countrymen.

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In the state of anxiety, mixed with indignation, to which he was reduced by this intelligence, Yezzeid had recourse to the assistance of a man, whom, on some former occasion, he had grossly offended. This was the Hussaun Bonty, to whom, in a preceding page, we have already alluded; and who is in this place represented as entirely dumb, although in other respects, by his consummate subtilty and address, qualified to conduct the the most intricate undertakings. It is further stated, that he was a native

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of Deylem, which might peradventure have rendered his services more particularly desirable on such an occasion. To him, therefore, without hesitation, Yezzeid now applied; acknowledging at the same time, that, however, for his own part, every claim to his assistance might have been forfeited, yet the frequent instances, under his observation, in which his counsels had been most usefully extended to the believers, were to him a pledge that he would not forsake them in so perilous a crisis. "Thou art "no stranger," continued he, "to the intelligence from Jûrjân, nor to the "seizure of the passes in every direction round us. For heaven's sake, and "for the preservation of so many faithful people, let thy exertions be "immediately directed to discover, whether it is yet possible to bring about "a treaty between us and the enemy. Instantly discarding every impression of private resentment, this man caused it to be understood that it was his business to obey. And proceeding accordingly to the camp of the prince of Tebrestaun, to whom, on admission to his presence, he is stated to have addressed himself to the following substance. "Although in "religion I profess the tenets of Isslâm, I derive my origin from the same "stock with thyself. In the advice which I am about to offer, be persuaded "that I regard thy welfare infinitely beyond that of Yezzeid. Already a "mediator in the peace between him and the Tartars, in which my coun- "sels were listened to without repugnance on either side, I trust that they "will not be rejected here. Be not deceived with the presumption that "Yezzeid is defeated, or that thou hast obtained any lasting advantage "over the Mûssulmans. I well know from repeated experience, that "thou art not equal to a contest with the armies of the son of Abdulmêlek. "Think not that Yezzeid, who has summoned to his support the troops of "the empire, will consent to any peace with thee, when his force is col- "lected, and when his arrangements are completed. If therefore thou "wilt be advised by me, the opportunity will not be neglected to conclude "a treaty with him, at the moment his mind is bent on returning to "satiate his vengeance on the people of Jûrjân." "I am rather surprised," replied the Sepahbed, "considering the extent of the injury which thou "hast sustained from Yezzeid, that thou shouldst appear here in the "character of his ambassador; or have I been deceived in my information, "that he has levied a fine of two hundred thousand dirhems from thy pro- "perty?" "This is all very true," added Hussaun; "nevertheless, that

"thine enemy has done me violence, seems no good reason why I should "not offer thee the best advice in my power. In the mean time, if any "thing should occur to thy disadvantage in consequence of the treaty "which I have recommended, I pledge myself to assist thee." In short, by these and similar professions, he at last wrought upon the credulity of the prince of Tebrestân to consent to a treaty with Yezzeid; by which he engaged to send to the latter four hundred ass loads of saffron; four hundred male and female slaves, each carrying a tray of gold and silver, with an equal number of pieces of wrought silk, and in each tray a ring of gold or silver. And lastly the sum of seven hundred thousand dirhems* in specie.

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With terms which seemed so greatly to surpass his most sanguine expectations, Hussaun returned to his employer; who could not be immediately persuaded to believe that the articles which we have just enumerated, were not to be furnished by himself; as the price of his liberation from the scene of inextricable difficulty, in which he appears to have been inclosed. And it was therefore with equal joy and surprise, that he sent to take possession of this unlooked for donative on the part of the enemy; and availed himself of an opportunity to withdraw into the territory of Jûrjân, on terms so little to his disadvantage. Against the natives of the latter territory, he however swore a tremendous oath, that if it was his fortune to be successful in the operations, which he was about to recommence against them, he would not restrain the sword from its course of vengeance upon them, until their blood had flowed in a sufficient stream to turn the wheels of a corn mill; and until he had appeased his hunger on the bread which should be prepared for him from flour ground in that mill. Be this as it may, the Mirzebaun, or chief of Jûrjân, on intelligence of the approach of Yezzeid, retired into one of his forts, situated on the top of a hill surrounded by immense forests, and to which there was only one accessible approach. Thither he was pursued by the invader; who, during a siege of seven months, having exhausted every ordinary expedient of the art of war, without the smallest prospect of success, was at last begining to despair of the undertaking altogether, when an accident occurred to put him in possession of the place. An Arab of the tribe of Ezd, whose name was Mey-

*About 16,041*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

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auje the son of Abdurraihman, while hunting one day in the forest, with his dog and a few companions, perceived on the top of the hill, on which the fort was situated, an antelope; which taking to a passage that otherwise appeared dark and impracticable, he determined to explore it; and for this purpose, desiring his companions to remain where they were, until he returned, he made immediately for the spot, taking his dog along with him. Following the track marked out for him by the antelope, he found himself before he was well aware of such a circumstance, close upon the person of the Mirzebaun; but being fortunate enough to withdraw without being discovered, he hastened back by the same way: taking the precaution to mark his course by tying to the branches of the trees, as he withdrew, pieces of his vest, which he tore for that purpose.

Returning to camp, this man immediately repaired to the presence of his general; of whom he demanded, with the usual freedom, if he should conceive it a desirable event to become master of this otherwise impregnable fortress, without the hazard of a conflict; to which, the general having signified his assent, Meyauje further required to know what he would give to see his wishes gratified; and being told that he might have whatever he chose to ask, he limited his demand to four thousand dirhems in hand: adding, that if on the attainment of his object, the general was disposed to make his bounty more extensive, he might then indulge himself. Meyauje now proceeded to communicate the discovery, to which he had been conducted by the adventure of the antelope; and Yezzeid, in the elevation of his heart, offering to him the immediate disposal of fourteen hundred soldiers, to aid in the execution of his plan, he selected from these such as he thought best qualified by their strength and activity; and declined the greater number as more likely to impede, than promote the success of the enterprize, in the confined and narrow passage, through which he proposed to come upon the enemy before they could be aware of their danger. The last point to be determined, was the hour at which he expected to gain the spot, from whence he proposed to command the works of the besieged; he fixed on that of afternoon prayer the following day, and immediately set off at the head of his party.

The day following Yezzeid caused a number of fires to be made in different parts of his encampment; which alarming the apprehensions of the besieged, they drew out of their works in order of battle, prepared to

resist any attempt of their assailants from that quarter; while the Mahom- A.H.XCVII.
medan general, having anticipated the prescribed periods of divine worship A. D. 716.
at sun set and bed time, by uniting them into one course, proceeded, by a Tarikh
variety of attacks to keep their attention engaged from the opposite quar- Tebry.
ter. In the mean time, having marched all night with his detachment, and while the enemy were occupied in attending to the operations of Yezzeid, without the smallest suspicion of the storm which threatened from behind, Meyauje announced his arrival on the eminence above the fort; and awakened them from their fatal dream of security, by the appalling shout of the tekbeir, which was at once raised by the united voices of the party. The magnitude of the danger, augmented by its unforeseen approach, seemed to disarm the unhappy Jûrjanians, with the rapidity of enchantment. They became immediate suppliants for peace, offering, as a preliminary, to descend from their works, the moment that Yezzeid should think proper to require it. To the presence of that general they were accordingly ordered; their women and children were consigned to a state of hopeless captivity; their chief was immediately seized and jugulated; and the walls of their impregnable fortress laid in ruins.

Yezzeid now proceeded to lay siege to Jûrjân, or Gûrgan, the metropolis of the country; and having battered, and ultimately set fire to it, with his warlike machines, he compelled that city, after a short interval, also to surrender to his mercy; if that could be called mercy which was exercised in the most sanguinary barbarity. Of the prisoners who fell into his hands on this latter occasion, he caused twelve thousand to be led into the water course, or canal, with which the place was surrounded, called the waudy e-zeher; and proclaiming to his army that all who were desirous of feasting upon the blood of their enemies, should proceed to gratify their vengeance, the defenceless and unhappy captives were thus consigned to deliberate massacre; many of those who undertook the butchery, having four and five victims to dispatch before their task was finished. If this were, however, true, we must suppose, either that the number of unfortunates thus devoted to slaughter, must have exceeded the total of twelve thousand, or that the savages in the army of Yezzeid must have been far less numerous than former observation would lead us to imagine. And

A.H.XCVII. A. D. 716. Tarikh Tebry. yet, if the authors of unprovoked and unprincipled invasion, are in any case entitled to the faith of treaties, many will be disposed to think that, on this occasion, the people of Jûrjân were not punished with greater severity than they deserved. But, be that as it may, when the slaughter was completed, the stream of a neighbouring river was diverted through the scene of carnage; and mixing with the blood of the slain, in setting one of the corn mills at work, enabled Yezzeid to appease his conscience, by eating of a loaf of bread, the flour of which had been ground by a stream of human gore. Nevertheless, the vengeance of Yezzeid was not entirely appeased until gratified by a further execution of four thousand of the natives; who were suspended, by the neck, to the gibbets which he caused to be erected in different parts of the neighbourhood,

A.H.XCVIII. A. D. 1716. He now proceeded to collect the spoil, and having as usual set apart a fifth for the imperial treasury, the whole of the remainder was distributed without reserve to the army. That he himself entertained the most magnificent conceptions of the splendour of these successes, may be imagined from the letter by which he announced them to Sûliman; and in which he is represented to state to that prince, that in the subjugation of Gûrgan and Tebrestaun, the Almighty had bestowed on his arms a triumph denied to the most powerful monarchs of antiquity; instancing the failures of Shapûr Zûlektauf, of Noushirwân, and Hormûzd, before the dispensation of Isslâm; and at more recent periods under the Khalifs his predecessors; in the mean time, that the wealth of which these victories had been productive was of such a magnitude, that the fifth alone which would be faithfully remitted by a future opportunity, exceeded a million of dinaurs.* With a rectitude of heart, which, however, the frigid Mûssulman is determined shall not beguile him of a sentiment of applause, Yezzeid is stated to have dwelt on the latter circumstance, from an honest sense of gratitude for the many instances of generosity and kindness, extended towards him by his master. And yet it appeared so contrary to the maxims of common prudence, that his secretary, in preparing the dispatch, ventured to recommend in very urgent terms, that such a disclosure should be for the present delayed. "Since it is impossible to foresee or determine the changes "which the interval of a single day may produce," observed this wary

* 458,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* at the lowest.

scribe, "no consideration should actuate me to insert on the occasion, so "magnificent a report of the result of your victories. It must be followed "at least by one of two inconveniences; either the wealth of which you "have possessed yourself will appear in the eyes of Sûliman so prodigi- "ous, that he will insist on its being immediately conveyed to him, or he "will resign it entirely to your disposal: and in the latter case, the "presents which must on your part be indispensably transmitted to court, "whatever their magnitude or value, will appear contemptible in the "comparison. Without therefore producing the smallest advantage in "your favor, the report by which you are about to commit yourself will "be held up as a perpetual record against you; so that at every change in "the succession, it will ever continue an unfailing source of fresh "demands upon you and upon your property. "If, then, I were competent "to advise my general on such an occasion, I would recommend a simple "annunciation of his victories, and a request for permission to proceed to "the presence; where he would have an opportunity of communicating to "his sovereign in person, any additional particulars which he might be "further disposed to explain; without thus subjecting himself to the "future vexatious, and endless claims of succeeding administrations." These prudential reasonings appear, however, to have produced but little impression on the conduct of Yezzeid. The letter was conveyed, in the terms which he had originally dictated, to Sûliman, who received it with marks of extraordinary satisfaction; and who replied to it with expressions of the warmest applause on the distinguished services, thus rendered to his government by the zeal and ability of this active and intrepid commander.

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It is nevertheless further stated, that contented with having announced his successes to Sûliman, Yezzeid proceeded no further in the transmission of the imperial fifth of the spoil; but collecting the whole of this vast property into his own possession, and still adding to his already prodigious wealth by the most unjust and oppressive exactions on the people of his government, representations were at last conveyed to the Khalif, taxing his lieutenant with unwarrantable designs upon Khorassaun, if not with undisguised rebellion. Such an accusation against the man whom

A.H.XCVIII. A. D. 716. Tarikh Tebry. he had so recently rescued from death, and on whom he had so abundantly lavished his favors, may be easily supposed to have affected Sûliman with equal indignation and concern; and as he was anxious to provide some immediate remedy against a result so dangerous to his authority, he hastened to communicate his embarrassment to the members of his family. By one of these it was observed that the wealth accumulated by Yezzeid was sufficient to excite the most alarming apprehensions; that in the hands of any man, much more so in those of Yezzeid, it was sufficient to secure the empire of the world. He therefore conceived it advisable that one of the Khalif's relatives should be immediately dispatched into Khorassaun, with instructions to take from him this enormous wealth; and that thus sheared of his wings and feathers, he would be compelled to lay aside his soaring and ambitious designs. In conformity with this opinion, Sûliman was engaged in expediting his orders, and had probably written to his brother Mosslemah the letter which will be presently adverted to, when he was arrested in the midst of his arrangements by the hand of death. In the mean time, we are further informed that after he had so successfully disengaged himself from his perilous entanglement in the defiles of Tebrestaun, and completed the subjugation of Jûrjaun, Yezzeid advanced to Raï; where he had remained but a few days, when he received intelligence that Ayûb the son of Sûliman, the heir apparent to the Khelaufut was dead, and that his brother Dâoud had in his room been nominated to succeed on the demise of Sûliman. These incidents have however imperceptibly brought us into the year ninety-eight; in which, while Mosslemah continued the siege of Constantinople, his nephew, the just mentioned Dâoud, was employed in some other quarter of the Greek territory, where he reduced the fortress of Hessen ul Meraut, the castle of the mirror, stated to lay in the neighbourhood of Seleitah.

We have been long since apprized, that in order to facilitate the operations of the important siege of Constantinople, the Khalif Sûliman had taken up his abode at the town of Danek, in the territory of Kunserein, the Syrian Chalcis of antiquity. The narrative proceeds to relate, that one day while he attended the funeral rites of one of his people, he hastily seized a handful of the earth which lay by the grave; and smelling to it, exclaimed with apparent satisfaction to the bystanders, what a desirable place of sepulture, what an agreeable fragrance! Peradventure, little sup-

posing that before the expiration of a week afterwards, he was himself destined to be consigned to the same grave. A.H.XCIX. A. D. 717.

While he suffered under the attack of that disorder, a pleurisy, or pleuretic fever, which hastened his fate, he directed an instrument to be prepared, constituting one of his children, an unblown minor, his successor to the throne of the Khalifs; but his ministers, expostulating with him on the improvidence of committing the destinies of his people to the discretion of a youth without experience, desired him to recollect that the only solid consolation which would accompany him to his grave, would be the persuasion that he had selected a man of abilities, and virtue, to preside over the actions of the faithful; they received from him an sssurance, that if the circumstance which they deprecated should unadvisedly come to pass, it would be contrary to the most earnest wish of his heart; and that he should therefore take some further time for reflection. In this state of indecision, matters continued for a day or two; when Sûliman called for Jauber the son of Hussaun, the person to whose relation we are indebted for these particulars, and demanded what he thought of the qualifications of his son Dâoud; Jauber observed, that being at a distance, it was impossible to say how he was situated at that moment. "Whom then wouldst "thou recommend to my choice," continued the Khalif; "in that I can "not presume to be so good a judge as your highness," replied Jauber. "What dost thou say to Omar the son of Abdulazziz," observed Sûliman, further interrogating his adviser, on this occasion; when the latter, without hesitation, exclaimed that he had mentioned the man, of all others, the best qualified for his purpose, not less by the sanctity of his character among Mûssulmans, than by uniting to an excellent understanding the most scrupulous integrity, and the most unaffected piety. "Nevertheless," continued Sûliman, "if I assign the succession to Omar, to the entire "exclusion of my brothers after him, it may produce the most dangerous "commotions; independent of the probability that they will never suffer "him to exercise any authority over them." Yezzeid the son of Abdulmêlek was at this period absent from court. The Khalif then proceeded to state, that if this prince was nominated to succeed next after the son of Abdulazziz, it might eventually prove an expedient to conciliate all parties, and effectually secure the public tranquillity. An arrangement, of which Jauber entirely approving, Sûliman, without further delay, caused an

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instrument to be prepared to that effect, solemnly declaring Omar the son of Abdullazziz his immediate successor, with reversion, on demise of the latter, to Yezzeid the son of Abdulmêlek. The instrument being then carefully sealed up, it was delivered to the custody of the captain of his guards, and of Redja the son of Heyat; with an injunction, to pledge their allegiance to the person therein nominated to the succession, and to hasten to communicate the same to the people.

Redja proceeded accordingly to make the necessary explanations to the people, who requested to be admitted to an interview with their sovereign, in which they were immediately indulged; and being conducted to the presence of Sûliman, he desired them to direct their attention to the inclosure which he pointed out to them in the hands of Redja; "in that paper," said he, "is contained the will of your sovereign; let me require your "obedience to it, and your pledge of allegiance to the successor whom I "have named therein." The instrument was then presented to them by Redja, and they all engaged on the spot to abide by the provisions therein regulated by the wisdom of the Khalif.

When the people had separated to their habitations, the same Redja of whom we are now speaking, received a visit from Omar the son of Abdulazziz; for the purpose of urging a request, that he would declare whether he was the person whom the Khalif had designated to succeed to the sovereignty of the believers; that he might decline the envied distinction, while circumstances yet left it in his power to do so. Redja, however, swearing by his creator, that nothing should induce him to disclose the secret before the proper period, Omar left him in great displeasure. Soon afterwards he received a similar visit from Hashaum the son of Abdulmêlek, with a similar request; reinforced by every consideration of the friendship which had so long subsisted between them; and a solemn pledge that the important secret should never transpire beyond his own lips. Redja, however, was not to be prevailed upon to betray the confidence of his sovereign; and Hashaum, in leaving him, was heard to exclaim, clasping his hands together, that his pretensions had been evidently consigned away, and that the succession had thus departed from the sons of Abdulmêlek; otherwise there could have been no inducement sufficiently strong to withhold the disclosure from him.

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Soon after he had thus dismissed his visiters, Redja repaired to the sick chamber of Sûliman, whom he found, as he conceived, in a state which bespoke his speedy dissolution; and he was accordingly proceeding to lay him in an even posture, when the Khalif unexpectedly spoke, telling him, that the time was not yet come. The same circumstance occurred thrice; but the last time, Sûliman told him, if there was any thing he wished to adjust, he was now at liberty to dispatch it. Then distinctly pronouncing these emphatic words, "I attest that there is no God but God! and I "attest that Mahommed is the prophet of God!" he closed his lips forever, and immediately expired. Upon this, drawing his eyelids together, and covering his face with a sheet, Redja quitted the apartment, securing all the entrances; lest the event should by any means transpire before he accomplished what he had further in view.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur and Tarikh gûzeidah.

The death of Sûliman is said to have taken place on Friday the twentieth of Suffur,* in the ninety-ninth year of the Hidjerah, at the age of forty-five, and after a short reign, if we calculate from the demise of his predecessor, of two years and eight months. By a compassionate act of justice in the enlargement of prisoners, which distinguished the commencement of his reign, and by the general mildness and liberality of his behaviour towards all men, this prince acquired the honorable appellation of Miftauhol-kheyr, the key of beneficence. This could not be obliterated by a most voracious appetite, which would otherwise have been considered to debase his character; and in the indulgence of which, he was frequently known to dispatch in the course of a day, the baked intestines of thirty lambs, apparently a favorite article with him, and thirty cakes of bread. Another act of justice, which embellished the memory of Sûliman, was the decree which he issued, ordaining that those who had suffered from the oppressive exactions of the tyrannical Hejauje, should be indemnified from his estate. For the lustre with which all men appeared disposed to adorn the character of this prince, he is, however, in the opinion of the author of the Tebrian chronicle, principally indebted to three circumstances. To the period at which he succeeded to the Khelaufut, when the whole empire was yet bleeding from the cruelties of Hejauje; to the general enlargement of prisoners, and extensive liberality to which we have already adverted; and to his disinterested conduct in assigning the succession to Omar Abdulazziz,

* First of October, A. D. 717.

A.H.XCIX. A. D. 717. notwithstanding a very natural predilection, by which he might have been biassed in favor of his own children.

Tarikh gûzeidah. The last circumstance which we are here induced to notice, is the elevation to the Vizzaurut, or office of first minister of state, of Jauffer Barmekky, the Barmecide, which is stated to have taken place under Sûliman. Of this illustrious family, it is now discovered that, the ancestors had filled some of the most important stations under the Persian monarchy as far back as the reign of Ardesheir Baubegan. In them also had been vested from distant periods, the hereditary superintendancy of the Pyræa, or temples of fire, of the magian superstition. Neither did the office of the Vizzaurut, if the author to whom we are indebted for this article is entitled to credit, depart from their house, until the close of the reign of Harûnraschid. The gold and silver currency of the empire, which had suffered considerable debasement under the preceding reigns, was refined and new struck, under the administration of Jauffer Barmekky; and hence we are told, that a particular species of pure gold, of the highest touch, received the designation of Zerr-e-Jauffery, gold of Jauffer's touch.

Omar son of Abdulazziz, VIIIth of the house of Ommeyah. Omar the son of Abdulazziz, son of Merwaun, eighth Khalif of the house of Ommeyah. In the catalogue of sanguinary bigots, whom we have seen, in these pages, invested with power, for the punishment of mankind, the mind of the reader will derive some gratification, when it can repose on some solitary instance of humanity, and benevolence of character. Such an instance, making reasonable allowance for the zeal inspired by an intolerant religion, we may perhaps venture to introduce in the virtuous prince who now claims our attention.

Having taken the precautions to which we have already adverted, in order to prevent the death of his late sovereign from becoming known to the public, Redja hastened to Kaaub the son of Hâmid, the captain of the imperial guard, to desire the immediate presence of the family of the Khalif in the mosque of Danek; to which he was himself repairing. When these personages were accordingly assembled, he again demanded of them their pledge of fidelity; but as they seemed to demur, as having already once performed that ceremony, Redja persisted in claiming their allegiance afresh for the person mentioned in the Khalif's will, which he held in his hand. With this they at length complied, each of them again individually renewing his pledge of allegiance. On which, conceiving that he had

thus bound them by an obligation, which, after this solemn renewal, they would scarcely presume to cancel, Redja invited them to repair to the palace; for that Sûliman was dead. However, he first of all proceeded to open the will, and to communicate the contents; but when he pronounced the name of Omar Abdulazziz, as the person on whom the succession was to devolve, Hashaum the son of Abdulmêlek loudly exclaimed, that he at least, for one, would never acquiesce in such an arrangement; to which Redja immediately replied, with a solemn oath, that he should either submit, or forfeit his head: and he was accordingly compelled by personal force to declare his allegiance. The same Redja, from whose relation these particulars are said to be derived, proceeds to state, that he then seized the hand of Omar, and forced him to ascend the pulpit of the Imaumut, with a repugnance to accept of his imperial authority, which does not appear to have been in the smallest degree affected. Neither could he be withheld from expostulating with the assembly, when he observed the violent agitation into which Hashaum had thrown himself, on the inexpediency of obtruding upon him an office, of which another appeared to be so ardently ambitious; and which with such little selfdenial, he could himself so cheerfully forego. He was, however, ultimately constrained to accede, with whatever reluctance, to the arrangements of his predecessor; whose remains, after the customary purification, he proceeded to deposit in the silent chamber of the dead. He declined, at the same time, the horses which were brought from the imperial stables for his use, and an abode in the palace of the Khalifs; until the family of the departed Sûliman should be elsewhere provided for.

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When he had thus consented to assume the reins of imperial authority, his earliest attention was directed to withdraw from the territory of the Greek emperor, the troops which had been so disastrously employed under his kinsman Mosslemah; whom he accordingly enjoined to return to Syria with the shattered remains of his once numerous and formidable army. The extremities, in point of subsistance, to which he had been reduced, by the emperor Leo, have been already noticed under the reign of Sûliman; he continued to struggle with his distresses, at the death of that prince; and when the new Khalif dispatched to recal him, he did not neglect to

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forward to him, at the same time, in cattle and provision, all that he could procure from the united contribution of every Mûssulman, to whom he did not scruple to apply on such an occasion; the troops of Mosslemah being now, after having devoured every horse and quadruped within their reach, confessedly driven to the very verge of perdition.

It would, however, appear that some time previous to his death, the late Khalif had written to his brother to withdraw from the siege of Constantinople; as he proposed to avail himself of his exertions to counteract the ambitious designs of Yezzeid the son of Mohilleb, of whose exorbitant power in Khorassaun he did not disguise his apprehensions. Mosslemah was at this period, it seems, encamped at Medeinut-ul-Feher, which, if it is not the modern Pera, it will be difficult to recognize in the geography of the present day. Be that, however, as it may, he immediately prepared to carry the orders of Sûliman into execution, and had put his army in retreat; when the Greeks apprized of the design, issued from their works, and pursued him, with a vigour and regularity, far beyond what they had been known to exhibit on any former occasion. Mosslemah was thus compelled to give them battle; and as the usual fortune continued to favor the exertions of the Mahommedans, now most probably animated by despair, the Greeks were again driven, after a severe conflict, and with considerable slaughter, into the gates of Constantinople, while Mosslemah triumphantly resumed his position at Medeinut-ul-Feher.

Subsequent to this last defeat, the Greek emperor sent a person to confer with Mosslemah on the subject of a contest which he said had been already protracted between them, to a period beyond his utmost calculation. And he now, therefore, seriously proposed an accommodation on the following terms. That the Mahommedan general should immediately withdraw from the Byzantine peninsula, and return to Messenjah, or Magnesia; that he should there send him an annual tribute of six millions of dirhems,* and a thousand ounces of gold; with five thousand head of sheep and oxen, and a thousand mares. And he should, moreover, add such an assortment of cloth of gold, silk and scarlet, and other articles of precious fabric, as should be further agreed on. On such conditions he now invited him to conclude a treaty of peace. To this Mosslemah briefly replied, that he was not averse to such an accommodation; but that he had bound himself, by a solemn oath, never to depart thence, until

* 187,500*l.*

he had entered Constantinople; that, admitted within the walls of his metropolis, he would there take his proposals into consideration. If not, he was determined to retain his present position, until it should please God to open its gates to him by conquest, or he should perish before its walls. With this reply, the messenger returned to his sovereign. In the mean time Mosslemah presented himself at the head of his army, under the walls of the town; on intelligence of which, Aleiûn, surrounded by a multitude of his patricians and principal officers, appeared on the ramparts, and from thence desired that the general of the Mosslems might be apprized that he wished to converse with him. Mosslemah immediately advanced, and, announcing that he was the person for whom he sought, haughtily demanded what he wished to communicate. The representative of the Cæsars replied, that the tenor of his vow had been explained to him; that he had come to a resolution to accord with him in such a manner as to enable him to carry it into effect: and that the whole of his people had acceded to his proposition; on the express condition, however, that he should enter the city entirely alone, and unattended by any person whatever. To this, Mosslemah signified his assent, stipulating also on his part, that the principal gate of the city should be left open; and that Betaul the son of Amrû, one of his principal captains, should be stationed there, in readiness to carry slaughter and desolation into their streets, if his person was assailed by any act of treachery on the part of the Greeks.

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The arrangement being finally agreed to on both sides, Leo commanded the gates of the city to be thrown open; while the troops of the empire, both horse and foot with their ensigns displayed, were drawn out in beautiful order, extending all the way from the gate to the magnificent cathedral church of St. Sophia; while tables covered with a variety of refreshments, were laid out at proper intervals by the inhabitants. And every thing being thus prepared for his reception, it was announced to Mosslemah that he was permitted to enter. Previous to his departure, he is, however, said to have addressed himself to the chief whom he had selected to overawe the town in his absence, in these words. "I am "about to pass into the gates of this proud city, to take a survey of the luxurious mansions of these Christians, and of the palace of their emperor;

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"in all which I disclaim every other object but an ardent zeal for the "exaltation of our holy religion, and for the abasement of infidelity. "But as I cannot pretend to foresee what may happen, you are to keep a "watchful eye on all that passes; and if by the hour of prayer in the "afternoon, I do not make my appearance, you are to conclude that they "have put me to death. In which case you will enter the city with all "your force, and having pillaged and put the whole of its inhabitants to "the sword, burn it to the ground. I have only to add, that if I fall, you "are to consider my uncle Mahommed the son of Merwaun, as your "general; and to him, accordingly, you will then transfer the obedience "which you owe to me." Thus saying, and with a loud voice repeating the tekbeir, Mosslemah proceeded alone, to enter the city of Constantine. He was mounted on a stately charger, and armed in mail from head to foot; but over his armour he had thrown a robe, or mantle of silk, or ermine, and his helmet was concealed under a turban of white linen. In his baldric he bore his trusty scimitar, and in his hand a lance, to the head of which was attached a white banner, the symbol of peace and forbearance from hostility. In this manner he passed through the streets, without condescending to bestow a look upon the multitude who gazed upon him, with equal astonishment and admiration at the boldness and majesty of his deportment, until he reached the palace of the emperor. He was received with a respect bordering on servility by that prince, who stooped to kiss his hand, and even his foot, if our original is to be credited to the letter. The haughty Mûssulman then proceeded, without dismounting, accompanied by the degraded monarch on foot, to the infinite grief and mortification of his people, to the metropolitan church, which he entered, probably still on horseback: here his attention was fixed, among other gorgeous decorations, by a cross of gold, enriched with jewels of inestimable value, and by a chair, or shrine of the same metal. On the former he immediately laid his hands; and in spite of the emperor's intreaties to restore it, lest the indignation of the people should be excited beyond controul, and to his assurances that it should be ransomed at its full value, he swore that he would never quit the city but with that precious relic in his possession. The multitude began in fact to be extremely agitated, and could no longer suppress their clamours at the insolent and atrocious sacrilege; but their degraded emperor hastened to appease the tumult by a

promise, that he would himself replace the precious symbol of their redemption, with another of equal cost and workmanship. In the mean time, apparently regardless of what was passing, Mosslemah made his exit out of the superb and sacred structure; the sanctuary of which, he had thus openly violated by a robbery without parallel, with the cross in his possession; and fixing it reversed to the head of his lance, in that state bore it in triumph through the streets of the insulted city; at the gate of which he arrived, just as Betaul the son of Amrû, and his followers, were preparing to enter, on a suspicion that he had fallen a sacrifice to the treachery of the Greeks. A.H. XCIX. A. D. 717. Tarikh Tebry.

Mosslemah now drew off with his army to the position at Medeinut ul Feher; where the money and effects stipulated by the treaty of peace, were with a scrupulous punctuality, transmitted to him by the successor of the Roman emperors; who gratuitously added for himself a valuable presentation in gold and silver, and cattle of every description. The Mahommedan general then continued his march to Messenjah, probably the ancient Magnesia, where his army was attacked by a pestilential disorder, which swept them off in alarming numbers. In this state the people of Messenjah were encouraged to form a conspiracy for their destruction; but intelligence of the design being seasonably conveyed to Mosslemah, he anticipated the mischief, by immediately assailing the conspirators; and having put great multitudes to the sword, he laid the city in ruins, and levelled it with the ground. And having conducted the wreck of his army from thence to Amûriah, or Amorium, the intelligence there first reached him that his brother Sûliman was dead.

At Amûriah he also received from Omar the son of Abdulazziz, the letter announcing his recal, and which was conceived, it seems, in the following terms; "In the name of God, of the merciful most merciful; "from Omar the son of Abdulazziz, the servant of the most high, to Moss- "lemah the son of Abdulmêlek. Be it known that the Syrian people have "to me pledged their fidelity with a spontaneous cheerfulness of heart; on "the indispensable condition, however, that I shall administer justice to "the people entrusted to my care, with the integrity of the most righteous "of Imaums; and that I shall impartially and scrupulously distribute "among the faithful the spoil acquired from the infidels: in all which I "shall humbly implore the grace of God to enable me to promote the pur-

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"poses of his divine will. In the mean time, when thou hast received this "letter, let it find in thee an example of submission, and obedience to the "commands of thy sovereign, as thou hopest for grace to prosper thee in "the cause of truth. Hasten therefore, without delay, to my presence, "together with the whole of those who have been serving under thy "authority; and beware that thy distinguished services, thy victories in "the advancement of the true faith, be not tarnished or obliterated by any "act of rash, and unavailing disobedience."

When this epistle was delivered to Mosslemah, he assembled his principal commanders, and to them repeated its contents; with a request which apparently bespoke the incertitude of his resolutions, that they would advise him how to act. He was, perhaps, mortified to hear from them an unanimous declaration against any proceeding, which might be hostile to the authority of the new Khalif. They urged him to hasten to the presence of his sovereign, with a just confidence in, and a sense of gratitude for, that exalted rank which had rendered his appearance equally desirable and indispensable: and which he derived from the bounty of that Almighty being, who had bestowed upon him that liberal share of science, bravery, skill, and grandeur of design, which had so often enabled him to be triumphant over the enemies of his faith. "Look to it," said they in conclusion, "that all these blooming advantages be not at once blasted by hostility "against the established sovereign of the believers; for any such design "must doubtless terminate in ruin, if not in reproach and infamy." With a good grace, however, Mosslemah subscribed to the sentiments with which they appeared to be so cordially animated; and he added, moreover, his acknowledgements that the son of Abdulazziz was not less worthy of his fortune from the other accomplishments which adorned his character, than by his exemplary zeal in the cause of truth, his unblemished life, and unaffected and sincere piety; and he accordingly signified his intention to proceed immediately to the presence of Omar. He then put his army in march from Amûriah, and passing through Tebreiah, or Tiberias, arrived soon afterwards in the neighbourhood of Damascus; with no more than thirty thousand men, of one hundred and eighty thousand whom he had conducted to the gates of Constantinople.

He here received the Khalif's commands to enter Damascus; but as he appears to have done this at the head of his army, he found when he

applied for admission to the presence of Omar, that it was denied him; an indignity to which he submitted with becoming patience, quietly retiring to his own mansion, to ruminate on the circumstance. Next day he again presented himself at the gates of the palace, with a retinue reduced to two thousand men, and again experienced the same mortifying reception; being a second time compelled to withdraw without an audience. The third day, however, repairing to the palace, attended only by a single domestic, Mosslemah was, without further difficulty, ushered to the presence of Omar, by whom, after an injunction to be seated, he was addressed in these words. "Thou hast traversed many a region, brave "Mosslemah, hast attended many a warlike enterprize, and exposed thy "person in many a conflict; most happy for thee, if thy motives have been "derived from an honest zeal to serve thy God, and not from the vain "ambition of acquiring renown. But if, by thy exploits, thou hast merely "sought to have it proclaimed that thou hast gloriously served against the "enemies of thy faith, woe be to thee wretched Abû Sauid! and may the "God of mercy bestow his pardon both on thee and me." And with this lecture, he for the present dismissed him. But he continued, nevertheless, to make his daily appearance at court, to offer the customary testimonies of respect to his imperial relative.

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It is at the same time further related, that, on a report that Mosslemah disbursed the daily sum of one thousand dirhems* in the expences of his table, Omar conceived the highest displeasure; but disguising it for the moment, he invited him to take his morning repast in the palace on the day following. In the mean time he directed his cook to provide an entertainment of such abundance and variety, as he had before been little accustomed to; but added that he was also to prepare the usual frugal meal of lentils, onions, and oil, which he was to place before Mosslemah in the first instance; the sumptuous articles of the repast to be reserved as a second course. On the day appointed, Mosslemah attended according to invitation; and the Khalif designedly engaging him in discourse on the subject of his expeditions, and other matters, until noon, Mosslemah began to be extremely hungry; when Omar perceiving his distress, ordered his dish of lentils and onions, to be set before him. On which, falling to with genuine appetite, he fed until hunger was entirely appeased. The second course was then introduced, but it was perfectly lost upon Mossle-

* 22*l*. 18*s*. 4*d*.

A.H.XCIX. mah who could eat no more; and to the Khalif's affected and pressing
A. D. 717. entreaties, was obliged to confess that he had already sufficiently regaled
Tarikh Tebry. himself. "Good God then," said Omar, "canst thou venture to lavish "a thousand dirhems* a day on the expences of thy table, when thy hunger "is to be appeased by this simple meal, which I have provided at the "expence of a single dirhem. Let thy fear of God, if thou hast any "remaining, save thee from the stigma of prodigality; and trust me that the "sum thus daily lavished on the useless luxuries of thy table, would "secure to thee the inestimable approbation of thy divine creator, if dis-"tributed as it ought to be, to the numerous children of hunger, poverty, "and distress." Mosslemah declared that the admonition was entitled to his gratitude, and that he should not fail to make it the governing principle of his future life.

About the same time that he conferred the government of Irâk upon Auddy the son of Ertaut, Omar Abdulazziz determined on the recal of Yezzeid the son of Mohilleb, from that of Khorassaun; and for this purpose he dispatched to him a letter, conceived in the following terms. "In the "name of God, of the merciful most merciful; from Omar the son of "Abdulazziz the servant of the most high, to Yezzeid the son of Mohilleb. "Be it known, that having proved himself a faithful servant to his God, "and enjoyed a singular share of his favor, Sûliman has been summoned "to the presence of his maker; first, however, having made a disposition "of the Khelaufut in my favor, and after me in that of Yezzeid the son of "Abdulmêlek. The burden which had thus fallen on my shoulders, it "would be impossible in any respect to consider either despicable or unim-"portant; and were my views confined to the objects of this life, I was "already in possession of treasures, and slaves of both sexes, far more "than any man. But I confess that that which principally deterred me from "accepting the important charge of succeeding to the government of this "nation, was an apprehension of which thou art the source. However "since the country in general has pledged its fidelity to me, I expect that "thou wilt follow the example, and cause my authority to be acknowledged "by the army under thy command. After which thou art to appoint a "deputy to govern in Khorassaun during thy absence, and to repair "without further delay to my presence."

* About five-pence half-penny.

However it might be disguised from ordinary perceptions, the tendency of such a letter could not escape the lynx eyed jealousy of an oriental; and accordingly, when it was consigned, on perusal, by Yezzeid to one of his officers, it was observed to him without much deliberation, that if he expected to be confirmed in his government, it would be advisable to discard the idea; for that the style of this communication was extremely different from what he had been accustomed to receive. Nevertheless, Yezzeid thought it prudent to obey; and having committed the government of Khorassaun in trust to his son Mokhulled, he left the province, and proceeded into Irâk. On his arrival at Waussit he embarked on the river* at that place, with the intention of descending to Bassorah. But, at the branch, or canal of Okkail, he was intercepted on his voyage, and his person seized and delivered to Auddy ul Ferauzy, the governor of Irâk; by whom he was securely conveyed to the presence of Omar at Damascus. This prince had long entertained an avowed dislike for Yezzeid, and all his family, as men whose aspiring views it was not in his nature to befriend. Neither was the son of Mohilleb on his side much more favorably disposed towards Omar, being often heard to declare that he well knew his actions to be narrowly traced by that prince. And when he succeeded to the Khelaufut, he was equally aware, that with the acknowledged virtues of Omar, the vice of hypocrisy was entirely incompatible.

A.H.XCIX. A.D.717-18. Tarikh Tebry.

Yezzeid was now conducted to the immediate presence of his sovereign; who proceeded to question him with rigid severity as to the treasure, of which, as hath been already noticed, he had written such magnificent accounts in his letters to Sûliman. He endeavoured to elude these inquiries by appealing to the rank which he was known to hold in the confidence and esteem of the late Khalif; to whom he had so written, merely to excite the attention of the public, in order to prepare the way for the accumulation of further honors. And in truth, that it could be no otherwise than well understood, that it never was the design of Sûliman to deprive him of a single article of what he had acquired by a series of distinguished services. "At any rate," observed Omar, "it is very clear that I shall see "none of it, until I have made thee the tenant of a prison. And yet perhaps "a sense of duty towards an offended God may prevail upon thee still to

* The Tigris.

A.H.XCIX. A.D.717-18. "restore what remains in thy possession of the property so unwarrantably "detained from thy fellow subjects."

Tarikh Tebry.

In these circumstances the Khalif delivered the banners of a general to Amrû the son of Jerrauh the Hukkemite, and sent him to take charge of the government of Khorassaun; while Mokhulled punctually apprized of these proceedings, anticipated the disgrace, and hastened into Syria. In the presence of Omar, with a generous and manly spirit, he pleaded the innocence of his father. "I trusted," said he, "that when God Almighty "had placed the destinies of his people in the hands of Omar, he had con- "ferred upon them a great and solid blessing; how inconsistent then to "render a whole family wretched by condemning to the miseries of a dun- "geon, an aged and unoffending individual?" "It is my pleasure," said the Khalif, "that he should remain a prisoner until he thinks fit to restore "what he has embezzled of the public property; and what he has acknow- "ledged in his correspondence with my predecessor." Mokhulled intreated that his sovereign would give them peace on his own terms; but Omar continued to declare that he would never be reconciled to Yezzeid, until he relinquished or restored the property which he was accused of having sequestered; or at any rate such part of it as he had not yet dis- posed of. "If thou hast proof of his delinquency," observed Mokhulled, "thy decree will be unexceptionable. But if thou art without proof, let "my father's representations have credit. Suffer him to defend himself "on oath, that what is justly proved aganist him may be scrupulously "restored." The Khalif held his peace. But when Mokhulled withdrew, he turned to his attendants, and said, "in my opinion *this* is a better "man than his father." Mokhulled died some time afterwards, after a short illness of a few days; so highly in the esteem of Omar, that he sent to acquaint Yezzeid that he had his permission to leave his prison at Hâleb, where it appears he was confined, in order to perform the last solemn rites at the funeral of his gallant son. This, however, he declined; desiring the Khalif to be informed, that he might, if he thought proper, perform this office himself; that for his part, he was determined never to quit his prison while he continued to labour under the displeasure of his sovereign. And the departed chief was accordingly committed to the earth under the prayers and eulogies of the virtuous son of Abdulazziz.

The disgrace of Yezzeid must, however, have occurred very early in the year ninety-nine; since on his entrance into the hundredth year of the Hidjerah, our author announces the supersession of Amrû the son of Ul Jerrauh, in the government of Khorassaun by Abdurraihman ul Kesheiry, after it had been held by him for the space of a year and five months. It was about this period, that a person of the name of Hobairah was sent from Damascus into Irâk, by Mahommed, the grandson of Abdullah Abbas, and father of Abûl Abbas ul Seffauh, the first Khalif of that race, in order to agitate, in that quarter, the claims of his family. Another person was also employed in Khorassaun to prepare the materials of revolution in that province; twelve subordinate agents being selected for this purpose, among whom are to be found the names of Sûliman the son of Kesheir, and Kohtbah the son of Shaib, both distinguished at a subsequent period; when the sceptre of the Khalifs was transferred to the house of Abbas, by the courage and talents of the celebrated Abû Mosslem.

A. H. 9. A. D. 718. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The illiberal practice of imprecating on all public occasions, the memory of Ally and his descendants had prevailed ever since the reign of Mauweiah; and as it was repugnant to the benevolent principles of Omar, he now determined that it should be abolished. For which, say the Sheiahs, and for the affection which he cherished in his heart towards the members of that much injured family, heaven prospered his reign. But in order to introduce this conciliatory change, he had recourse to the following expedient. He instructed a person, who was by nation a Jew, in the presence of all the members of his court, to demand one of the Khalif's daughters for his wife. And the Jew having, as he was instructed to do, accordingly preferred this extraordinary request, in the presence of a numerous assemblage of the nobles and principal courtiers, Omar affected to treat his demand as inadmissible on the score of discrepancy of religion. "How then came "your prophet," said the Jew, "to make his daughter the wife of Ally?" "Ally," replied the son of Abdulazziz, "was one of the most distin-"guished champions of the religion of Mahommed." "In that case," observed the Jew, "by what perversion of principle is it that you presume "to load his memory with execration?" On which, Omar, turning to his courtiers, desired that they would answer the question. But as it

A. H. C. A. D. 718. Kholaussat-ul-akhbaur.

appeared to carry conviction to their minds, he, from that moment, directed the obnoxious formula to be discontinued; and a passage of the Korân, importing that the mercy of God might be equally extended to mitigate the errors and dissentions of his religion, to be substituted in its room. A further proof of his regard for this persecuted family, was the restoration to the Benni Fâtima of the lands or plantation of Fedaka, appropriated by Mahommed himself, as the particular patrimony of his race; but alienated and annexed to the public domains by the hostility of his successors.

A. H. CI. A. D. 719.

In the hundred and first of the Hidjerah, a schismatic, of the name of Showzeb, equally distinguished by that of Bostaum, having, with eighty other persons, erected the standard of revolt in the dependencies of Kûfah, Abdul Hameid, the governor of that place, received from his sovereign a particular admonition, to select, in the officer whom he should employ against the insurgents, a person on whom he could equally rely for his prudence and experience; and for his caution to prevent the unnecessary effusion of Mûssulman blood. Mahommed the son of Jerra, with two thousand horse, was accordingly dispatched to oppose the insurgents; and before any action could take place between this chief and the followers of Bostaum, a dispatch was received by the latter from Omar, inviting him, if the information he had heard was true, that his defection proceeded from an attachment to certain principles of faith, to repair to Damascus; where the matter might be submitted to a fair and liberal discussion, and terminated in such a manner as to promote the general interests of their common religion. The proposal appeared so equitable to Bostaum, that he immediately subscribed to the spirit of it; and two persons, of the tribe of Benni Beshker, proceeded accordingly as his agents, to discuss these points with the sovereign of the Mahommedan commonwealth.

On their arrival in the capital of Syria, they were without difficulty admitted to an interview with Omar, who immediately proceeded to interrogate them as to the motives which had induced them to revolt against his authority. They acknowledged, in reply, that against himself they had nothing to complain; since his life seemed to be uniformly governed by a love of justice towards all men. There was, however, one point between them unadjusted, which, if he could be prevailed on to concede, they were ready to give him every proof of their allegiance. And the Khalif desiring that they would explain themselves, they proceeded to state, that

having by his own actions already sufficiently stigmatized with the character of cruelty and oppression, the conduct and principles of the house of Ommeyah, every further doubt would be removed, if he engaged to curse them altogether in his sacred character of Imaum. Omar to this observed, that however, in such a request, they might, in some measure, be sincerely actuated by views beyond the interests of this life, he could nevertheless inform them, that they were labouring under the influence of a very fundamental error; since God Almighty had withheld the power of anathema from the prophet himself. "Neither do I conceive," continued the benevolent Omar, "that we are by any principle of religion or morality, bound "to curse even those who are engaged in the most sinful rebellion: if, not-"withstanding, you are of a contrary belief, tell me from what authority you "have ever learnt that a curse has been enjoined even on the memory of "the worst of the Pharaohs, though he dared to arrogate to himself the "sacred character of the divinity; that I may have some circumstance to "justify me in the measure which you propose, of cursing the different "branches of my family; fulfilling, as they are known to do, every duty and "every observance of our holy religion, on the same principles as those "which govern my own practice and belief."

A. H. CI. A D. 719. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Silenced on this head, the agents of Bostaum now shifted their ground; and they requested that the Khalif would explain to them what he conceived of a sovereign entrusted with the government of a faithful people, who, however, in other respects, singularly endowed with every quality that can embellish the character of a just and virtuous prince, shall nevertheless consign that government, at his death, to one whose conduct, he is already convinced, will be that of an unfeeling oppressor. Omar did not pretend to deny that such a person must be deplorably misguided in his judgment. "How comes it then," demanded these men, "that thou hast "devolved the care of thy people to such a being as Yezzeid the son of "Abdulmêlek, though perfectly aware of the ferocity of his disposition, "and of the scandalous vices which otherwise contaminate his character?" Upon this the Khalif is said to have burst into tears, and to have desired that they would allow him an interval of three days to deliberate on the subject. An instance of candour and moderation which drew from them the further just and voluntary acknowledgment, that they were now entirely satisfied, that Omar was in truth a righteous Imaum. But

A. H. CI. A. D. 719. the leaders of the Benni Ommeyah receiving information of the nature of this conference, and apprehensive that Omar might be led to chuse a successor out of the family, immediately suborned one of his female domestics to give him poison; of which, as he obstinately declined* the aid of medicine, he shortly afterwards died.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In these circumstances, hearing that the life of Omar was despaired of, Yezzeid the son of Mohilleb, who had every thing to apprehend from the resentment of his successor, set his invention at work to contrive his escape from imprisonment. having adjusted his plan, he directed one of his freedmen to get his camels in readiness for a journey, and to convey that which was intended for his own riding, to a particular spot: then, having corrupted the vigilance of his guards by a donation of one thousand dinaurs, he found himself once more at liberty, and made the best of his way towards Irâk. He left, however, a note addressed to Omar, in which he assured him that were it possible to conceive a certainty that he would survive, he, for his own part, would never have quitted his prison. But finding that there were no hopes of his recovery; and justly apprehensive of the vengeance of his successor Yezzeid the son of Abdulmêlek, for reasons to which the Khalif could be no stranger, that he had availed himself of an opportunity to effect his escape. On perusal of this note, the Khalif is said to have exclaimed, "Lord, if the designs of the son of Mohilleb are "hostile to the interests of this people, let his head be the forfeit." Nevertheless, according to some other writers, the escape of Yezzeid was subsequent to the death of the son of Abdulazziz.

Tarikh Tebry.

This last event is stated to have taken place at Deir-e-Semiaian, the convent, perhaps, or monastery of Semaian, on Friday the twenty-fifth of Rudjeb, of the year one hundred and one,† when Omar had attained the age of thirty-nine, and had filled the throne of the Khalifs for the short period of two years, four months, and nine days. And his premature dissolution in the prime of life, may have afforded considerable grounds for the suspicion of the Sheiahs, that he was the victim of some treacherous, and perhaps domestic conspiracy.

Omar the son of Abdulazziz was maternally descended from the Khalif Omar ul Khettaub, his mother being the daughter of Aussem, one of the

* Tarikh gûzeidah. † Ninth of February, A. D. 720.

sons of that prince.* In the justice and mildness of his government he surpassed the whole of the monarchs of the race of Ommeyah; and his perfect and intimate knowledge in the precepts of law and religion, have given to his decisions in many cases the sanction of an oracle.† From a kick, which, in his infancy he received from one of his father's horses, he bore on his face a remarkable scar, and from this circumstance he has been denominated the *Ashedje* of the Benni Ommeyah; and his great uncle, the disinterested and respectable Abdullah Omar, is said to have indicated the character of his reign by the following prophetic exclamation. "Would to heaven that I could recognize *him* among the descendants of "Omar ul Khettaub, with the mark upon his countenance, and the fame of "whose justice shall fill the world." In gratitude to the memory of this benevolent prince, it is further recorded, that Fâtima the daughter of Imaum Hûsseyne, should have borne testimony to his merits, by the declaration, that while he lived, the descendants of Fâtima would never be in want of a protector. And in proof of his scrupulous economy in the expenditure of the public money it is alleged that he never drew from the treasury more than two dirhems‡ a day, for the entire support of himself and his whole domestic establishment.

A. H. Cl. A. D. 720; Tarikh Tebry.

*Tarikh gûzeidah.

†Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. ‡About eleven-pence.

CHAP. XV.

A. H. CI. A. D. 720.

YEZZEID the second, the son of Abdulmêlek, ninth Khalif of the house of Ommeyah. The benevolent son of Abdulazziz was scarcely

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

cold in his grave, and his successor, Yezzeid, firmly seated on the throne of the Khalifs, when the whole of his beneficent regulations were annulled; and the officers, whom he had selected for their moderation and love of justice, deprived of their appointments, in order to make room for others of a character congenial with the disposition of the new sovereign. In the mean time, the premature death of Omar was no sooner announced to Abdul Hameid the governor of Kûfah, than he conveyed instructions to

Yezzeid II. IXth Khalif of the house of Ommeyah.

Mahommed the son of Jerrâ, to commence immediate hostilities against the insurgent Bostaum. The latter discovering the hostile indications in the camp of his antagonist, observed to his friends, that he was convinced something fatal had occurred to the righteous son of Abdulazziz; or this man would not presume to anticipate the work of slaughter, before the return of his agents. On which he hastened to give him battle, and defeated him with considerable loss. He was equally successful against several other commanders, alternately employed at the head of Yezzeid's troops to quell the insurrection. But a very superior force advancing to assail him, under Sauid the son of Omar the Jershitè, Bostaum, after exhibiting distinguished proofs of intrepidity, was ultimately defeated, and cut to pieces with all his followers.

The principal source of Yezzeid's anxiety was however derived, and with considerable reason, from the escape of the son of Mohilleb. He therefore delayed not to communicate that circumstance to Auddy the son of Ertaut, the Ferauzian, governor of Irâk, whom he cautioned to be on his guard against the designs of this warlike and enterprizing chief. And he instructed him at the same time, to secure the persons of every individual of the family of Mohilleb, whom he should discover at Bassorah

In consequence of this early intelligence, the governor of Irâk was enabled to seize the three brothers of Yezzeid, Abdulmêlek, Habeib, and Merwaun, whom, with all who were attached to them, he immediately imprisoned. In the mean time, the fugitive Yezzeid had reached a station called Kêtâutanah, within one stage of Kûfah; and very narrowly escaped seizure, from a party detached to intercept him, by the governor of that city, Abdul Hameid, the grandson of Zeid the brother of the Khalif Omar ul Khetaub. This party, through an accidental delay in its commander, did not reach the station at which it was intended to expect the arrival of Yezzeid, until an hour after he had passed; and as these men were too much fatigued to proceed in pursuit of him, he was thus enabled to make good his retreat to the neighbourliood of Bassorah. A. H. 61. A. D. 720. Tarikh Tebry.

Without embarrassing the course of the narrative, by entering further too minutely into detail, it will be sufficient to notice, that after failing in an attempt to negociate with the governor of Irâk for the enlargement of his brothers, the son of Mohilleb succeeded in giving a total defeat to that commander, whom he drove for shelter to his palace in the town of Bassorah. Yezzeid then took post in the mansion of Sûliman the son of Zeiaud, which was contiguous to the palace; and causing the latter to be entered by escalade, it was, after a short resistance, completely in his possession, and the person of Auddy seized and brought before his conqueror. On this occasion, observing a smile of contemptuous indifference on the countenance of his prisoner, Yezzeid is said to have addressed him in these terms. "By him that made us, I should have "supposed that there were at least two circumstances, either of which "might be thought sufficient to suppress thy risible propensities. One thy "inglorious flight from the field of battle, and thy holding of thy hands thus "in the attitude of supplication like a woman. The other, that thou art thus "brought to my presence like a fugitive slave to the presence of his lord. "Knowing that there is no capitulation betwixt us, and that thou art entirely "a prisoner at discretion, why is it that thou hast affected this indifference; "when reflection should remind thee, that I may immediately strike thy "head off?" "That thou hast obtained the advantage of me," replied Auddy, "I cannot deny; but I also know that thy life and mine are "bound by the same thread. I know, Yezzeid, that they will make thee

A. H. CI. A. D. 720. Tarikh Tebry.

"responsible for my fate. In the mean time, it is thy business to reflect "how invariably God Almighty has ultimately prospered his armies against "the designs of traitors. Avail thyself of a speedy repentance, and hasten "to make some reparation for the evils which thou hast occasioned, before "the tempest is at thy door; when thou wilt probably find none to treat "with thee, and repentance will be unavailing." "To thy assertion," observed Yezzeid, "that my life and thine are so closely bound together, I can "only wish, in reply, that God Almighty would continue mine, no longer than "while that water fowl dips its head beneath the stream, if any such con-"nection truly existed; and to thy menace that thy blood will be retaliated "upon me, I solemnly declare, that if there were this day ten thousand Syr-"ians in my hands, I would sacrifice them all to my just vengeance, in the "same place and at the same hour. I am, however, persuaded that the "circumstance alone of my being in arms against them, will be considered by "thy friends, as a far more dreadful and alarming calamity, than the slaugh-"ter of ten thousand of their followers. But after all, it may be thy "opinion, that if I became their suppliant, they might be induced to for-"give me all this bloodshed; perhaps to gratify me in all I demand; and that I "would then cease from hostilities. Know, mistaken man, that when "intelligence of what is now passing here, shall reach Damascus, thy "boasted friends will be too much alarmed for their own security to think "on thine. Perhaps the very least of their concerns will be that which "relates to thee. Thou hast, finally, expressed an opinion, that I should "repair the injuries of which my undertaking has been the occasion. I "shall take the liberty of reminding thee, that if I were in need of an "instructor, of a monitor, of a person to preside in my councils, thou art "not the man on whom my choice would rest." He then ordered Auddy to be conveyed to his prison; but, as if suddenly recollecting some circum-stance which he had omitted to explain, he sent for him again, and addressed him for the last time, in the following words. "If I am compelled to "immure thee, Auddy, within the walls of a prison, it is to be solely "ascribed to thy detention, and severe treatment of my brothers, in spite of "my earnest solicitations to soften the rigors of their lot." The governor of Irâk was now conducted to prison; though he continued to assure every one, that he did not yet entertain the slightest apprehensions as to life.

Although, on becoming master of Bassorah, Yezzeid had been joined by the greater part of the inhabitants of that town and the neighbouring territory, there were, however, many of the most respectable, particularly, of the tribes of Keyss, Temeim, and Malek, who withdrew; partly towards Kûfah, to put themselves under the protection of Abdul 'Hameid; and partly towards Damascus, to convey themselves to the presence of their sovereign. Among these latter was Howaury the son of Zeiaud, and Amrû ul Atteky. As they were hastening into Syria, they met on their way, with Khaled the son of Abdullah ul Kesheîry, accompanied by Hameid the son of Abdulmêlek Mohilleby, and Amrû the son of Yezzeid the Hukkemite, bearing proposals of peace and oblivion, from the reigning Khalif to the son of Mohilleb. Howaury very briefly told them that their mission was not likely to produce any effect with Yezzeid, since he was now triumphant over all opposition; and then proceeded to relate all that had recently passed at Bassorah. Both Khaled and Hameid insisted, however, with their companion, that he should proceed on the business with which he was entrusted; as they were confident that the terms which he bore would be cheerfully acceded to by Yezzeid: neither were the assertions of a man of such long established animosity to the family, as Howaury, to be rashly credited. Nevertheless these expostulations experienced but little attention; the nephew of Yezzeid was delivered over to the custody of Abdurraihman ul Kullauby; and soon afterwards, together with his couzin Khaled, the son of Yezzeid, and Hemmaud the son of Zijer, who had been seized by Abdul Hameid the governor of Kûfah, conducted to Damascus: where all three were thrown by the Khalif into close imprisonment, from which they never lived to be enlarged.

A. H. Cl. A. D. 720. Tarikh Tebry.

When the people of Bassorah had, however, in general engaged their allegiance to the authority of the son of Mohilleb, and with him concurred in abjuring that of the Khalif Yezzeid, the doors of the public treasury were thrown open by the insurgent chief; and the sum of ten millions of dirhems,* distributed to the soldiers who had joined his standard. And further to extend his power, he dispatched his agents to secure possession of the several provinces of Ahûauz, and Parss, Kermân, and Mekraun, to the banks of the Indus. Presuming at the same time, perhaps too confi-

* 229,166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

A. H. CI. A. D. 720. Tarikh Tebry.

dently, on his influence with the public, he ventured, as the representative of the Imaumut to address an assembly of the inhabitants, whom he had called together in the principal mosque of Bassorah; demanding their obedience, by the sacred revelations of the Korân, and by the law of their prophet. By the same sacred appeal he urged them to immediate hostilities against the Syrians; declaring that a war against that people was more meritorious than even against the hordes of Tartary, or the unbelieving savages of Deylem. For were they not the men by whom the children of the prophet were driven into hopless exile, among the wilds of Tartary, and among the infidels of Hindûstaun; the murderers of the lamented Imaum Hûsseynè and his family at Kerbêla, and the barbarous violators of his sacred remains. These effusions, unfortunately, awakened recollections but little favorable to the new born zeal of the son of Mohilleb: and Hussun Bassory, who happened to be one of the assembly, could not forbear giving utterance to his indignation in the following expressions. "Good "God is it Yezzeid the son of Mohilleb that presumes to call upon the peo- "ple by the word of God, and by the traditions of his prophet?" Then with a loud voice he was proceeding to address himself personally to the orator, whom he had given to understand, that, as a ruler and a subject, his merits were already sufficiently known to his audience, and that if he had any thing further to communicate, it could be best explained to himself; when those who sat by, placing their hands upon his mouth, compelled him to silence. Enough had, however, escaped him to attract the attention of Yezzeid, though he studiously affected the contrary. In the mean time, the majority of the assembly had quitted the mosque; when Nasser ben Ibrauhim the grandson of Onss ben Malek well known in Isslâm, stood up, and demanded in support of Yezzeid, what should prevent the people from obeying an appeal, to which, excepting in the short period of the reign of Omar Abdulazziz, they had been so long strangers? he was suddenly interrupted by an exclamation of surprise from the same Hussun of Bassorah, that the descendant of Onss ben Malek should stoop to be the advocate of sedition. "Is it necessary then to remind you," said he, that "this is the same Yezzeid, who but the other day, struck off our heads, and "sent them by dozens to the Benni Merwaun; and now, forsooth, that he "has chosen to take offence with them, thinks to engage you in his quarrel,

"by exhibiting a few cubits of linen at the head of a pole, and an hypocriti- A. H. CI.
"cal appeal to the truths of your religion. The most prudent step that you A. D. 720.
"could adopt, in my opinion, would be immediately to seize his person, and Tarikh
"convey him to the son of Abdulmêlek; and to that prison in which he Tebry.
"was so justly confined by Omar Abdulazziz: to the entire removal of
"those feuds which otherwise threaten to disturb the peace of society."
But an universal clamour being now raised from all quarters, to demand if he meant to justify the cruelties of the Syrians, Hussun indignantly disclaimed any such disposition towards the men who had dared to confound every principle of right and wrong; who had consigned the hallowed city of Medeinah for three successive days and nights, to plunder and massacre; who had dishonored the women of their brethren by the most scandalous exposure; had impiously violated, set fire to, and laid in ruins, the temple of their God, the sacred sanctuary of the Kaaubah; and to fill the measure of their crimes, had put the forsaken children of their prophet to the sword. "Eternal execration be upon them," concluded he, "and upon "all who adhere to them."

Notwithstanding this attempt to counteract his views, Yezzeid was shortly afterwards in a situation to quit Bassorah, at the head of a numerous army; and leaving his brother Merwaun in charge of that city, he consigned his treasures to another brother, Abdulmêlek; and sending him forward at the head of his advanced guard towards Waussit, he followed in the course of a few days, at the head of the main body in the same direction.

In the mean time, the intelligence which continually reached him, of the success of the insurgents, now extending from the lower to the more elevated regions of Irâk Ajem, filled the mind of the imperial representative of the house of Ommeyah, at Damascus, with anxiety and alarm; and seemed to cast an impenetrable gloom on all his prospects. After considerable deliberation, he, however at last, determined to employ his brother, the warlike and experienced Mosslemah, in conjunction with Abbas the son of Ul Walid, to stem the progress of this formidable insurrection; and having placed at their disposal the flower of the Syrian army, he sent them towards Irâk. The two generals, in due time, appeared accordingly in great force at Heirah, where they encamped,

A. H. CI. A. D. 720. Tarikh Tebry.

Apprized of the arrival of Mosslemah, Yezzeid, who had by this time assembled his troops at Waussit, thought it necessary to consult with his friends, on the measures which it would be most advisable to adopt in the present postuse of affairs. His brother Habeib proposed, without much hesitation, that he should immediately withdraw with the whole of his force towards Parss, where he recommended that he should establish his head quarters. And that by fortifying and securing the different roads and passes across the mountains, and thus throwing himself between them and the important province of Khorassaun, the Syrians would find difficulties to surmount, and the war protracted far beyond their expectations; while the whole of the fortified places remaining in his hands, the hardy natives of the Kohestaun would not fail to join his standard. To this system, whatever advantages it appeared to exhibit, Yezzeid decidedly objected; demanding if he proposed to chain him like an eagle to the summit of the mountains of Irâk Ajem? "After the advice which I formerly offered "thee in vain," replied Habeib, "this to me appeared the best "suited to our circumstances. Thou canst not have forgotten that on "the reduction of Bassorah, I proposed to thee to detach a part of the "army, to take possession of Kûfah, from Abdul Hameid: the man "whose attempt to seize thee, when thy escort did not amount to more "than eighty persons, afforded such a convincing proof of his inferiority; "when the slightest exertion would have enabled thee to anticipate the "Syrians, in the possession of that city; the principal inhabitants of which "have long ardently sought for an opportunity to submit to thy authority. "There is, however, still one further plan which I would recommend to "thy adoption. Let a strong division of the army, under the orders of one "of our nearest relatives, be immediately detached to occupy the province "of Jezzeirah; with instructions to take post under cover of some one of "the fortified towns with which that province abounds: thou mayst then "put the remainder of thy force in motion; and the Syrians, with their "attention thus divided, will, in all probability, be disposed rather to delay "their attack, until they shall have been able to ascertain the object of these "movements. In the mean time, the people of Mossûl, and those of the "territory of Ahûauz, who may be inclined to espouse our party, will have

"an opportunity of joining; and the entire resources of the country being "thus at thy command, it is but reasonable to calculate, that the natives "of Jezzeirah and Irâk, with all the adjoining passes, will soon be brought "to acknowledge thine authority. And the war with the Syrians being "thus transferred to a spacious and extensive country, our movements "will be unembarrassed, with the whole of Irâk in our rear." But declaring himself totally averse to any separation of his force, Yezzeid rejected the suggestions of his brother; his resolution being ultimately fixed on giving battle to Mosslemah and his collegue. A.H. CII. A.D. 720. Tarikh Tebry.

The hundredth and second year of the Hidjerah was now arrived; when the son of Mohilleb, having consigned his treasures, and all his prisoners, to the care of his son Mauweiah, whom he had appointed as his lieutenant over Waussit, advanced with his army in the direction from which he understood the Syrian generals were approaching; his brother, Abdullah, being at the head of the advanced guard. At a place called Gheffer, or Ghesser, it is impossible to determine which, he encamped, and there resolved to expect the enemy. Mosslemah, on the other hand, having descended along the opposite bank of the Euprates from Heirah to Anbaur; and from thence, directing a wooden bridge to be thrown across the river opposite to a village called Waubet, he soon afterwards passed with the whole of his army to the Mesopotamian side; and continuing his march, brought his troops to an encampment, at a very short distance from the position, in which he was expected by the insurgent. Some time before, Abdulmêlek the son of Mohilleb had been detached by his brother, though now too late, towards Kûfah; but being intercepted in his march, by a division of the Syrian troops under Abbas the son of Ul Walid, at a station called Sour, he was there defeated after a gallant, and for sometime dubious conflict, and compelled to fly for shelter to his brother's camp. The troops of Abbas and Mosslemah were now united in the presence of Yezzeid.

In this situation, either to mask his own, or to appease the apprehensions of his followers, Yezzeid could stoop to express a contempt, for the character of his adversaries, but little justified by the fame of their exploits. "You speak to me," said he to his friends, "of the arrival of Mosslemah and "Abbas, as a matter, peradventure, of vast importance. Believe my "solemn affirmation, that with me, the redoubted Mosslemah ranks with "the vilest reptile which crawls along the earth. And with respect to Abbas,

A. H. CII. A. D 720. "that brood of Salah's* inauspicious camel, already has he been once "indebted to me for life; since but for my intercession the Khalif Sûliman "would long ago have blotted him from the page of existence." It is necessary to observe, that the obscure allusion here resorted to, in adverting to the name of Abbas, is explained by the circumstance that he was of a ruddy complexion, with blue eyes, and, worse than all, the offspring of a Greek mother. But whatever expressions he might be induced to apply to the Syrian generals, Yezzeid, finally, declared that though the whole world were theirs, and he himself stood alone, without the support of a single friend, he esteemed them too lightly to entertain any apprehensions of the issue.

Tarikh Tebry.

Abdul Hameid the governor of Kûfah, though by taking post at Heirah on the Euphrates, he had effectually cut off all intercourse between Yezzeid and the inhabitants of that city, and had sent part of his troops to join Mosslemah, was now, for reasons which do not appear, removed from his government by the latter chief: and Mahommed the son of Amrû, a descendant of Aukkebah the son of Abi Moghait, appointed to supersede him.

Yezzeid was not of a disposition to remain long inactive, with the enemy thus encamped under his very beard; and he accordingly proposed, to his captains, to employ a division of twelve thousand men selected from the flower of his troops, under his brother Mahommed, to attack the army of Mosslemah, under cover of the night; and at break of day to take advantage of the confusion, by leading to the attack the whole of his force; with a confidence of success, of which, under providence, he would have persuaded his followers to entertain the same ardent expectations with himself. But in this spirited design he was doomed to be baffled by the

*Salah the son of Arphaxad, next preceded the patriarch Abraham in the list of the prophets. He was commissioned by Omnipotence to convert the idolatrous Thamûdians, descendants of Shem, established at Hedjer or Hajer, midway between Hejauz and the frontier of Syria. These demanding from the prophet as usual, a miracle in proof of his mission, his prayer, produced from the side of a mountain, or from the living rock, a camel, with her foal; the latter of a red colour with blue or cat's eyes. The dam was killed at the end of thirty years, by the son of one of their chiefs, who was of a fair complexion, with blue eyes; and the bellowing of the foal produced an aweful example of God's vengeance, in the entire destruction, at one moment, of the whole nation, Salah and his proselytes excepted. The story is familiar to the oriental reader.

proposal of an expedient, of which, the consideration of the past might easily afford an example. Previous to the commencement of hostilities it was urged, by a certain chief of the name of Semeidia, on whom he had recently bestowed some particular marks of his confidence, to try whether the Syrians were not to be wrought upon by an appeal to the Korân; and this being rather peremptorily supported by Abû Zebbah, another principal leader among the Arab tribes, the insurgents, in spite of every argument to the contrary on the part of Yezzeid, determined that no act of hostility should be entered upon with Mosslemah, until the proposed overture should have been positively rejected on the part of the Syrians. The exertions of his brother Merwaun to send him reinforcements from Bassorah, were equally frustrated by the influence of the same Hussun Bassory already mentioned; who repeated all the arguments he could devise in order to dissuade his fellow citizens from engaging in these scenes of mutual extermination.

A. H. CII. A. D. 720. Tarikh Tebry.

Whether these affected appearances of moderation arose from cowardice, or treachery on the part of his followers, or whether any overtures of the nature above alluded to, were ever actually proposed to the Syrians, is not explained: but whatever might have been their ostensible object, the suggestions of these men effectually prevented the execution of an enterprize, on which Yezzeid might very reasonably have formed the most flattering expectations of success; and may perhaps have had an influence not very remote, in producing his ultimate ruin. Be this as it may, Mosslemah, and Yezzeid, had now continued encamped in presence of each other for the space of eight days, when, on the fourteenth of Suffer,* of the year one hundred and two, they reciprocally prepared for battle; Mosslemah at this critical conjuncture, detaching one of his captains to set fire to, and destroy the wooden bridge, by which he had crossed the Euphrates, and thus cutting off from his troops every prospect of safety by flight. On this occasion the army of Mosslemah appears to have been disposed for battle in two distinct divisions, perhaps in two lines, the one under his own, and the other under the command of Abbas. Yezzeid, on his part, confiding his right and left wings to his two brothers, Habeib and Fazzel, or perhaps Mûfuzzel respectively, appears to have awaited the conflict in the ordinary

* Twenty-third of August, A. D. 720.

A. H. CII. A. D. 720. Tarikh Tebry.

disposition. Before the armies were yet either seriously or generally engaged, the smoke ascending from the conflagration of the bridge of the Euphrates, being observed by the men of Bassorah, who composed the principal part of the troops of Yezzeid, they were seized by a sudden and irresistible panic, and fled from the field without a single exertion. With equal disgust and indignation, at this early proof of their pusillanimity, Yezzeid, whom no consideration could ever reconcile to the idea of flying before the enemy, presented himself in the front of the battle, surrounded by his friends; whom he forbid to oppose the flight of these dastardly fugitives, trusting, as he expressed himself, that it would be the last occasion on which God Almighty would bring him to the same place with such miscreants.

This shameful desertion of the majority of his troops, independent of his natural intrepidity, may probably have animated the son of Mohilleb to the most desperate exertions; as he is acknowledged to have exhibited in the conflict of this day the most distinguished proofs of bravery and resolution, to the discomfiture and slaughter of many a Syrian. He was, however, in search a nobler victim. His voice was repeatedly heard, calling aloud on Mosslemah to desist from the slaughter of the unoffending multitude; to disengage himself from the promiscuous ranks, and by a personal conflict with him, to spare their soldiers the necessity of further mutual extermination. Mosslemah, by whom the invitation was not unheard, turned with affected indifference to his followers, and demanded what they thought of this proposal. "Is not this," observed Kohel the son of Abbas, "Yezzeid the "son of Mohilleb, the champion of all Irâk?" "True," said Mosslemah, "but under present circumstances, it would be disgraceful in me to attend "to his invitation." "Your observation is very just," replied the son of Abbas, "here we have two alternatives, either dishonor or death; let our "general take his choice." Mosslemah held his peace. About the same crisis some one approached, and announced to Yezzeid that his brother Habeib had fallen. On which he despondingly observed, that after the loss of such a brother, life was, to him, no longer of any importance: "under any circumstances of defeat," said he, "it would have been always "hateful to me; it will be now intolerable." Then calling upon his friends to advance, he placed himself at their head; but outstripping them in the ardour of his courage, he soon left them behind, and engaging in the

thickest of the enemy, spread terror and death in every direction round him. A. H. CII. A. D. 720.

He was thus exerting himself with unparalleled gallantry in the hottest of the action, and the Syrian squadrons had repeatedly given way before the impetuosity of his assault; when the same Abû Zebbah, whose doubtful behavior might probably have already awakened considerable suspicion in the breast of Yezzeid, approached, with an intreaty that he would immediately quit the field, and retire towards Waussit; which he might secure and fortify, until he should be reinforced by the troops still expected from Bassorah; as well as by those which were known to have embarked from Bahareyne, and the coast of Omman. "Thy counsel is unworthy of my "notice," said Yezzeid, "since with me death will be far more tolerable, "than a life of ignominy." "My advice," replied Abû Zebbah, "has "entirely arisen from an anxious solicitude for the safety of my general." "For what immediate reason?" demanded Yezzeid; "seest thou not that "phalanx of steel that is bearing down upon thee?" said the intruder: "What have I to apprehend from that?" observed Yezzeid; concluding with a request, that if he was disposed to take a share in the conflict, he would keep at a distance from him. Tarikh Tebry.

Rendered not less conspicuous by the spirited grey charger on which he fought, Yezzeid continued to expose his person before the foremost ranks, still seeking for Mosslemah with indefatigable eagerness; and having at last approached within reach of the object of which he was in quest, the hero of the house of Ommeyah for a moment stood appalled; but immediately recollecting himself, he was preparing to meet the assault of his opponent, when his person was encircled by a croud of the Syrians; and the gallant Yezzeid, unable to stem the torrent of overwhelming multitudes, soon afterwards fell; together with his brother Mahommed, Semmeidia the Kûllaubite, and doubtless many more of his bravest associates. It is, however, further related, that Kohel the son of Abbas, fired with a noble emulation by the singular prowess with which, the hitherto invincible Yezzeid seemed to sustain the assault of his enemies in all directions, called out to the Syrians to mark the person of the son of Mohilleb; declaring with a solemn asseveration, that he would either kill him, or that

A. H. CII. A. D. 720. Tarikh Tebry.

day perish by his hand. Then rushing forward with a troop of his followers, he assailed him with the utmost fury and impetuosity; and as the combatants were immediately enveloped with a cloud of dust, the issue continued for some time in fearful suspense; but the dust ultimately subsiding, the gallant Yezzeid was found a lifeless corse, and his no less brave assailant fallen not far from him, just breathing his last; and being already speechless, he could by no other means explain what had passed, than by alternately pointing to the body of Yezzeid, and to himself, to indicate that they had fallen by each others hands, he immediately expired. Mosslemah repairing soon afterwards to the spot, where the bodies lay side by side, acknowledged that with him at least there was no doubt, that the illustrious rebel had fallen by the hand of the son of Abbas; he could, however, not recognize the head of Yezzeid, until the blood and dust had been washed away, and a turban placed upon it; when the well known features being clearly traced, it was transmitted, without delay, in charge of Khaled the son of Walid ul Aukkebah, as an assured proof of his victory, to the Khalif's presence at Damascus.

In the mean time, ignorant of the fate of his brother, Mûfuzzel continued the action with undiminished bravery, at the head of his division; but when that event was announced to him, he hastily quitted the field of battle, and withdrew towards Waussit, leaving three hundred prisoners in the hands of the conqueror. These were, by order of Mosslemah, conveyed to Kûfah, to the care of Mahommed the son of Amrû, by whom they were imprisoned until the Khalif's pleasure should be known. Orders were, however, soon afterwards received from court, condemning them all to die; and they were accordingly led to execution by twenty, and thirty at a time. When the last thirty were about to suffer, they alleged that, belonging to the tribe of Temeim, if matters were justly appreciated, instead of punishment, they were entitled to reward; since Mosslemah was, in a great measure, indebted to them for his triumph over Yezzeid. The plea was, however, unavailing, and they were cut off to the last man. Although, when all had suffered, instructions were received from Mosslemah when too late, to suspend the execution of these unfortunate captives.

The defeat and death of Yezzeid was, on the other hand, no sooner announced at Waussit, than the same unsparing vengeance was retaliated upon the unhappy prisoners left there in charge of his son Mauweiah;

by whom they were all immediately put to death, without mercy, including Auddy the son of Ertaut the late governor of Irâk, his son Mahommed, and many more, now doomed to perish by the hand of the executioner; in spite of every remonstrance against the inutility of such a wanton waste of human blood. Mauweiah then quitted Waussit, and withdrew towards Bassorah, taking with him the whole of the treasure and effects entrusted to his charge by his father. He was joined soon afterwards at Bassorah by his uncle Mûfuzzel, with those who had escaped with him from the carnage of the late battle; so that the wreck of this distinguished family and its fortunes, were now brought together at that place. In these circumstances, the son of Yezzeid aspired to the authority of his father; but he was unanimously opposed in his views, by the adherents of the family; who contended that this was a distinction, to which, in point of years, and maturity of judgment, his uncle Mûfuzzel possessed indubitably superior claims. And as they refused to acknowledge the authority of any other, Mûfuzzel was accordingly, on the spot, elected to conduct their future destinies. After which their attention was employed in the equipment of a sufficient number of vessels, for the conveyance of themselves, and all their property, by sea, to the coast of Kermaun.

A. H. CII. A. D. 720. Tarikh Tebry.

At a place, here designated Kennauzil, peradventure Kundabeil, on the remotest frontiers of the empire, bordering on Hindûstaun, Yezzeid, reasonably foreseeing what might come to pass, when he resolved to enter into a contest with the house of Ommeyah, endeavoured to secure an asylum for his family. This fortress, of so much eventual importance, he consigned to the charge of one of his captains, whose name was Weddaya ben Hameid, of the Arabian tribe of Ezd; explaining to him, without reserve, the nature of the trust which he was about to confide to his discretion. "In the war in which I am about to engage with such powerful "adversaries," said he, in the instructions which he addressed to this chief, "I must expect one of two results; either I shall be victorious, "in which case it will be my care to distinguish thee by the most liberal "marks of favor; or my design will terminate in misfortune: and in that "case, I have resolved that my family shall find a retreat under thy pro- "tection at Kundabeil, where they may remain, until their adversaries shall "be prevailed upon to give them terms. For this object, so indispensable "to my present and future repose, my judgment has led me, of all the

A. H. CII. A. D. 720. Tarikh Tebry.

"world, to fix my choice on thee. And that choice it will behove thee, "by thy conduct, ultimately to justify." He further bound him, by the most solemn oaths and engagements, to be faithful to the trust thus exclusively reposed in his valour and attachment.

Mosslemah becoming, however, apprized that the survivors of the family of Mohilleb, were thus assembled at Bassorah, dispatched, without further delay, a division of his troops in quest of them. But as they were prepared for the pursuit, they embarked, as soon as informed of the approach of the enemy, on board the fleet which had been early equipped for their reception, together with all their women and children, arms and effects; and immediately sailed for the coast of Kermaun. From thence, in due time, they continued their retreat to Kennauzil, or Kundabeil, where they had been taught to expect, at least, a temporary assylum from their pursuers. Nevertheless, they found on their arrival, the gates of the place closed against them, and an absolute refusal, on the part of the ungrateful Weddaya, to admit them into the town. A division of the Khalif's troops soon afterwards came up with them, and in these desperate circumstances, compelled them to combat for existence. It appears, however, rather an inconsistency in the statement, that, notwithstanding his recent behaviour, Weddaya the Ezdian should have been entrusted with a command on their right wing, and another chief of the same tribe, with one of equal importance on their left. Both these men had entered into previous articles with the Syrians; and in the heat of the action, abandoned their posts, and went over to the enemy. Perceiving the treacherous defection, Merwaun the son of Mohilleb indicated a design to approach the quarter where the women had been lodged; but his brother Mûfuzzel, immediately guessing his purpose, and demanding what he was about to do, he acknowledged that he was going to put the women to death; since the apprehensions which he suffered on their account, were infinitely more painful than the last crisis of his fate. The arguments of Mûfuzzel prevailed upon him to relinquish the horrid design, and to abandon the objects of his anxiety to their destiny. The gallant brothers then uniting their efforts to withstand the Syrians now pressing to their destruction, must have perished soon afterwards, amid heaps of their enemies; together with all the race of Mohilleb that bore arms in the battle, including Mauweiah the son of Yezzeid, and all his surviving uncles, of whom not one appears to have escaped the slaughter.

The women and children falling, of course, into the hands of the victors, were all condemned in consequence of a vow of Mosslemah's, to be sold as slaves; happily, Jerrauh the son of Abdullah engaging to exonerate him from the obligation of his oath, and taking upon himself the purchase of the whole of them, on a promised payment of one hundred thousand dirhems*, which never appears to have been rigorously exacted, these unfortunate captives were thus redeemed from a state of slavery, by the exemplary humanity of a generous individual, in circumstances which might have exposed him to the hazard of some very dangerous suspicions. A. H. CII. A. D. 721. Tarikh Tebry.

Having thus extinguished every vestige of so formidable an insurrection, Mosslemah received from his brother the entire government of Kûfah and Bassorah, to which appears to have been annexed the province of Khorassaun. That of Kûfah was deputed to Mahommed Zûlshaunah, a grandson of the Khalif ul Walid. About the same period, the territory of Mawerunneher, including Bokhâra and Samarkand, with Tchautch, and Ferghaunah, was conferred by Yezzeid, on Sauid the son of Amrû, the Jershite, the conqueror of Bostaum. The provinces of Azerbaijân, and Armenia, were consigned to Thaubet the Neherwânian.

Proceeding to take possession of his government, Sauid crossed the Jeyhûn at Bâlkh; and remaining at Bokhâra and Samarkand, no longer than was necessary to dispatch the proper arrangements, marched directly into the territories of the prince of Ferghaunah, before whose capital he now encamped. But the prince of Ferghaunah sending to request an accommodation, Sauid agreed to give him peace, on the very moderate consideration of a sum of one hundred thousand dirhems, together with fifty male, and fifty female slaves; to all which the prince subscribed, pledging his hand for the faithful performance of his part of the engagement. In the night, however, while the Mosslems lay buried in profound sleep, the Ferghaunian, with ten thousand of his followers, suddenly entered their encampment, and succeeded in committing deplorable slaughter among them; until at last awakened from their surprise, the Mosslems stood to heir arms, and repulsed their treacherous assailants with equal slaughter; killing their prince, with two thousand of those who had accompanied him on his inauspicious undertaking. A. H. CIII. A. D. 721.

The government of Khorassaun was, about this period, transferred by Yezzeid to his couzin Abdulmêlek the son of Besher, son of Merwaun,

*2,291*l*, 13*s*. 4*d*.

A. H. CIII. A. D. 721. Tarikh Tebry.

with the same powers as had been formerly enjoyed by his father. But as this prince evinced a liberality of disposition, which did not exactly coincide with the views of Yezzeid, he was shortly afterwards removed, and Mosslemah the son of Zerrauh, appointed to supersede him. The latter sat himself down very quietly at Merû; without giving to his followers those opportunities of enriching themselves by the spoils of the infidels, and by foreign conquest, through which his predecessors had usually sought for popularity and distinction. In the mean time, Thaubet the governor of Azerbaijân, being ordered to advance towards Derbend of the Alans, to suppress an insurrection of the Khozzers, was attacked and defeated with great slaughter by that people, at a place called Merj-ul-hijaurah. Encouraged by their success, the Khozzers immediately advanced into Armenia; while Yezzeid discharged his fury and vexation on the head of his general; and with more than ordinary diligence, equipping a fresh army, he sent it, under Jerrauh the son of Abdullah, the Hukkemite, towards that province, in order to punish and expel these rebels against his authority; if such they might be called, who had never been more than imperfectly subjugated.

On entering Armenia, Jerrauh, however, found that the Khozzers had evacuated the province on his approach; and retired into the strong hold of the Baub-ul-abûaub, the Caspiæ Portæ of the ancients, and the Derbend of the moderns. The Mahommedan general pursued; and having allowed his troops a short repose in the territory of Berdia, the abode of Alexander's queen of the Amazons, he crossed the adjoining river, the Kûrr; and continuing his march to the district of Rûdbaur, within two fursungs of the Baubulabûaub, he there encamped. Here he requested that the chiefs of the neighbouring mountainous regions would repair to join him; one of his followers, at the same time, suggesting the expediency of a halt of three days, to supply himself with provisions and forage. Jerrauh presented himself soon afterwards before Baub-ul-abûaub,* and finding it abandoned by the enemy, he passed, and encamped his army on a rivulet, about half a fursung on the opposite side of this celebrated bulwark. While a part of his army, amounting to five thousand men in two divisions, were employed, the one to plunder the town in his rear, and the other to drive the territory of Derwauk, or Dervauk, with instructions to rejoin him, without fail, the following day, Jerrauh, with the remainder of his troops, estimated at

* The gate of gates.

twenty thousand strong, prosecuted his march, and again encamped at the distance of six fursungs within the pass. A. H. CIII. A. D. 721.

Tarikh Tebry.

The detachments which he had employed to plunder the country, soon rejoined him, with several thousand head of sheep and cattle, and three thousand captives: and, what was of some importance, the information of these ravages seems to have hastened the arrival of Bartcheng the son of the Khaugan, or Khaun of the Khozzers; who now approached with forty thousand of his followers, to give battle to the invaders. In the conflict which ensued, the Mahommedans, animated to a pitch of desperation by the assurances of their leader, that they had no place of retreat, no hope of safety, but in God and the exertions of their own valour, overcame all resistance on the part of the enemy, and obtained a signal victory; which enabled them to appear in triumph before the walls of a fortress, which is here distinguished by the general name of Hesseine; but which at at this distant period, if that were of any importance, it would be very difficult, if not impossible to recognize. The inhabitants, however, sought and obtained terms from Jerrauh; who proceeded next to a city called Yerghû, or Berghû,* to which, after experiencing a resistance of three days, he also granted a capitulation. Still advancing into the territory of the Khozzers, the next place which he came before, is called Melinjer, or Melkhidjer; the approach to which, the inhabitants had further fortified by a barricade of three hundred waggons, fastened together with ropes. This, one of the soldiers of Jerrauh observing, immediately determined to remove, and calling upon such of his associates as were willing to devote themselves in the cause of God, to follow him, he made for the waggons, accompanied by about one hundred of his countrymen; and cutting the ropes by which they were fastened together, drew them all to the encampment, in spite of the arrows and other missiles with which he was assailed, without cessation, from the walls of the town. The Mûssulmans, by a desperate attack, became soon afterwards masters of the place, with a considerable booty; but the prince, with about fifty of his followers, effected his escape, as is here represented, towards the territory of Samarkand; more probably into the regions of Tartary adjoining to the Volga, which, in the then imperfect ideas of geography among the Arabs, might have been

* Probably Tarkû.

A. H. CIV. A. D. 722. Tarikh Tebry.

supposed to depend upon that celebrated capital. He left, however, his wife and children to share the fate of the unfortunate inhabitants, who were, as usual, condemned without alternative, to be sold for slaves. This afforded to the Mahommedan commander an opportunity of furnishing in his own person, another example of humanity to the vanquished, so rarely exhibited in the history of his countrymen; although his alleged motive that circumstances might yet arise, when such an instance of generosity would be remembered to his advantage, may not be allowed to acquit him entirely on the score of self interest. He purchased the family of the prince of Melinjer, or whatever it may be called, on his own account, at the expence of a considerable sum of money; and sending to the hopeless fugitive proposals of peace and protection, he prevailed on him to return: and with his territory and government, gratuitously restored to him what might have been equally dear, his forsaken wife and lost children.

From hence, Jerrauh proceeded to another fortified town, which, although defended by a population of forty thousand men, submitted on the appearance of the Mussulman troops, and afforded a further accumulation of spoil, to a great amount. He is now stated to have directed his march for Samarkand; from which it might be supposed that he had already encircled, in his progress, the northern extremity of the Caspian; a conclusion, by no means sufficiently warranted by the premises. He was, however, proceeding in this uncertain direction, when a letter reached him from the prince of Melinjer; urging his immediate return to oppose a most formidable combination of the mountain chiefs, who had violated the faith of treaties, and were assembling their troops in great multitudes, to cut off his retreat. This information, the Tartar prince declared he had been induced to convey to him, as the smallest return he could make for the generous restitution of a wife and family, uninjured both in person and honor. Jerrauh, on the receipt of such an alarming piece of intelligence, countermarched his army without the smallest delay; but being compelled to suspend his operations, by the breaking in of winter, at a Tartar cantonment called either Shekky, or Shelly, or some such name, he remained here in winter quarters, anxiously looking out for reinforcements at the termination of the season; when information arrived that the Khalif Yezzeid was dead, and that he had been succeeded by his brother Hashaum.

In the course of the year one hundred and five, while this prince resided at one of his palaces, somewhere in the territory contiguous to the river Jordan; and while amusing himself in a garden with one of his women, of the name of Jauriah, to whom he was passionately attached, it happened, that of some grapes which he was employed in tossing at her, and she was catching with her mouth, one unfortunately stuck in her throat; and producing a violent fit of coughing, terminated in her immediate suffocation. Inconsolable for her loss, Yezzeid, for the space of a week, refused to suffer the lifeless frame of this beloved female to be conveyed to the receptacle of the dead; and continued his visits to the apartment in which she lay, until the remonstrances of his courtiers compelled him at last to give orders for her interment. The sense of the accident preyed, however, so violently upon his spirits, and left so deep and fatal an impression in his heart, that after surviving but a very few days, he became a victim to his grief, and followed his mistress to the grave. This is the account which we derive from the relation of some historians; while others briefly ascribe the death of Yezzeid to a consumption, or gradual decline, to which he ultimately fell a sacrifice,* on Friday the twenty-fifth of Shabaun, of the year one hundred and five,† at the age of forty-five, and after a reign of four years, lacking fourteen days. He had, while in good health, secured the immediate succession to his brother Hashaum, with reversion, on the demise of the latter, to his own son Walid; whom at a subsequent period, we shall find accordingly seated on the throne of the Khalifs, among those ephemeral sovereigns, who exhibited a short lived and fleeting splendour, just before the final extinction of the power of the house of Ommeyah.

A. H. CV. A. D. 723. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Hashaum the son of Abdulmêlek, tenth Khalif of the house of Ommeyah. In three days from the death of his brother, Hashaum arrived from Ressaufah at Damascus, and ascended the vacant throne without opposition.‡ He confirmed the government of Armenia to Jerrauh the son of Abdullah, with promises of speedy reinforcements, to enable him to prosecute the war against the Khozzers; and he removed Amrû the son of Yezzeid Hobairah from the government of Irâk, to which he had been but recently appointed by his predecessor, and transferred that province to Khaled the

Hashaum, Xth Khalif of the house of Ommeyah.

* Tarikh Tebry. † Twenty-sixth of January, A. D. 724. ‡ Tarikh Tebry.

A. H. CV. A. D. 724. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

son of Abdullah ul Kasheiry; with instructions to depute his brother Asseid to preside over Khorassaun, and to seize the person of Amrû the late governor of Irâk, from whom he was to exact a rigid account of the revenues of his province. On his arrival at Bassorah, the seat of his government, Khaled accordingly confined his predecessor, and by various severities, succeeded in extorting from him property to a vast amount; in defiance of the clamours of the inhabitants, whose affections he had gained by the mildness and benignity of his administration. The charities which he, however, continued to distribute among his fellow prisoners, wrought so powerfully in his favor, that Amrû found it not difficult to escape from his confinement; but as his flight could not be long concealed from Khaled, he was soon afterwards pursued, overtaken, and put to death by Malek the son of Ul Mûnzer, whom that chief had employed to secure him: a circumstance which occasioned such violent displeasure in Hashaum, whose views did not probably extend beyond his property, that the executioner was immediately sent for to his presence; and after suffering a severe beating on the neck, and his nose to be crushed, was thrown into a prison, where he soon expired under the punishments which were further inflicted upon him.

Tarikh Tebry.

Having received the instructions of Hashaum, Jerrauh the son of Abdullah, in order to meet the promised reinforcements, withdrew from the cantonment in which he had passed the winter, and came to the castle of Berdaa, or Berdia, on this side the waters of the Kûrr; and from thence to Baylegaun, and ultimately to Ardebeil; where he remained, while detachments from his army were employed in carrying slaughter and pillage through the districts of Moghaun and Khotlan. In the mean time, the prince of the Khozzers summoned to join him all the neighbouring infidel powers, to aid in the total expulsion of the Mahommedans: and as they hastened to his standard in incredible multitudes, the Khaugan dispatched them with his son Bartcheng at their head, to invade the province of Azerbayjân. This prince, accordingly, encamped soon afterwards at the confluence of the two rivers, the Kûrr and Oras, with an army of three hundred thousand men; and crossing into the territory of Moghaun, made himself master of the principal town, and put all the garrisons there, and elsewhere, that fell into his hands, to the sword, without mercy. He then directed his course in search of Jerrauh, whose troops being at this period

negligently dispersed through the different towns of Azerbayjân, afforded to the Khozzers an opportunity of committing, without restraint, the most fatal ravages throughout the country; with a disparity of number, which seemed to exclude all possibility of success, Jerrauh disdained, however, to avoid a conflict with the enemy; or even to take advantage of a strong position at the foot of Mount Seblan, or Silan, to which he was urged to withdraw, by one of the natives of the country; until time and circumstances should produce some change in his favor, or until the promised reinforcements of Hashaum should arrive to his relief. At a village called Shehervaun, he pitched his tents, and determined to give battle to the Khozzers; who did not long withhold an opportunity of bringing his resolution to the test. They encamped in his presence, and a desperate action immediately ensued; in which, notwithstanding every advantage of disposition and discipline, his troops were compelled to give way to the prodigious superiority of number on the part of the enemy, already sufficiently elated by recent successes. By the most forcible appeals the Mussulmans were, however, prevailed upon to rally for a time; but their chief having at last perished, intrepidly combating at the head of their ranks, they were totally defeated, and in great numbers put to the sword; and the women and children of Jerrauh falling alive into the hands of the enemy, contributed to reflect the greater horror, on the circumstances of this disastrous defeat. Some of the fugitives escaped to Damascus, and communicated to Hashaum the particulars of this fatal discomfiture, to the equal grief and consternation of himself and all his subjects. The Khozzers, in the mean time, advanced to the gates of Ardebeil, which they immediately invested; and the inhabitants, after resisting for some time with considerable firmness, but finding themselves closely pressed without the smallest prospect of relief, consented in an evil hour to surrender the town. The Tartars immediately entering, put every man bearing arms to the sword, making captives of the women and children, and conveying away every description of property which they might not think it necessary to destroy. They then dispersed through the neighbouring towns and villages, putting to death every Mussulman that fell into their hands, and committing every species of enormity and outrage.

A. H. CV. A. D. 724. Tarikh Tebry.

To repair these disasters, and put a stop to the further desolating ravages of the Khozzers, Sauid the son of Amrû the Jershite, at this period resid-

A. H. CV. A. D. 724. Tarikh Tebry.

ing at Balkh, was pointed out, by the unanimous voice of his ministers, to Hashaum, as the person best qualified by his talents and courage. He was accordingly sent for into Syria, and having been fully apprized of the discomfiture, and death of Jerrauh and the principal part of his army, was immediately required to prepare for an expedition into Azerbayjaun; with such a force as would be competent to avenge the sufferings of his slaughtered countrymen. A levy of thirty thousand men, chosen from the Syrian troops, was then placed under his orders; and as on other important occasions, a standard, prepared by the Khalif's personal directions, was delivered into his hands: with all which, and liberally supplied for his own and the subsistance of his army, he accordingly took his departure for Azerbayjaun.

On reaching the town of Erżenjaun, he was met by several of the companions of Jerrauh, who explained to him further particulars of the misfortune which had befallen their general and his army, and awakened afresh the emotions of sorrow for that deplorable catastrophe. Having however, furnished these men with arms to avenge their recent losses, he proceeded to the gates of Ekhlaut; which being in the hands of the infidels, occupied some days in the reduction. After that, putting the garrison to the sword, and dividing, as usual, the booty among his followers, he continued to advance through the country; successively making himself master of the various fortresses and castles in his way, until he penetrated to the territory of Berdia; to the inexpressible joy of the surviving Mussulman inhabitants, whom he exhorted his followers to relieve to the extent of their abilities.

From Berdaa, or Berdia, Sauid conducted his troops to Baylekaun, or Beylegaun; and there receiving, from one of the oppressed inhabitants, a relation of the injuries, which, in common with others, he had suffered from the Terkhân, or officer whom the prince of the Khozzers had left in charge of the neighbouring districts, he determined to employ a detachment under one of his own kinsmen to surprise this person, and the troops who were with him. As the Tartars appear to have been ignorant of the approach of their assailants, and otherwise totally absorbed in the excesses of brutal debauch, the detachment was completely successful; cutting their commander to pieces, in the presence of the women whom he had forcibly torne from their parent; and killing all of his followers whom they found

on the station, returned with a considerable booty, to their general; to whom this appeared an encouraging prelude, to the more extensive and important scenes of warfare, in which he was about to engage with the Khozzers. A. H. CV. A. D. 724. Tarikh Tebry:

The main body of the latter nation was, in the mean time, encamped, under Bartcheng, before the gates of Werkân, which they threatened to reduce; and it was of considerable importance that the inhabitants should be apprized, that succours were at hand. This was accomplished through a native of Baylekân, who, on this occasion, cheerfully devoted himself to certain death, to promote the views of his general. Necessarily falling into the hands of the besiegers, in approaching the town, he obtained from them permission to communicate with the inhabitants on their walls; on a promise, that the information which he gave them, should be the very reverse of what he was employed to convey; but being conducted for that purpose to a convenient spot, near the works of the town, and having first caused the people to recognize him, by a remarkable pye-bald horse, of which he was known to be the owner, he announced to them, with a loud voice, the joyful intelligence that Sauid the son of Amrû, with a powerful army, was arrived at Baylekaun, to their relief; and exhorting them to persevere in the defence of their city, he told them, that, for his own part, he knew that immediate death awaited him among the Khozzers, and bid them an eternal farewel. The information was received by the inhabitants with shouts of triumph, and they stood to their defence with redoubled alacrity, while the faithful messenger was led to his fate. On the other hand, to confirm the intelligence which he had thus conveyed to them, Sauid caused great fires to be kindled in the neighbourhood of Baylekaun, the smoke of which, ascending to the sky, at the same time, reassured the inhabitants of the approach of succours, and indicated to the enemy the necessity of raising the siege; which they immediately proceeded to do, withdrawing from thence, through the plains of Belasenjân, to the fortress of Banj, or Saujnûân, of which it would be in vain to trace the situation.

Upon this, the Jershite encamped, without opposition, under the walls of Werkaun; and received from the inhabitants, together with an abundant supply of forage and provisions, a reinforcement to his army of two thousand men. With these he now proceeded in pursuit of the Khozzers, who are here unaccountably stated to have retreated in the direction of Ardebeil;

A. H. CV. A. D. 724. Tarikh Tebry.

Sauid, on his part, conducting his troops to Baujrûan, which the enemy had recently abandoned. While seated one day at the gate of this place, the Mahommedan general was suddenly accosted by an unknown personage, riding on a white horse, and dressed in white apparel. Having replied to his salutation, he naturally demanded who he was; and the stranger told him in answer, that he was one who served the true God; but in return he desired to know if the general was not indifferent to the acquirement of plunder, and victory from the enemies of his faith? "How so," replied the Jershite. "Hard by," said the stranger, "is an encampment of the Khozzers, of "not less than ten thousand men, with five thousand Mahommedan captives "in their custody. If thou art disposed to attack them, now is the time." And so saying, the stranger disappeared. Sauid determined to avail himself of the information, and drawing together four thousand of his troops, whom he directed to arm with more than ordinary circumspection, he proceeded in quest of the enemy. Still to render certainty more sure, he employed one of his followers, who understood the language of the Khozzers, as a spy, to explore their encampment, under cover of the night. This man entering their camp accordingly, happened to pass by the tent of Terkhaun, one of the Khozzer chiefs, (the title perhaps of these chiefs in general) while a female domestic belonging to the family of the unfortunate Jerrauh, who had fallen to the share of this chief, was complaining of the miseries of her lot; and of the disgusting importunities with which he persisted to harrass her. Under the impulse of the moment, the spy would have rushed into the tent, and put the Tartar to death; but recollecting that any premature discovery might frustrate the more important design of his general; and more particularly, that if he fell in the attempt, his general would be deprived of the information which he had been employed to procure, he suppressed the desire of immediate revenge; and hastened to communicate to the Jershite, all he had been able to observe. Towards the latter part of the night, the Mahommedan commander approached the camp of the Khozzers, and finding them all still buried in profound sleep, he separated his troops into four distinct divisions, in order to attack them from four different quarters at once; and thus falling, sword in hand among the enemy from all sides unexpectedly, they were, for the most part, cut to pieces, before sun rise; but a very few out of

ten thousand, of which they consisted, escaping to acquaint the Khaugan with the fate of their associates. Independent of the noble gratification of having achieved the enlargement of five thousand captive Mussulmans, a very considerable booty fell, on this occasion, into the hands of the Jershite, with which he returned in triumph to his encampment at Baujrûaun. A. H. CV. A. D. 724. Tarikh Tebry.

This was but one of several instances, in which the Jershite was excited to successful enterprize, by the seasonable intelligence conveyed to him, through the intervention of this mysterious white robed stranger: who could neither be prevailed upon to disclose his character, nor to accept of the smallest compensation for services which were acknowledged of the most essential importance to the welfare of the Mahommedan troops. The last instance wherein he is described to have interposed, to promote the success of the Mosslems, was when, after a severely contested victory, in which he had, as he believed, completely succeeded in dispersing the army of the Khozzers, Sauid had returned to his station under the walls of Baujrûaun. Here he was, as formerly, accosted by the stranger, after the usual salutations, with an admonition to prepare his troops for battle; for that the prince of the Khozzers that enemy of the true God, with his numerous hordes, whom, notwithstanding their recent dispersion, he had succeeded in reassembling, was on his way to attack him. He desired him at the same time, to dismiss every kind of alarm for the result; neither to regard the designs of the enemy in too serious a point of view, since God alone was the dispenser of victory; and thus having said, the friendly admonitor withdrew. Far from neglecting the communications of a person, of whose fidelity he had received such substantial proofs, the Jershite immediately called in the whole of his force; and leaving a sufficient detachment for the protection of his baggage at Baujrûaun, proceeded with the remainder, to the number of fifty thousand men, towards Moghân, at the gates of which, Bartcheng the prince of the Khozzers at this moment lay encamped with double his force. When both sides had reciprocally prepared for the onset, Sauid, presenting himself at the head of his troops, demanded if there was any among them, that could point out to him the station of the enemy's general; when he was desired to direct his attention to a human head exposed at the end of a pole, close to which the Khaugan had taken his stand. This was the head of the unfortunate Jerrauh the son

A. H. CVI. A. D. 725. Tarikh Tebry.

of Abdullah. Moved with equal indignation and sorrow, at the revolting spectacle, the Mûssulman general rushed forward towards the spot, with resistless impetuosity, closely followed by his troops; and having cut his way to the person of the Tartar prince, dealt him on the coronet, or crest of his helmet, so furious a stroke with his scimitar, as brought him headlong from his horse. But the Khozzers pouring in, in superior numbers, to the rescue of their sovereign, succeeded in withdrawing his person from this perilous situation. A fierce and sanguinary conflict ensued, which terminated, however, after an immense slaughter, in the entire defeat of the Khozzers; who fled in consternation from the field of battle, leaving a prodigious booty to the victorious Mûssulmans. Having collected together the trophies of his victory, the Jershite returned once more to his camp at Baujrûaun; where, after setting apart as usual, a fifth of the spoil for the sovereign, he distributed the remainder to the army, of which the share of every individual on this occasion, is stated at seventeen hundred dirhems.* Shortly afterwards he led his troops in pursuit of the Khozzers, now flying in the utmost disorder; and having followed them to the territory of Shirvaun, he there determined to remain until he should receive the further commands of his sovereign.

Some time subsequent to this, though the period cannot be precisely determined from the author who is our present guide, letters were dispatched by Hashaum to announce to Sauid, that he had transferred the provinces under his government to his brother Mosslemah; to whom, on his arrival, he was accordingly to resign his authority: after which he was enjoined to return to court. To all this, the Jershite expressed his ready obedience; and suspending all further operations of offensive hostility, calmly expected the appearance of Mosslemah; to whom he was prepared to relinquish his command. That prince, however, on his arrival in Azerbayjân, sent to require that the Jershite would quit his station at or near Shirvaun, and immediately repair to meet him. At their interview, which took place shortly afterwards, Mosslemah demanded, if no letter from him had been delivered to Sauid, directing him, to forbear engaging in any hostilities with the Khozzers until he should arrive; and if any such letter had reached him, what were the motives that had induced him to engage

* About thirty-nine pounds.

himself so far in an enemy's territory, and to commit to hazard the safety of so many Mûssulmans. The Jershite alleged, that these instructions had reached him at a period when providence had already wrought the destruction of the Khozzers, by the decided advantages placed in his hands. But had such a letter been communicated at an earlier period, his orders would not have been disobeyed. "'Tis false," replied Mosslemah: "I ascribe it to the spirit of ambition, with which thou art possessed, that "thy exploits should become the theme of observation; that the world "should celebrate the numbers, forsooth, whom the Jershite has put to the "sword." "Nay," rejoined Sauid, "such views I utterly disclaim; it is "the approbation of my God, on the contrary, that I have ever sought. "My conduct was justified by every consideration of prudence and policy; "and of that my general is aware." Enraged beyond all bounds by the freedom of such an address, Mosslemah broke out into the most violent expressions of abuse; and the attendants having, by his directions, struck him several times on the neck with the fist, he caused his standard to be broke to pieces over his head, and consigned him to close confinement in the prisons of Berdia.

A. H. CVI. A. D. 725. Tarikh Tebry.

This treatment of so distingnished a commander when reported to Haushaum, seems to have excited his highest displeasure; and he accordingly wrote to acquaint Mosslemah that he was fully apprized of every particular of his misconduct, and unwarrantable abuse of power. Then recapitulating every circumstance of his behaviour towards his predecessor in command, he did not scruple to ascribe it to motives of the basest jealousy, and envy, on account of the splendid successes with which providence had been pleased to distinguish the exertions of the son of Amrû. After all, if he could prevail upon himself, by a just and ample reparation of the injury, to exhibit the only proof that would be accepted, of repentance for his misdeeds; if by hastening to appease the wounded spirit of Sauid, he obtained the forgiveness of that chief, and by every mark of honor, succeeded in regaining his good will, he might then, and then only, calculate upon having secured the pardon of his sovereign. Otherwise, he was no stranger to the situation to which he would be reduced in his opinion; to the circumstances in which they must then stand, with respect to one

A.H. CVII. A. D. 725. another. The arrival of this merited reprehension, appears to have produced the desired effect, even on the high spirited and haughty Mosslemah. He immediately sent the Khalif's letter to the Jershite, and besought his forgiveness, with every expression of regret, and the most positive assurances that every thing should be done, to atone for the injuries which he had sustained. The messengers of Hashaum now conducted the Jershite from his prison to the presence of Mosslemah, who received him with extraordinary kindness; and having clad him with the customary dress of honor, gave to him and to his kindred the most liberal presents, conferring upon them, at the same time, an augmentation in their assignments on the conquered lands, to a very considerable extent; such indeed, observes our author, as were well known to continue in their possession for many centuries afterwards.

Tarikh Tebry.

Having, by this conspicuous act of justice, secured the approbation of his brother, Mosslemah put his army in motion; and appeared before the gates of a certain fortress in the territory of Shirvaun, to which, as the garrison refused his summons to surrender, he immediately laid siege. But perceiving, after considerable exertion, that the place was proof against the ordinary methods of attack, he turned the siege into a blockade, resolving to starve the garrison into submission. And in this he was successful. In a short time the inhabitants finding their provisions exhausted, offered to capitulate, requesting no other terms, than that none of them should be put to death. Mosslemah very readily swore that he would not put *one man* of them to death; a promise, with which, without suspecting its insidious ambiguity, they were too perfectly satisfied. They opened their gates, and relinquished their defences to the discretion of a perfidious adversary. Of one thousand soldiers, which composed the garrison, Mosslemah caused nine hundred and ninety-nine to be immediately put to the sword, one person only, in concurrence with the letter of his oath, being exempted from the slaughter. He then demolished the fortifications of the place, and prosecuted his march towards the Baubulabûaub; anciently considered the key of Azerbayjân, (the Media Atropatene perhaps) from that quarter.

On his approach to that celebrated bulwark, most of the principal towns submitted to Mosslemah, the different chiefs with their followers in general uniting themselves to his army; the princes of the neighbouring mountains of

Armenia* also hastening to join his standard, and engaging themselves afresh to be tributary to the government of the Khalifs, accompanied him on his march. Arriving, however, under the ramparts of the Baub-ul-abûaub, he found that fortress garrisoned by one thousand Terkhânians, the flower of the Tatar tribes; and his attempts to reduce it proving for the present unavailing, Mosslemah was constrained to postpone this enterprize to a future opportunity. He next appeared before Melinjer; but finding that place entirely abandoned by the inhabitants, he continued to advance to Derbend, and from thence to Semender, without yet finding a single inhabitant. The Khâgan of the Khozzers, long since apprized of the approach of the Mûssulmans, had however by this time assembled his troops; and was, on his side, advancing to oppose them with a force, of which the number might, perhaps, defy the ordinary powers of calculation.

A.H. CVII. A. D. 725. Tarikh. Tebry.

Receiving intelligence that the infidels were coming to meet him, Mosslemah directed his troops to kindle their fires and pitch their tents; after which they appear to have continued to advance. In the mean time, assembling the mountain chiefs, he demanded their opinion as to the means of opposing the designs of the enemy. They probably surprised him with an intreaty, that they might be permitted to lead in any attack upon the Khozzers; since, if they perished, eternal bliss would be their portion, and if they were victorious, they should doubtless find an ample compensation. Applauding the unequivocal fidelity of their counsels, Mosslemah hastened to dispose his troops in order of battle; in concurrence with their intreaties, posting the mountain chiefs with their followers, in the front of his line. The Khâgan of the Khozzers, on his part, when he distinguished the standard of Mosslemah, addressed himself immediately to the Terkhânians, and others his most distinguished warriors, calling upon them to mark that boasted pageant, which, from the time it was first displayed to the present, had never been known to recede from the field of battle: peradventure, if they made it the object of their united efforts, the spell might be broken, in which case he would promise them the victory of that important day. Stimulated by the exhortations of his sovereign, one of the Terkhâny chiefs drew out with a powerful division to assail the Mosslems. It is on this occasion, that Merwaun the son of Mahommed, the grandson of the former Khalif of that name, whom destiny had marked for the last monarch of the race of Ommeyah, is first

* Georgia, more properly.

A.H. CVII, A. D. 725. Tarikh Tebry.

introduced to our notice. Observing the menacing position into which the enemy were throwing themselves, he spurred up his charger, and disengaging himself from the surrounding squadrons intreated his associates, by the most precious sacrifices which he was ever ready to make for their welfare, to hold firm to their stations at this momentous crisis. "Let your "words be fewer," said he, "since nothing so manifestly betrays a defect of "natural courage, as such a disposition to loquacity in the hour of battle. "Beware also that you use your swords as combating in the presence, "and in the cause of the living God."

The armies now joined in mutual conflict, in which they continued with persevering fierceness and obstinacy, and with multiplied slaughter, until the close of the day. At this moment, one of the Khozzer nation becoming a sudden convert to Isslâm, and not less likely a traitor to the cause of his sovereign, approached Mosslemah; and requested to know, if he was not desirous of ascertaining where the Khâgan of the Khozzers was to be found; the Mûssulman prince eagerly demanding where he was to look for him, the faithful proselyte directed his attention to a waggon which stood opposite to him, with a covering of rich brocade; and in which he told him rode the monarch for whom he sought. Calling to Merwaun, Mosslemah immediately pointed out to him this interesting object, significantly observing, that the same gorgeous vehicle contained the person of their most powerful adversary. With a brevity which bespoke his resolution, Merwaun replied, that this was a piece of service, for the execution of which, he would be alone responsible. Some other Mûssulman chief interposing, however, to dissuade them from unnecessarily engaging in any rash design; and to assure them that the Khâgan never exposed himself in these circumstances, without a formidable escort of his stoutest warriors, further advanced it as his opinion, that one of the most experienced of their veteran chiefs, with a squadron composed of the most distinguished among the Mosslems, for courage and intrepidity, should be exclusively employed on this hazardous undertaking. The suggestion had sufficient weight with Mosslemah, who sending accordingly for Thaubet the Neherwânian, already known to the reader by his unfortunate defeat in the early part of the war, gave him charge of one thousand men, the flower of his army, with orders to make an immediate attack on the waggon of the Khâgan; and an assurance, that if he was successful in the enterprize this day

entrusted to his execution, there would be no bounds to the favors, the rewards, with which it would be the business of his general to load him ever after. The crisis was too important to admit of much delay. Thâbet, with his intrepid band of warriors, hastened to execute this supposed arduous piece of duty; and penetrating, after a fierce and obstinate resistance, to the waggon, he cut down the materials which sustained the canopy, in doing which, his sword reached the person of the Khâgan; but that prince, by a precipitate and hasty retreat from the danger, narrowly escaped to hide himself, among those multitudes which yet opposed an impenetrable mass to the efforts of his assailants. The Mûssulmans continuing however, to bear upon them with unabated ardour and impetuosity, the Khozzers were at length driven from the field of battle, in the utmost consternation; leaving to their conquerors an incalculable booty, and a glorious, because a well contested victory.

A.H. CVII. A.D. 725. Tarikh Tebry.

Thus triumphant, Mosslemah returned with his army to the Bâbulabûaub; in the probable hope, that discouraged by the discomfiture of their sovereign, the garrison might be induced to surrender. In addition to the force already stated, we are now informed, that it was further defended by the male part of one thousand Khozzer families, all of whom were, at any rate, on the present occasion, closely invested within the ramparts of the place. Finding, however, at the expiration of some days, that he had made but little progress towards the attainment of his object, Mosslemah was about to raise the siege; when, fortunately, one of the natives of the country, on condition that his property, and wife and children, should be secured to him, engaged to put the Mûssulman general in possession of this always important post. His terms being readily subscribed to by Mosslemah, the man further required that one hundred head of sheep and oxen might be immediately placed at his disposal: and with these and the necessary aid, he proceeded to a certain spot, where the celebrated Noushirvân* the son of Kobâd, surnamed the just, was known to have discovered the spring, from which, by a subterraneous communication, he supplied the place with water. Here, after careful inspection, he caused the people who had attended him, to dig up the soil, until they found again this ancient spring. The cattle which he had brought for the

* This celebrated monarch filled the Persian throne, from about the year 530 to 578 of the Christian chronology; in the fortieth of whose reign, took place the birth of Mahommed, which he survived eight years.

A.H. CVII. A. D. 725. Tarikh Tebry.

purpose, were then collected, and slaughtered at the fountain head: and the blood flowing into the channel, and mixing with the stream, was thus conveyed to the reservoirs and cisterns, on which the garrison solely depended for supply. When he conceived that this polluted stream had sufficiently communicated its impurities to the different reservoirs, he caused its course to be suddenly stopped, and diverted into into a neighbouring rivulet. The Khozzers, next morning, to their great surprise and horror, perceiving their cisterns filled with blood; and before the expiration of the day, that they swarmed with loathsome and innumerable vermin, were, as might be expected, soon reduced to a state of despair, by the most tormenting thirst; while the author of their distresses repairing to Mosslemah, assured him that the garrison were perishing of thirst; and that if he withdrew to a little distance off, they would not fail to betake themselves to flight, and abandon the place to his discretion. And this suggestion being accordingly attended to, the Khozzers, as soon as it was dark, threw open their gates, and fled with their utmost expedition; the Mûssulmans returning to take possession of the place, which they now entered without further obstacle.

Mosslemah, after causing the tanks and reservoirs to be purified from the recent contamination, is said to have divided the city, on this occasion, into four distinct quarters, which he allotted respectively to the four descriptions of men of whom his army was principally composed; namely, to the men of Damascus, Constantinople, Hamess, and Jezzeirah, from whom they continued to be denominated to the days of our author, and perhaps long afterwards. He assigned the immediate government to one of his companions, Fereid the son of Ul Assuad the Thâlebite; with instructions to fortify afresh the four sides of the city, with walls and battlements, and gates of iron. Then allotting to every individual, whom he had established in the place, a sufficient maintenance, he delegated the government of the province to his kinsman Merwaun, and returned into Syria.

On intelligence of the departure of Mosslemah, the Khozzers appear to have resumed their confidence, and to have recoiled once more upon their adversaries; but Merwaun, not inferior either in talents or courage to his predecessor, speedily assembling his troops, hastened into the territory of Melinjer, at the head of forty thousand men, to oppose them. He pursued them into their own country; and after exhibiting the ordinary scenes of slaughter and devastation, reconducted his followers with great multitudes of cattle for their spoil, into his province. This expedition having been

undertaken in the midst of winter, has been denominated the Ghûzû-el-teyne, or war in the mud, from the incessant rain, and consequent miry state of the roads, which suggested to Merwaun the expediency of an order to his cavalry, to dock the tails of their horses; an order, which, in other circumstances, would probably have awakened in the army a suspicion, that their general was either disordered in his intellects, or that they were in mourning for some dreadful calamity. A.H.CVII. A. D. 726. Tarikh Tebry.

Merwaun was, however, in the spring, removed by Hashaum, from his government, which was now restored to Sauid, the Jershite; who came accordingly, and fixed the seat of his authority at Baub-ul-abûaub, engaging with his usual indefatigable activity in a series of hostile designs against the neighbouring infidel states. But in the midst of these operations, being seized by a defluxion of black humour in the eyes, he became shortly afterwards totally blind; and having written to announce his misfortune to Hashaum, he was immediately recalled, and Merwaun, with the necessary powers dispatched to supply his place.

On this occasion, Merwaun is stated to have quitted Syria, with a force of one hundred and twenty thousand men; a pretty strong proof of the importance attached to the war, in which the disciples of the Korân had been now so long engaged with the hardy and intractable inhabitants of the regions of Caucasus. Thus powerfully attended, at any rate, he now entered Armenia, and encamped at a place here called Gûssaul or Kessaul, it is difficult to determine which, forty Persian leagues, or farsangs, from Berdia, in the peninsula of the Kûrr and Oras, and twenty from Shekky. As he did not suffer any considerable delay to precede his entering on offensive operations, the petty chiefs of Armenia were early subjugated; and the different fortresses throughout the country, having alternately submitted to his arms, he found himself, perhaps, sooner than might have been expected, entire master of that difficult and warlike province. Next dispatching to require the junction of the troops which formed the garrison, or covered the approach of Bâb-ul-abûaub, he conducted his army to the defiles called the Bâb-e-Alan, or pass of the Alans; through which having penetrated, he carried fire and sword to the gates of Semender: one of the principal towns of the Khozzers by some supposed to be the modern Tar-

A. H. CVIII. A. D. 726.

Tarikh Tebry.

kû. He was there joined, according to his directions, by the troops from Bâbulabûaub, and his army augmented to one hundred and fifty thousand strong. With this formidable power he appeared soon afterwards before Sermer, which the Khâgan had made the seat of his government. That monarch, however, if we are to depend upon the relation of the author, fled without an effort before Merwaun; who was thus enabled, without much difficulty, to extend his conquest through the whole of the mountainous regions in that neighbourhood. After which, passing entirely through the territory of the Khozzers, which he now left in his rear, he exhibited his victorious standard on the banks of the Seklan; the identity of which, it would not, at this moment, be easy to recognize, unless it was the Terek of the maps, or some other river, to the northward of Tarku. Wherever it lay, Merwaun there established his head quarters; while his troops indulged in all the excesses of pillage, and slaughter, throughout the adjoining infidel settlements, until they had completed the destruction of twenty thousand families with their habitations. One feeble attempt was, however, made on the part of the Khagan, to interrupt the merciless ravages with which he was laying the country desolate. Intelligence was received that a Khozzer chief, of the name of Hazârterkhan, was advancing at the head of forty thousand men, to create some kind of diversion in favor of the oppressed and suffering natives; but being speedily opposed by a division of equal force, detached against him by Merwaun, the design terminated in the total defeat and dispersion of the Khozzers, and in the death of their commander.

Satisfied, for the present at least, with having carried his victories to that river, Merwaun thought it now prudent to withdraw from the Seklan, and return towards Armenia. Which circumstance being announced to the Khâgan of the Khozzers, that prince, by this time sufficiently humbled by his misfortunes to submit perhaps to any conditions, sent a message after the Mahommedan general, requesting to be informed, now that he appeared to have attained the object of his ambition, what further sacrifices, on his part, would be necessary to appease his vengeance. In answer to this, he received from Merwaun a demand to become an immediate convert to Isslâm; otherwise he was determined to destroy him, and to transfer his dominions to a stranger. Having solicited a short delay of three days, to deliberate on the proposal, the Khâgan then further submitted to request

that some person might be deputed to explain to him, the precepts of that religion, which he was thus imperiously called upon to embrace. In this it was not difficult to gratify him; and two learned Arabians were accordingly sent to instruct him in the principles of Isslâm. The Khâgan is described to have stipulated at first, for an indulgence in the articles of wine, and the flesh of impure animals. One of the missionaries proposed to his collegue, to secure the conversion of the infidel, by yielding to his prejudices in these two points; and that an interdict might be easily laid upon him when he had declared himself a Mûssulman. It was, however, ultimately announced to the Khâgan, that they could not make that lawful which God had declared to be unlawful, any more than they could pronounce that forbidden, which the precepts of their religion had rendered lawful. If therefore he became a convert to Isslâm, the use of every thing impure and unlawful, would be forbidden to him, in common with every other Mûssulman. On these terms, the Khâgan declared himself, without further argument, a proselyte to the doctrines of the Korân, was restored to his capital, and loaded with a multiplicity of rare presents by the liberality of his conqueror. Merwaun then prosecuted his march to Bâbul abûaub, where he remained during the following winter; and from whence he conveyed to Hashaum an account of his victories, together with the fifth of the spoil, which had been accumulated during this successful campaign.

A.H. CVIII. A.D. 726. Tarikh Tebry.

At the expiration of winter, Merwaun determined, nevertheless, to renew his hostilities against the territory of Sermer; and crossing the river of that name perhaps, arrived before a city which the natives of the country called Shekky, where there was, however, a castle, or citadel of great strength. Having remained a month before this place, without making any progress towards its reduction, he bethought himself at last of the following expedient. Causing a great number of iron bars and a proportionable quantity of plank to be got ready for his purpose, he sent one evening after the hour of prayer, his engineers to the opposite side of the fort, to construct a gallery of approach, by fixing these bars upright in the earth, as supports, and alternately covering them in with his plank: so that by break of day he had secured a lodgment to the very ramparts of the place. for four thousand of his most distinguished warriors. These latter proceeded with

A.H. CVIII. A. D. 727. Tarikh Tebry.

the appalling shout of the tekbeir, to possess themselves of one of the gates; which was immediately thrown open for Merwaun and the remainder of the army, who now hastened from that quarter to cut off all hope of escape from the wretched garrison, the whole of whom thus fell into the hands of the merciless assailants. In emulation, perhaps of the most ferocious of his countrymen, Merwaun then took his seat at the gate; and the captive warriors being brought before him one by one, were by him alternately condemned to have their throats cut, and thus perished to the last man. Their property and women and children were distributed to the army, and the fortress was destroyed to a level with the earth.

Merwaun next encamped before the gates of a fortress, of considerable strength, which the besiegers were taught to distinguish by the name of Hessen Ommy; and which, after a desperate resistance, he compelled to share the fate of its neighbours, and utterly destroyed. Alarmed by this intelligence, the prince of Sermer fled for security to a strong hold in the neighbourhood, where, for twelve months, he defied every effort of violence, and art, employed by Merwaun to reduce him to submission. The Mûssulman had, however, sworn that he would never rise from before the gates of the place, until he should have either entered, or perished in the siege.

He, accordingly, directed his soldiers to construct for themselves permanent habitations, as a proof that he was determined not to depart from the letter of his oath. Finding at the expiration of the twelve months, that every other expedient had failed him, Merwaun had recourse to the following stratagem. He wrote a letter, in his own name, to the prince of Sermer, explaining the nature of his vow, and requesting that he would so far assist him in the discharge of it, as to admit of his entering the fort alone, just to take a single view of the interior: and requiring, at the same time, a solemn pledge, that he might be also suffered to depart in perfect safety. Then bathing and purifying his person, with all the solemnity of a man preparing for death, he clad himself in the dress of his cook, and putting on his head a turban, of the most sordid materials and appearance, he determined, in this disguise, to be the bearer of his own letter; and so proceeded by himself to the castle gate, demanding to be admitted to the presence of the prince. Being received into the fort, he was, as he desired, conducted to the prince's presence, to whom he delivered his letter, and by whom it was given to an interpreter for explanation.

Instead, however, of acceding to the letter of the request contained in this epistle, the prince directed his attendants to take this supposed messenger by the shoulders, and conduct him to visit the whole of the fortifications; that he might be able to convince his master of the utter impossibility of his ever entering as an enemy. Merwaun was accordingly taken by the arms, and paraded round the whole of the works, which he surveyed with his utmost attention. In the course of his survey he marked, with peculiar satisfaction, one part, in which the fort appeared to be perfectly assailable; And to impress it the more strongly on his recollection, he availed himself of the pretext of hunger to procure the necessary delay; requesting his conductors to procure him something to eat, since he much feared, as he said, that Merwaun would begone, and that he should never be able to overtake him. Little suspecting his views, they procured him a couple of loaves of bread and a piece of horse flesh, and with these put him out of the fort.

Merwaun thus highly gratified, returned straight to his encampment, and immediately dispatched another epistle to the prince of Sermer; in which, addressing him by the most opprobrious of epithets, "Offspring of the "impure," he told him that instead of his messenger, he had had in his power the person of Merwaun himself, the son of Mahommed; that he had at the same time absolved himself of his vow, and discovered a spot by which he could always command an entrance into his boasted bulwarks; and he trusted the time was not very distant when he should take a further survey of them. The receipt of this letter appears to have excited in the person to whom it was addressed, the most serious alarm; he immediately sued for peace, and obtained it, on engaging to deliver immediately to Merwaun, five hundred male and female slaves, and the sum of ten thousand dinaurs; and further to convey to the city of the barrier, or Bâbulabûaub, a supply of five hundred mûdds,* or measures of provisions.

Having secured the prompt discharge of every stipulation of this treaty, Merwaun proceeded now to invest another very strong place, to which our author has given the name of Hamrein; and the garrison of which, is stated to have been amply prepared for a vigorous and obstinate defence. After he had sacrificed a considerable number of troops, in some desperate and fruitless attempts to make himself master of the fortress, he announced

* A measure, according to Richardson, of five hundred dirhems or drams; perhaps a Modius.

A. H. CX. A. D. 728. Tarikh Tebry.

to his followers that a thousand dinaurs,* and the most beautiful maiden in the place, would be the reward of the man that should first enter it. One of those who attended his camp, undertook the execution of this arduous service; and fortunately discovering an outlet, which communicated with some of the underground passages, or common sewers of the town, he contrived to let himself in, probably, with such as had been directed to assist him in his attempt. The garrison either immediately threw down their arms, or suspended all further resistance. The successful adventurer was punctually paid his thousand dinaurs, and desired by Merwaun to make his choice among the fairest of the female captives. This he accordingly proceeded to do, and having fixed upon a young girl of exquisite beauty, he was conducting her downwards by the hand from the fort; when seizing her opportunity, the generous damsel suddenly clasped the odious foreigner in her arms with all the force of female revenge, and casting herself headlong from the works before he could disengage himself from her embrace, they were both together dashed to pieces in the fall. Enraged at such an instance of desperate and mortal antipathy, Merwaun caused every human being that was found in the place, to be put to death without mercy, and without exemption.

Without leading us into further detail, we are now told, that having made himself master in succession of every castle, and place of strength in the adjoining regions, to the remoter limits of Sermer, Kûman or Kûma, or perhaps Kûban,† and Sedan, Merwaun here terminated the career of his victories in that quarter, and returned to pass the winter at Bâbulabûaub. The ensuing spring he employed in completing the subjugation, and receiving the submission of the several petty princes of the mountains of Daghestaun; all of whom, with a single exception, hastened to acknowledge his authority. The subject of this exception, who had absconded with some of his followers, leaving his castle besieged by the Mosslems, was, however, soon afterwards dispatched by an arrow shot, from the hand of a shepherd boy, whose flock he had ventured to make free with, for the supply of his immediate necessities; and his head being planted by Merwaun on a pole, in view of the works of the besieged fortress, the garrison immediately sued for mercy; to which they were admitted, on engaging

* By the lowest calculation about 458l. 6s. 8d. † Perhaps both.

also to furnish the city of the barrier with an annual supply of ten thousand mûdds of provision. After which, withdrawing into Azerbayjân, Merwaun appears to have been engaged in some affair, which is not explained, with the people of Mogân, or Moghan, and Jeilan, in the neighbourhood of Berdia. At all events, it is observed that the whole of Azerbayjân, and the territory of Armenia had by this time entirely submitted, not a single opponent now remaining to offer the smallest resistance to his authority. A. H. CXI. A. D. 729. Tarikh Tebry.

The nrrrative must now recur some years, to those events, which, although of minor importance, were passing in other quarters of the empire; during the period in which our attention has been employed in an endeavour to trace the progress of Mûssulman conquest, on the western shores of the Caspian, and through the intricate regions of Caucasus.

In the course of the year one hundred and six,* a dissention having arisen between two Arabian tribes, which had settled in the neighbourhood of Bâlkh, and terminating in actual hostilities, Nasser the son of Seyaur, destined at a subsequent period to become the opponent of the celebrated Abû Mosslem, and now first introduced to our notice, was the person employed, by the lieutenant of Khorassaun, to quell the disturbance; in which, by very distinguished exertions, he ultimately succeeded: and the authors of the commotion were condemned to the no very heavy, but disgraceful punishment, of having their heads and beards shorn. Soon afterwards, Mosslem the son of Sauid, who had administered the government of Khorassaun, as the agent of Amrû the son of Hobairah, was removed from his employment by the new patron, Khaled the son of Abdullah ul Kesheiry, to make room for his brother Assud, whom he delegated to take charge of that province. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The following year,† the same Assud the son of Abdullah employed the troops of his province, in reducing the territory of Ghour, and the hilly region of Neimrouz, in the same direction; which were now brought under the dominion of Isslâm.

In the year one hundred and eight,‡ Mosslemah appeared once more at the head of an army in the territories of the Greek emperor, his former competitor Leo the Isaurian; from whom he captured on this occasion the city of Kaysareiah.§

Instructed by experience in the policy of frequent removals in the government of the great provinces of the empire, Hashaum appears to have

* A. D. 724. † A. D. 725. ‡ A. D. 726. § In Cappadocia perhaps.

A. H. CIX. A. D. 727. made it a rule, seldom to continue that of Khorassaun in the same hands, beyond the period of two years. Khaled the son of Abdullah was accordingly divested of his authority over Irâk and Khorassaun, in the year one hundred and nine; the latter province being consigned to Hukkem ul Kelleby. He was, however, shortly afterwards superseded in his appointment by Assresh the son of Abdullah.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The greater part of the inhabitants of the city of Samarkand had, it seems, hitherto persisted in adhering to the idolatrous system of their ancestors. Their entire conversion was reserved for the year one hundred and ten;* an event which is ascribed to the zeal and assiduity of Assresh the lieutenant of Khorassaun, and his agent Abû-usseyda. Under the same year it has been thought of sufficient importance to record the demise of Hussun the Bassorite, and of Farzouk an Arabian poet, of whom we know nothing further than the name. Assresh was succeeded in his government, in the course of one hundred and eleven, by Jenneid the son of Abdurraihman.

It becomes here necessary to remark, that the defeat of Jerrauh the son of Abdullah, at the confluence of the rivers Kûrr and Oras, and the subsequent conflicts in which Sauid the Jershite, is described to have been engaged with the Khozzers, are referred in the work, which at present serves to guide us, to the year one hundred and twelve; as those of Mosslemah and Merwaun with the same nation, are related by the compiler of the Tarikh gûzeidah, among the events of the years fifteen and sixteen.

A. H. CXIII. A. D. 731. In the year one hundred and thirteen, we are, however, informed that the lieutenancy of Africa having been bestowed by Hashaum, upon Abdullah the son of Hajaub, several places in the territory of the blacks, Belaud-e-sowâdan, not improbably Nigritia, were included in the dominions of the Khelaufut, by the exertions of that commander.

A. H. CXIV. and XVII. A. D. 732-35. The government of Khorassaun was taken from Jenneid the son of Abdurraihman, during the year one hundred and fourteen, and transferred by Hashaum to Aussem the son of Abdullah ul Hullauly; who continued to hold it until one hundred and seventeen, when he was superseded by the appointment of Assud the son of Abdullah.

Under the year one hundred and eighteen,† Sûliman and Mauweiah the sons of Hashaum, in an expedition against the territories of the Greek emperor, are recorded to have triumphed over the Christians.

* A. D. 728. † A. D. 736.

In the course of the year following, Khorassaun having been invaded by the Khâgan of Tûrkestaun, that monarch was defeated in a battle, in which he was opposed by the lieutenant general of the province, Assud the son of Abdullah : and that commander dying in the course of one hundred and twenty, the government of his province then devolved to Nusser or Nasser the son of Seyaur; a soldier, says our author, of distinguished renown, with whom indeed it continued until the revolution which finally subverted the power of the race of Ommeyah. A.H.CXIX-XX. A. D. 737-38. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Encouraged by the insidious promises of the people of Kûfah, Zaid the son of Imaum Zeyne-ul-aubbedein, in the course of one hundred and twenty-one, and in spite of the endeavours, of the more discreet and experienced of his friends, to dissuade him from such a step, determined to assert his claims to sovereign power. The execution of his design was, however, deferred to the first night of the month of Suffur,* of the year one hundred and twenty-two; when he appeared in open revolt in the centre of Kûfah, against the authority of Hashaum, and the house of Ommeyah. He found, notwithstanding, by break of day, although forty thousand of that perverse and inconstant people had pledged their faith to join him on this occasion, that no more than five hundred had thought it necessary to abide by their engagements. A.H.CXXII. A. D. 740.

In palliation of this their perfidious behaviour they alleged, it seems, a prohibition on the part of Zaid, against attaching to the names of Abû Bukker, and Omar, those terms of malediction usually pronounced by the party, as the test perhaps of their principles; while their Imaum might possibly have considered those two respectable Khalifs among the most faithful and illustrious of the prophet's companions : such at any rate was the pretext under which they conceived themselves warranted to recede from the most solemn engagements, and to disappear to their hiding places; thus adding to the recorded infamy of their city, another conspicuous instance of their treachery to the family of the prophet, in betraying the unfortunate representative of their Imaums, with his handful of followers, to combat against the fearful odds of established government, and superior force. By a strange perversion of fact and justice, they contrived however, to remove from themselves the stigma of desertion, and to affix it to the man whom

* January 5th, A. D. 740.

A.H.CXXII. A. D. 740. they had thus so shamefully abandoned; and by an inconsistency rather more extraordinary, the consent of posterity has continued, ever since, to attach to the brave men, who on this occasion generously scorned to desert their leader, the opprobrious epithet of Râphzy, or schismatic, in its harshest and most odious construction; the latter is, however, the term in general applied by the Sûnnihs to the adherents of Ally, while they distinguish those who elected Abû Bukker to his exclusion, by the appellation of Nissauby, elector; usurping for themselves, with the usual complacency of party spirit, the character of orthodoxy.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The destiny of Zaid did not continue long undetermined. Although in several attacks he succeeded in repulsing the troops of Yûssuf the son of Amrû, the Thâkefite, he received at last, in one of the conflicts which took place not far from the principal mosque of Kûfah, an arrow in the forehead, which dispatched him to the mercy seat of his creator. His son Yaheya, who was also engaged in the insurrection, effected his escape into Khorassaun, but was there seized and thrown into imprisonment by the vigilance of Nusser Seyaur.

A.H.CXXIII. A. D. 741. Although the citizens of Samarkand had so long since embraced the religion of their conquerors, the inhabitants of the Soghd, or adjacent territory of Sogdiana, were not yet quite reconciled to the yoke. And accordingly in the year one hundred and twenty-three, we find them engaged in an effort to recover their independence; but as they were speedily and successfully assailed by the arms of Nusser Seyaur, their former tributary condition was entailed upon them with confirmed force and rigour.

A.H.CXXIV. A. D. 742. On the death of Mahommed the son of Ally, and grandson of Abdullah Abbas, in the year one hundred and twenty-four, his son Ibrauhim succeeded to the honors and influence of his family; and solemnly invested the gallant and invincible Abû Mosslem, with the chief command of those who were about to assert in arms the long agitated claims of the house of Abbas. Of this celebrated leader, of whom we shall have much to say hereafter, our author briefly states, that he was born at a village in the neighbourhood of Isfahaun, in the last year of the first century of the Hidjerah.* Of his descent, like other heroes, a variety of opinions have prevailed. According to Hamzah of Isfahaun, he was a descendant of Hamzah the son of Aummaurah, who deduced his origin from Koderz the son of Kûshwaud, one of

* His original name is stated to have been Ibrauhim, with the subsequent appellative of Abû Ishak.

the most distinguished heroes of Ferdoussy's admired work, the Shahnâmah. In the war undertaken by the Persians against Tûraun, to avenge upon the sons of Afrasiaub the murder of Siauvesh, the alleged father of the great Cyrus, or Kây Khossrou, this Koderz is related to have chosen black for the uniform of his associates; and is further said to have never smiled but on the day of battle. Two circumstances here introduced to prove a remarkable coincidence between him and his descendant Abû Mosslem, who, as will be seen hereafter, selected the same sable livery in his insurrection for the house of Abbas; and who is, moreover, also said never to have smiled but amidst the horrors of blood and slaughter. Others again assert that Abû Mosslem was lineally sprung from the prudent and philosophic Bûzûrjemeher, the minister of the just Noushirvaun. And lastly, it is asserted that he was the child of one of the domestics of the family of Abbas, born, as we have already observed, at or near Isfahaun, although we know not how this is to be reconciled with his appellation of Abû Mosslem ul Merouzy, but educated from infancy to manhood at Kûfah. At the age of nineteen, being introduced to the representative of the house of Abbas, Mahommed the son of Ally, as will be seen hereafter, that person immediately distinguished in his countenance the index of future glory and renown, and gave him the name of Abdurraihman; with the further appellative of Abû Mosslem, under which he became so celebrated at a subsequent period.

A.H.CXXIV. A. D. 742.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

We now come to record the death of the Khalif Hashaum, the fourth of the sons of Abdulmêlek, who succeeded to the throne of their father. He expired, it would appear, at the small town of Ressaufah, in the neighbourhood of Seffeine, of a quinsy, or inflammation of the throat, in the year one hundred and twenty-five, and after a reign of nineteen years and nine months; which, if true, fixes his death in the early part of the second Jummaudy.* The historian has assigned to him the character of a parsimonious and avaricious prince, whose liberal propensities appear to have been entirely absorbed in one pursuit, that of collecting horses; of which not less than four thousand are stated to have been fed in his stables. He was served in the office of Vizîr by a slave, of the name of Aulem, belonging to his brother Sauid, the son of Abdulmêlek.

A.H.CXXV. A. D. 743.

* April, A. D. 743.

CHAP. XVI.

A.H.CXXV. A. D. 743.

AT the period of his predecessor's death, Walid the son of Yezzeid was absent in some part of the territory contiguous to the river Jordan. But returning to Damascus, on intelligence of that event, he appears to have succeeded without opposition, to the throne of the Khalifs. This prince is described to have combined in his character a disposition equally remarkable for its mildness and extensive liberality, and for the most licentious habits of debauchery and depravity.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

WALID IId. eleventh of the house of Ommeyah.

Having confirmed Merwaun in the government of Armenia and Azerbayjân, and Yûssuf the son of Amrû in that of the two provinces of Irâk, he continued the lieutenancy of Khorassaun to Nusser Seyaur; with instructions to set his prisoner Yaheya the son of Zaid at large, with permission to dispose of himself as he thought best, and to treat him otherwise with kindness and liberality. Yaheya was accordingly dismissed by the governor of Khorassaun, with a rich dress of honor; and a present of two thousand dirhems to defray the expences of his journey into Irâk; where he was desired to take up his residence until he received the Khalif's further commands. This unfortunate man had proceeded as far as the city of Neyshapûr, accompanied by about nine hundred of his friends, and had halted within a Persian league of that place, when he was attacked by Amrû the son of Zeraurah at the head of two thousand men, affecting to believe that he had made his escape from imprisonment, without the concurrence of those who had him in custody. Yaheya and his attendants defended themselves, however, with great gallantry, and succeeded in repulsing their assailants: but upon this, conceiving that it would be unsafe to proceed into Irâk, he prevailed upon his friends to return with him into Khorassaun, with the design of taking up his abode at Kûzgaunan. And as his conduct had possibly been misrepresented to Nusser Seyaur, who had in fact originally disapproved of his enlargement, that chief expressed

Tarikh Tebry.

himself violently displeased at these circumstances, and marched in person to defeat his further views.. At Kûzgaunan, which appears to be some place in the neighbourhood of Bâlkh, Yaheya, whose little party had, by this time, accumulated to seven hundred men, was overtaken by a detachment of the troops of Nusser Seyaur, under Selem the son of Ahour the Mauzenite, by whom, together with the whole of his followers, after a gallant resistance, he was put to death: his body, with that of his brother Abûl Fuzzul, being suspended to a gibbet near Kûzgaunan; in which situation it remained until Abû Mosslem appeared, to punish the oppressions of the house of Ommeyah. A.H.CXXV. A. D. 743. Tarikh Tebry.

In the year one hundred and twenty-six, disgusted with his entire devotion to his pleasures, the higher orders of his subjects, and some of the principal individuals of the house of Ommeyah, conspired against Walid, in favor of his couzin german, Yezzeid the son of Walid the first. And the latter, embracing an opportunity, while the Khalif with his whole court was absent from Damascus to avoid the horrors of the plague, in the latter month of Jummaudy,* openly unmasked his design. Walid returned without delay to his capital, on this intelligence, to give battle to the insurgents; was defeated and driven for shelter to his palace; and thither being pursued by his enemies, they immediately scaled the terraces, and discovering the unhappy prince in his concealment, struck off his head, and conveyed it to the presence of the successful usurper. This, at the age of thirty-six, was the fate of Walid the second, after a reign of one year and nine months; according to another historian,† after a reign of one year and two months, at the age of forty-three. A.H.CXXVI. A. D. 744. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Yezzeid, the third of that name, the son of the first Walid, and twelfth Khalif of the house of Ommeyah, succeeded without great difficulty, in securing the submission of the nobles, and other principal citizens within the reach of his capital; but several great lords of the empire, and particularly Merwaun the son of Mahommed, whom destiny had ordained to be the last Khalif of this race, contumaciously persevered in withholding their allegiance; and too successfully encouraged and promoted the seditious spirit which began to appear in the different provinces. With an authority so imperfectly and precariously established, Yezzeid proceeded, Yezzeid IIId. twelfth of the house of Ommeyah.

* March or April, A. D. 744. † Tarikh Tebry.

A.H.CXXVI. A. D. 744. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

nevertheless, to curtail the pay of his army; from which, and other plans of economy, he acquired the appellative of Naukess, the mutilator. In these measures his example was too faithfully imitated, in his government of Khorassaun, by Nusser Seyaur; which produced in the people of that province such a disgust towards his person and administration, that they were easily led to transfer their obedience to Khozzeia the Kermaunian, one of the sons or descendants of Mohilleb: betwixt whom and Nusser Seyaur, hostilities soon afterwards broke out, which continued to rage, as will presently be seen, until the rights of the house of Abbas were proclaimed by Abû Mosslem, from among the ruins of Merû,* About the same time, Bukker the son of Hâman, one of the agents of that family, was successfully employed in Khorassaun in obtaining a promise of allegiance for the representative of the house of Abbas; and returned with most liberal contributions to Ibrauhim the designated Imaum, the son of Mahommed, for whose service they had been collected among his adherents.

From the impending misfortunes Yezzeid was, however, rescued by the plague; of which, at the age of thirty-seven, he died on the twentieth of Zilhudje,† of this year, after a short-lived sovereignty of six months. If the advantage of an illustrious birth had been alone sufficient to confer renown, or to secure his power, this prince would have been singularly fortunate, since his historians have assigned to him the following exalted pedigree. His mother Mah-afreid, was the daughter of Feyrouz the son of Yezdejird, the last monarch of the ancient Persian dinasties; the mother of Feyrouz was the daughter of Sheirûiah, by a daughter of the Greek emperor of Constantinople; and lastly, the mother of Sheirûiah was the daughter of the Khaugan, or great Kaun of Tataria: so that he had good grounds for boasting, as he frequently did, that "he was the son of Noushirvân, the "father of Merwaun, the grandson of Cæsar, and the same in the fourth "degree of the Khâgan."

Ibrauhim XIIIth. of the house of Ommeyah.

Ibrauhim the son of Walid the first, thirteenth Khalif of the house of Ommeyah. On the death of Yezzeid, the people of Damascus, in conformity with an arrangement made by will, were easily prevailed upon to pledge their allegiance to his brother Ibrauhim: but, from the alarm which was already spread of the approach of Merwaun, who had never

* Tarikh gûzeidah. † October 3rd, A. D. 744.

disguised his dissatisfaction at the murder of Walid the second, and who was known to have quitted Armenia at the head of a very powerful army on his way into Syria, in the early part of one hundred and twenty-seven, the affairs of this prince were never likely to be very progressive. A.H.CXXVII. A. D. 744. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

On intelligence of the accession of Ibrauhim, Merwaun appears to have been finally determined in his resolution. Committing the government of Armenia and Azerbayjaun to one of his followers, Aussem the son of Yezzeid ul Hullauly, he proceeded on his march towards Damascus; and he seems to have reached Hamess without experiencing any particular opposition. The garrison of that place ventured, however, to give him battle; but finally coming to an accommodation, they agreed to transfer their allegiance to him. Merwaun now continued to advance, and having totally defeated the troops of Syria, under Seleim the son of the Khalif Hashaum, he appeared without further opposition before the gates of the capital. Tarikh Tebry:

According to some authorities, Ibrâhim was engaged in person in this last conflict; and having fled in consternation to Damascus, there caused the two sons of Walid the second, Hukkem and Othmân, who had long languished in imprisonment, to be put to death. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Whatever might have been the object of this unnecessary piece of cruelty, Ibrauhim seems to have relinquished all thoughts of resistance against the invader of his rights. Immediately on his arrival before Damascus, he surrendered his person and authority into the hands of Merwaun; to whom he made no difficulty to pledge his allegiance. What became of him afterwards is not clearly explained. According to the author of the Tarikh gûzeidah, he perished by the hand of Hejauje the son of Abdulazziz. Others affirm, that he survived a short time, after claiming the protection of Merwaun; but most agree that he did not outlive his thirty-sixth year, having exercised a short and precarious sovereignty of something less than three months. Tarikh Tebry.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

MERWAUN the second, surnamed Ul Hummaur, the son of Mahommed, and grandson of Merwaun the first; the fourteenth and *last* Khalif of the house of Ommeyah. Merwaun took possession of Damascus in the latter part of the month of Suffur, of the year one hundred and twenty-seven,* and was immediately recognized as their sovereign by the people of that place. But the whole empire teeming with insurrections, was now rapidly

MERWAUN IId. last Khalif of the house of Ommeyah.

* December, A. D. 744.

A.H.CXXVII. A.D. 744. verging towards that revolution, which dissolved the power, and almost extinguished every individual of the house of Ommeyah.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. At Kûfah, the principal citizens revolting against the authority of Abdullah the son of Omar Abdulazziz, the governor of Irâk who resided at this time at Heirah on the Euphrates, released from his prison Abdullah the son of Mauweiah, a descendant of Jauffer Teyaur; to whom they pledged their allegiance as the rightful successor to the throne of the Khalifs. Abdullah was soon at the head of a considerable force, with which he advanced towards Heirah; but being met and defeated by the grandson of Abdullazziz, he was compelled to return, with some precipitation, to Kûfah. From thence, however, he withdrew with a considerable body of the inhabitants, first to Medâein, and ultimately to Hulwaun; of which, having made himself master, he further extended his power through that part of Persian Irâk to the city of Isfahaun, on one side, and Râï on the other. An insurrection which took place during the same year, among the inhabitants of Hems, or Hamess, and some other cities in Syria, being more within his controul, was however suppressed, without great difficulty, by the personal exertions of Merwaun, and of the detachments which he emyloyed to enforce obedience.

Tarikh Tebry. His protracted residence, and distinguished services in Azerbayjân and Armenia, might have been expected to secure, in those provinces at least, an attachment to the government of Merwaun. They became, nevertheless, at a very early period, the scene of sedition, and revolt to a very inveterate degree. A schismatic of the name of Mûssaufer ben Kesheir, a native of Beylekân, raising the standard of insurrection at Ardebeil, and being there joined by the greater part of the inhabitants, proceeded to the attack of the place of his nativity; which was then the residence of Aussem ul Hullauly, the lieutenant of Merwaun. The town being escaladed by the insurgents, the Khalif's lieutenant was compelled to fly towards Berdia, where he remained to assemble the troops of the two provinces. In his camp near that place, he was, however, surprised soon afterwards by Mûssaufer and his followers, now become extremely numerous and formidable, himself killed, with many of his associates, and the whole of his troops dispersed. The insurgents returned to Beylekaun loaded with booty, and not a little encouraged by this continued train of success. To avenge the injury and re-establish his insulted authority, Merwaun selected Abdulmêlek

the son of Mosslem, one of his captains whose father had been destroyed by the insurgents. This commander accordingly entering Armenia with a considerable force, proved, however, not more fortunate than his predecessor. Between Berdia and a town called Werban, he was also attacked, and killed by the insurgents. Nevertheless, his brother who succeeded to the command, contrived, under various disadvantages, to protract the war in this country, until the insurrection in Khorassaun, under the auspices of Abû Mosslem, had brought the power of the Benni Ommeyah to the verge of dissolution.

A.H.CXXVII. A D.745. Tarikh Tebry.

Ever since the reign of Hashaum the son of Abdulmêlek, the government of Khorassaun had been continued by the succeeding Khalifs, without interruption, to Nusser Seyaur; and his authority was confirmed to him afresh, on the accession of Merwaun. Nusser Seyaur was a native of Bassorah, but unfortunately for himself, and the race for whom he governed, cherished an unwarrantable prejudice against all who were not of his own tribe; a prejudice which he betrayed in several acts of severity towards those of other tribes who served under his government. Disgusted by a behaviour at once so illiberal and impolitic, the chiefs of these latter entered, at length, into an association for the redress of their grievances, with a couzin german, and not a son, of the celebrated Mohilleb, whose children have already occupied so distinguished a share in the pages of this narrative. The name of this person was Khozzeia the son of Eissa, entitled the Kermaunian, from the country of his birth; an appellation by which he will be hereafter more generally recognized. Bearing an unbounded influence with his tribe, that of the Benni Ezd, he appeared to the malcontents, of all others, the best qualified to vindicate their wrongs; and to him they bitterly complained of the severities which they had been compelled to suffer, from the illiberal partiality of Nusser. The Kermaunian recommended for the present, that they would return peaceably to their habitations, and that he would try the effect of expostulation with their obnoxious governor. He accordingly repaired at an early opportunity to the presence of Nusser Seyaur, and remonstrated with him, in very severe terms, on that part of his conduct, by which he had given such general dissatisfaction; at the same time apologizing for the language, in which he was compelled to address him, by his apprehensions of the mischief which might possibly arise, should a spirit of mutiny break out among their countrymen. Without

A.H.CXXVII. A. D. 745. Tarikh Tebry.

condescending to notice the subject of his remonstrance, Nusser haughtily demanded, in reply, who he was, that he should presume to speak to him in such intemperate language? And immediately ordered him to prison, to ruminate on the unguarded freedom with which he had ventured to disclose himself.

This violent measure produced an immediate and serious agitation among the discontented tribes; and it was determined that some expedient should be adopted without delay, for the enlargement of their chief. But as matters were, perhaps, not yet ripe for open revolt, they contrived by night to open a private passage to the prison of the Kermaunian; through which, with considerable difficulty, and, as he is said to have been a man of extraordinary size, or great corpulence, at the hazard of suffocation, succeeded in forcing him once more to the light of day; and setting him immediately on horseback, conveyed him to a place of safety, under the protection of his adherents. Before he had been apprized of his escape, Nusser Seyaur, on cooler reflection conceiving perhaps, that in a moment of irritation he might have been led to indulge in a greater degree of resentment than the occasion could justify, dispatched the captain of his guards, Selem ul Mauzeny, the day following to salute the Kermaunian, and to assure him, in his name, that he was in no respect disposed to do him the smallest injury; but that provoked by some expressions which had dropped from him in their late conference, he had felt himself unavoidably offended. However, that he might now venture to his presence, as he was invited to do, with an assurance on his part of perfect indemnity. With this message, the Mauzenite repaired to the Kermaunian, whom he found at large; and to whom he repeated what he was authorized to communicate on the part of the governor of Khorassaun. Although there appears to have been nothing particularly offensive in the nature of this communication, there was some circumstance in the demeanor of the messenger, which induced the Kermaunian to observe, that if he had not been aware of his ignorance, the occasion would perhaps justify him in teaching him a lesson of respect. To which, when the Mauzenite replied by disclaiming with an oath, any power or authority in the Kermaunian which entitled him to any thing that was submissive on his part, the latter added, that if he were not under the protection of his roof, and of the laws of hospitality, he could easily convince him of the situation in which he stood. "Go," said he,

"thou adversary of the true God, return to thy master," that Lûg˙zadah,* A.H.CXXVII.
"and tell him, in answer to his message, whatever suits thine own discre- A. D. 745.
"tion; whatever thy observation may have taught thee: for with me, Tarikh
"neither thyself nor thy master, are any longer of the smallest importance." Tebry.
Selem hastened accordingly to describe to his employer the circumstances of his unwelcome reception; but when desired to be the bearer of a second message, he begged to decline the office; not, as he alleged, from a sentiment of fear, but from an apprehension, that if constrained again to be witness to language so derogating to the honor of his general, it might be more than he should be able to submit to; and that he might thus be irritated to assail the person of this audacious rebel in his own presence-chamber. The task was accordingly assigned to another of Nusser Seyaur's captains, Essmut the son of Abdullah, one of the most distinguished soldiers in Khorassaun.

But as this, and several other messages which passed on the occasion, seem to have had no other tendency than to aggravate the dispute, the detail may be easily omitted, without injury to the narrative. We shall therefore come at once to the last attempt made on the part of Nusser Seyaur, to avert or protract the necessity of committing himself to a state of absolute hostility with the malcontents. The Benni Temeim, the most powerful of the Arabian tribes attached to his person and government, became now clamorous against any further expectation of arrangement with that dog of a Kermaunian; and urged their general, with some degree of importunity, to secure him, before his army should become formidable, and his power more efficient. In the midst of these clamours, Nusser was addressed by a couzin german of his own, Aukkail the son of Mûakkil, who cautioned him, by the most serious considerations, to beware of being influenced by the importunities, or the counsels of these violent men; lest by a premature contest with the discontented faction, he should bring dishonor upon himself, and the most serious calamities upon his family; independent of the difficulties which he would accumulate upon his sovereign, by thus provoking the spirit of insurrection already too alarmingly excited in other parts of the empire, with a tendency too manifestly

* On the precise meaning of these terms which refer to the *offspring* of *something base*, the author has not been able to decide.

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directed to transfer the monarchy into other hands. On these considerations, he therefore intreated, whatever he might resolve upon, that he would not commit himself by any measure of rash, or intemperate violence. To the prudence of these suggestions, Nusser Seyaur very readily assented; and he desired that his relative would go to the Kermaunian, and try whether he might not yet be brought to listen to the voice of reason, and moderation.

For this purpose, Aukkail procured a final interview with the Kermaunian; who was now sufficiently protected from injury by a guard of chosen horse, to the number of seven hundred, cased, as our author informs us in a preceding passage, to the eyes in steel. Aukkail proceeded, however, undismayed to open the subject of his visit, urging the Kermaunian, in a few words, to exert that influence which he possessed as the chief of a powerful tribe, in the support of the legal authority; and to discard those extravagant views of ambition, into which he appeared to have been lately betrayed, before matters should be carried to that extremity which threatened the country with such alarming and dangerous consequences. To this the Kermaunian condescending to make no other reply, than by an insulting demand, if the person who had sent him was not that same Pesser-e-lûg, who had so frequently troubled him with his importunities on former occasions; Aukkail adjured him very solemnly against the application of any disrespectful epithets to a man, who, whatever might be his injuries, never made use of his name, otherwise than with applause. "And thou," exclaimed the Kermaunian, "let me advise thee to be "more sparing of thy words; as to thy employer," still alluding to him by the same contemptuous appellation, "his views, whatever they are, can "never be realized. Nevertheless, let him resign his government, and "retire to his private habitation, and possibly we may forbear to pursue "him any further; provided we may be allowed to proceed to the appoint-"ment of another person to govern in his stead, equally to the advantage of "all parties. If this be an alternative to which he does not chuse to accede, "let him supply himself to the utmost of his wishes, with treasure from "the revenues of the province, and make the best of his way to the pre-"sence of his master: and we shall be able to adjust our differences "independent of his controul. But if this be also an alternative, to which "he cannot prevail upon himself to accede, with me," concluded the Ker-

maunian, swearing a solemn oath, "there remains nothing for him but the "sword." "And yet," observed Aukkail, "if I may venture to propose "such an expedient, there appears to be still one remedy left, by which, "to reconcile all these discontents." "What may that be?" said the Kermaunian rather abruptly; "by a strict alliance," replied Aukkail, "to "convert all these animosities into a cordial and permanent friendship." "That is impossible," said the Kermaunian, "for he cannot consider him- "self on a par with me." "Dost thou then speak in terms so contemptu- "ous of a man of the race of Kennaunah," demanded Aukkail, "setting his "power and exalted rank out of the question?" "If he were a genuine Ken- "naunah," replied the Kermaunian, "the terms in which I should have "expressed myself, would have been very different." What if before "the day is at an end," demanded Aukkaill, "I undertake to pay thee "another visit? If thy communications should only be of the nature of "those which I have already heard from thee," said the Kermaunian, "it were "better thou shouldst not hazard the experiment. Noble Abû Ally," said Aukkail for the last time, "peradventure there is one circumstance "which seems not to have been included in thy calculations. May I "not be allowed to express an apprehension, that the contest in which "thou art about to engage, may prove fatal to thyself?" "I acknow- "ledge," replied the Kermaunian in the terms of an Arabic saying, "No "fear, no power, but what proceeds from my creator."

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Aukkail now returned to the presence of Nusser Seyaur, and told him without disguise, that his opponent was become too formidable in strength and importance to be longer temporized with; and that it behoved him to make use of his power while he had any to employ. Otherwise, in conformity with what had been proposed by the Kermaunian, he would seriously recommend to him, either to withdraw to the privacy of domestic retirement, that they might raise whom they thought proper to govern in his stead; or to take from the treasury of Khorassaun all he might require, and hasten to join Merwaun. He had therefore only to make his selection of these three alternatives. With equal scorn and indignation the latter were rejected by Nusser Seyaur, who ordered the captain of his guards, the already noticed Mosslem or Selem ul Mauzeny, to proceed immediately to attack this vile seafaring slave, (as he chose to designate him) and avenge the insults offered to legitimate authority,

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by bringing him his head. The person of the Kermaunian was, however, by this time protected by a body of four thousand men; and the attempt of the guards of Nusser Seyaur to carry his orders into execution, led to the immediate commencement of hostilities, which, though transferred from the interior of the city of Merû, to a place without the walls called Heyaudet, where the contending parties reciprocally entrenched themselves, continued with undiminished inveteracy for the space of twelve months. During this period, Nusser Seyaur never ceased to solicit succours from Merwaun, to resist the formidable progress of the insurgent; to whose power and talents he did not fail to do ample justice in every communication. These accounts occasioned in Merwaun the deepest concern and uneasiness, for they were proofs too serious, and convincing, of the distracted state of every part of his government. His first design was to lead an army in person to restore his authority in Khorassaun; but when he had advanced, with these views, as far as Harran in Upper Mesopotamia, he was struck with an apprehension, that if he proceeded further, he should hazard the loss of Syria and Jezzeirah, with all the valuable possessions in that quarter; and he therefore determined to fix the seat of his government at Harran. Such in general were the circumstances of the empire, when Abû Mosslem availed himself of the troubles in Khorassaun, to prosecute his designs in favor of the house of Abbas.

According to the statements which we are now induced to lay before the reader, Abû Mosslem was, in the early part of life, a domestic, perhaps an emancipated slave, (for such probably may be the acceptation of *ghûlaum-e-serauje*, or *sevauje*,) whose original name was Abdurraihman; that of his father being Mosslem. He is, however, acknowledged to have been a youth of singular intelligence and sagacity, who had received into his mind a strong and early predilection in favor of the illustrious race of Hâshem. Being engaged in the service of certain of the Benni Adjil in Khorassaun, he embraced an opportunity, when about the age of nineteen, to accompany a party of the friends of the house of Abbas, who were proceeding on a pilgrimage to Mekkah; with some contributions which they were also employed to deliver to Mahommed the son of Ally, the grandson of Abdullah Abbas. On their arrival at Mekkah, they were constantly attended on their visits to that personage, by Abû Mosslem; who at length attracting the notice of the representative of the house of Abbas, the latter demanded one day, whether this domestic of theirs were bond or free. They replied

that certain individuals of their acquaintance, of the Benni Adjil, represented him generally as a slave, or Moula belonging to their family; but that they considered him at the same time in a state of freedom. "I know not," said Mahommed, "what I am to understand from such an explanation; "but I can perceive in him a youth of singular intelligence, bearing in his "person very numerous indications of a glorious destiny. Possibly he may "prove one of those distinguished commanders, whom providence shall put "in motion to establish the power of my family. Illustrious Imaum, "are we then to expect," observed his visiters, "that such an event is at "last possible? for the power of the race of Ommeyah has continued to "rather a protracted period." "I heard my father declare," added Mahommed the son of Ally, "that when the last year of the century, (the "sani-e-hummaur) should arrive, our prayers would be accepted, and that "God Almighty would manifest the power of our house, and extinguish "that of the race of Ommeyah; that a black standard would be displayed "at Merû, and in different parts of Khorassaun; and that our odious "oppressors would be slaughtered under every rock, and every stone where "they should fly for concealment. We are perfectly aware," observed the Hadjies, "that this is the hundredth year. Never has the hundredth "year elapsed in the history of any nation," continued the descendant of Abbas, "in which the affairs of that nation have not undergone some im- "portant revolution, or some dreadful derangement. That long looked "for, promised period is at length at hand; for know that you are now in "the hundredth year of the ascendancy of the Benni Ommeyah." It has been already observed that Abû Mosslem was born about the last year of the first century, and that his introduction to the representative of the house of Abbas on this occasion, took place when he was about the age of nineteen. In this case, reckoning from the accession of Mauweiah to the government of Damascus, on the death of Abû Obaidah in the eighteenth of the Hidjerah, the assertion of the descendant of Abbas will in point of fact be found to be tolerably correct; though the sovereign power did not absolutely devolve to the Benni Ommeyah, until many years afterwards; when the same Mauweiah succeeded to the Khelaufut on the abdication of Imaum Hussun.

Be this however as it may, Imaum Mahommed continued to repeat, that he looked upon the youthful Abû Mosslem as expressly raised to advance

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the claims of his family. He therefore charged them to keep their eyes upon him, and whenever he should take up arms, to aid him with all their resources; and to render the charge the more impressive, he intimated that this was probably the last year in which they would ever meet on this side the grave; since his ailings and infirmities gave him reason to apprehend that his dissolution was at no great distance. But when that event had taken place, it behoved them to consider that his claims devolved in the first instance to his son Ibrauhim, at this period residing in Khorassaun. If any thing should, however, occur to withdraw him from their expectations, there was his second son Ally, here unaccountably denominated Abdullah the son of Hareth, afterwards known by the title of Abul Abbas ul Seffauh; and in the last instance, to his third son Abû Jauffer; the same who was subsequently known, on his accession to the Khelaufut, by the appellation of Munsûr ul Douaunek, or more generally Ul Munsûr, the second Khalif of the house of Abbas.

On their return into Khorassaun, the chiefs of the party, in consequence of these intimations, conceived for Abû Mos-lem a degree of consideration very different from what he had been accustomed to experience. They concealed, however very carefully, all they had heard from the representative of the house of Abbas on the subject of this auspicious youth; although they frequently met to deliberate with him on the plan, and arrangements of the design which had been so long in agitation: Abû Mosslem, with the prudence of maturer years, continuing to check the impatience of his associates, until those circumstances should arise, when they might venture to disclose their views with a reasonable probability of success. He would however encourage them, with occasional assurances, that the period they so anxiously looked for, was at hand; and that so certainly as he considered himself to be the lord of the black standard, they might calculate upon his entire unwillingness to protract the manifestation, or execution of the enterprize, a moment beyond the favorable crisis, whenever it might present itself.

In this manner Abû Mosslem continued to operate in silence and obscurity, until the period at which hostilities broke out, as we have already had occasion to observe, between Nusser Seyaur and the Kermaunian; in which, he no sooner perceived that the superiority was on the side of the Kermaunian, than he determined to appear at the head of his followers.

Mahommed the son of Ally, of the race of Abbas, was no longer in existence. He had died so long back as the year one hundred and twenty-four, and had been succeeded in his rights by his son Ibrauhim; by whom the prosecution of the claims of his family was afresh confided to the discretion and talents of Abû Mosslem. AH.CXXVIII. A.D.745. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The latter proceeded now to publish, with less reserve, the claims of the race of Abbas to the honors of the Imaumut; and at least a thousand warriors had privately assembled near his person, when Nusser Seyaur became apprized of this fresh and dangerous combination against his authority: his attention was, however, so completely engaged in the contest with the Kermaunian, that he found it at present impossible to employ either force, or address, to oppose the designs of Abû Mosslem. His only resource then, was to convey to Merwaun information of the accumulating dangers which threatened to deprive him, of this fair and important portion of his dominions. To this receiving no kind of reply, he conceived it too evident a proof that the house of Ommeyah was already arrived on the verge of destruction. Still there was one quarter in which he thought a sense of common danger, and common interests, might yet secure some degree of attention to his claims of assistance. Yezzeid the son of Amrû ben Hobairah commanded at Wausset, as governor of Western Irâk under the authority of Merwaun. To him, therefore he next applied, representing, that while sufficiently embarrassed by his contest with the Kermaunian, another adversary had suddenly risen against him from the dregs* of society, not less devoid of every principle of religion, than contemptible for the obscurity of his origin; that he had, nevertheless, collected a number of adherents among the profligates of Khorassaun attached to the family of Abbas. He called upon Yezzeid to reflect seriously, that their fortunes were inseparably united; that they must stand or fall together; and he concluded by a solemn adjuration, that he would not make himself responsible for the loss of Khorassaun; an event which he had too many reasons to apprehend, unless he sent him immediate and effectual aid. The son of Hobairah gave himself, however, but little concern about the application of Tarikh Tebry.

† Sowaujan is the word in the original, for which we have not been able to discover an appropriate term. If it were Powaujan, the meaning would be sufficiently obvious.

A.H.CXXIX. A.D. 747. Tarikh Tebry.

Nusser Seyaur, absurdly avowing his resolution, while he could maintain himself in Irâk, not to have any thing to do with Khorassaun. An argument which has operated to the subversion of many a state, both before and since.

Finding that Nusser Seyaur was abandoned in these circumstances to struggle without support against treason and rebellion, Abû Mosslem no longer suppressed the manifestation of his ambitious views. He dispatched to inform the Kermaunian that he might now venture with confidence to set on foot whatever plans he had in contemplation, for that he was at last determined to espouse his cause. The force of the two chiefs was, accordingly, soon afterwards united; and the whole thus brought together to act in concert against Nusser Seyaur.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The appearance of Abû Mosslem in open revolt on this occasion, is fixed to the latter end of Ramzaun, of the year one hundred and twenty-nine; or rather to the evening when the new moon* of the following month of Shavaul, displayed her silver arc in the heavens, as a signal that the severities of the preceding fast were at an end.

Tarikh Tebry.

The uniform chosen by Abû Mosslem to distinguish his adherents, has been already adverted to. Different reasons have been assigned for that choice; and among others, it is said to have been adopted, to demonstrate the universal sorrow which prevailed, in consequence of the premature fate of Zaid the son of Zeyne-ul-aubbedein, and his son Yaheya, or John, as briefly noticed in a former page. But it is otherwise stated, as more consistent with truth, that Abû Mosslem being desirous of bringing about an entire change of system, he determined to assume for the badges and ensigns of his party, a colour different from that which had been adopted by the house of Ommeyah, which was green. With this view he directed one of his attendants to appear before him, clad in different colours alternately; until he at last presented himself arrayed in black, from head to foot; which Abû Mosslem immediately declared to produce the strongest impression of awe and solemnity; and he accordingly issued orders that all who espoused his cause, should take that colour for their clothes and standards. In consequence of this, the whole population of Nissa and Abawerd, Merû-ur-roud and Taulekan, four cities of Khorassaun which had by this time declared for Abû Mosslem, adopted, with universal enthusiasm, the sable uniform; which continued to

* June 14th, A. D. 747.

be borne ever afterwards as the symbol of the house of Abbas. About the same time, directions were dispatched by Abû Mosslem, to the inhabitants of Kûzgaunan, to take down from the gibbet, to which it had been hitherto suspended, the body of Yaheya the son of Zaid, and to give it the long forbidden rites of sepulture. And it was now that he commenced the career of vengeance by putting to death the advocates of the house of Ommeyah, wherever he could find them. A.H.CXXIX. A D. 747. Tarikh Tebry.

Alarmed to a considerable degree by the dangers with which he was surrounded on every side, Nusser Seyaur once more applied for succours to Merwaun, and to the chiefs who continued still attached to his government. Application was however in vain, for succours never came. He next endeavoured to excite suspicion between Abû Mosslem, and his ally the Kermaunian; and for this purpose he wrote to the latter, to beware of being too blindly imposed upon by the professions of Abû Mosslem, and his associates; for that there was nothing so foreign to *their* views as the advancement of *his*. For his own part, though an enemy, he confessed that he entertained some apprehensions of the danger to which he was thus unsuspectingly exposed; and he therefore proposed a private conference between themselves, in the precincts of the city of Merû; for the purpose of entering into a treaty of peace, and mutual support, in order to secure themselves against the designs, and to seize the person of Abû Mosslem. The Kermaunian promised, without hesitation, to comply with all he desired; but repairing directly to Abû Mosslem, he disclosed to him without disguise, the subject of the overtures which he had received from the enemy, and requested to know in what manner he would advise him to proceed. Abû Mosslem, demanded on his part, how he was disposed to act. "According to a plan which I have in contemplation," observed the Kermaunian, "I design to give him the meeting which he desires; and to "employ one of my people to fall upon him unexpectedly, and put him to "death. Nothing could be better conceived," was the reply of Abû Mosslem. Accompanied by an escort of about one hundred horse, the Kermaunian proceeded accordingly to the advanced posts of the enemy; and having furnished one of his followers with such instructions as he thought necessary for the execution of his design, he sent a messenger to

A.H.CXXIX. A. D. 747. Tarikh Tebry.

Nusser Seyaur, to invite him, according to appointment, to arrange the treaty of peace and reconciliation, which he was ready to carry into execution. Nusser Seyaur was, however, prepared to put in practice against the life of his antagonist a design exactly similar to that which had been concerted against his own. He hastened therefore out of Merû at the intimation, and attended by a slender escort, proceeded to the place of conference. We are told that the Kermaunian was in extraordinary spirits on the occasion; in fact, that he was inebriated; which being perceived by Nusser Seyaur, he turned to Hâreth the son of Shorreiah, one of his dependents, whom he had previously instructed for the purpose, and gave him the signal. Hâreth immediately assailed the Kermaunian, and transfixing him with his lance below the short ribs, before he could put himself on his guard, killed him on the spot.

Hostilities were now renewed with aggravated animosity, between Abû Mosslem and Nusser Seyaur. Whilst the Kermaunian appears to have left a son of the name of Ally, perfectly disposed to take ample vengeance on the murderers of his father; and who, on the death of Temeim the son of Nusser, called upon that chief to contemplate the chastizement which, at the proper period, should without fail be inflicted on himself. The day on which this happened proved indeed entirely fatal to the prospects of Nusser Seyaur. He was himself wounded; and his troops, defeated with great slaughter, fled in dismay before the superior prowess, and better destiny of Abû Mosslem. From henceforward the power of the latter rapidly advanced, while that of his adversaries as rapidly declined. The fame of his actions, not less perhaps than the examples of his vengeance, implanted terror in every heart; and his name was announced from the pulpits, as the most excellent general, the protector of the family of the prophet.

The people of Khorassaun were, however, still divided into separate interests; some of the cities continuing to recite the Khotbah in the name of Merwaun; while others declared as publicly for the authority of Abû Mosslem: which did not fail to produce the bitterest animosities. In the mean time the war continued to be prosecuted on both sides with unabated fury, and inveteracy; each party accompanying hostility with invective, reproach, and the bitterest malediction. But the fortune of Abû Mosslem ultimately prevailing throughout the province, the inhabitants became at

last universally disposed in favor of that invincible chief, and with their submission placed at his command the entire revenues of the country. A.H.CXXIX. A. D. 747.

It has been already noticed that a considerable part of Irâk Ajem, and Pharss, to the boundaries of Râi and Damaghaun, had soon after the accession of Merwaun, been wrested from his authority by Abdullah, one of the descendants of Jauffer Teyaur; or rather by the activity of one of the chiefs who had been induced to join his standard. Abdullah fixed his residence it seems at Istakhaur, the ancient Persepolis; no small number of the illustrious race of Haushem, and of others of every rank and description, hastening to that place to enrol themselves in his service. However, about this time, the troops of Yezzeid the son of Amrû Hobairah, the governor of Irâk on the part of Merwaun, advancing against Abdullah in two directions, he was finally defeated; and together with his two brothers, Hussun and Zaid, fled for protection into Khorassaun: in the belief that the insurrection in that province had been promoted by Abû Mosslem, in favor of the family of the prophet. Nevertheless, when the fugitive reached Herât, he was detained by the lieutenant of Abû Mosslem, who commanded in that city, until he should receive the instructions of his principal. The messenger returned with orders from Abû Mosslem that Abdullah should be put to death, and his brothers spared. He was accordingly smothered in his bed, and buried in one of the suburbs of Herât; in the place since known by the name of the sepulchre or mausoleum of the Seyuds. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

A series of disasters and defeat had by this time convinced the unfortunate Nusser Seyaur that he was no longer capable of contending with his invincible rival in the field of battle; and he therefore shut himself up in his palace, within the city of Merû.*

In that place it would appear that he was soon afterwards joined by Ally the Kermaunian, who on some occasion of disgust with Abû Mosslem, thought fit to go over to the enemy. Nevertheless, on receiving a letter from Sûliman Kesheiry taxing him with his total disregard of every principle of sacred revenge, in associating with his father's murderer, he became again hostile to Nusser Seyaur: and seducing the greater part of the tribe of Rebbeia to unite in his views, extended the disaffection which

* Tarikh Tebry.

A.H.CXXIX. A. D. 747. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

already prevailed against the government of Nusser, to a degree which threatened his immediate ruin, in the very bosom of his capital. The tribe of Mûnzer continued however still unshaken in their fidelity. In these circumstances, Abû Mosslem received both from Nusser Seyaur, and the son of the Kermaunian respectively the most pressing solicitations for support; to which he replied by a declaration, that he should be governed in his proceedings, by the resolution of the chiefs of the confederacy, of which he was at the head; at the same time he privately intimated to the adherents of the house of Abbas, that they should favor the views of the Kermaunian. At a conference which was held on the occasion, Sûliman Kesheiry accordingly pronouncing, that Khozzeia had been the victim of treachery, and that it became a duty to aid his son, the opinion was adopted by all the leaders of the insurrection; and the messengers of Nusser Seyaur, and his opponent, were immediately sent back with impressions extremely different upon their minds.

Having secured the support of Abû Mosslem, the Kermaunian determined on an attempt to make himself master of the city of Merû, and for that purpose again applied for assistance to his ally. He was however told in answer, that as yet there could be no reliance on his professions; and that it behoved him therefore to hazard at least one conflict with the troops of Nusser Seyaur, in order to form some opinion of the degree of confidence which was to be placed in his sincerity. Thus brought to the test, Ally, or as he is usually designated, the son of the Kermaunian, immediately proceeded against Merû; of which, after defeating Nusser Seyaur in the field of battle, he ultimately succeeded in taking possession. Abû Mosslem, on the intelligence, hastened from Makhâu, which at this period appears to have been his head quarters, and drew towards the capital, into which he was triumphantly received by the son of the Kermaunian; who, together with the whole of the tribe of Rebbeia, became now united under the victorious standard of Abû Mosslem, whose address on this, and other occasions, was, perhaps, not inferior to his good fortune. These events produced in the situation of the unhappy Nusser Seyaur the last degree of distress and despondence; and he had conceived the design of throwing himself on the mercy, and submitting to the authority of his more fortunate antagonist. But in this he was frustrated by the adverse

arrangements of an over-ruling destiny, not to be appeased without his utter demolition and death. A.H.CXXIX. A. D. 747.

Tarikh Tebry.

Abû Mosslem, becoming anxious to secure the person of an adversary whom contingencies might yet render formidable to his authority, employed four of his followers, on whose zeal and discretion he thought he could rely, to convey a respectful message to Nusser Seyaur; inviting him to his presence, on the pretext that he had received a letter from Ibrauhim, the representative of the house of Abbas, the contents of which he was desirous of communicating to him; and assuring him that he might venture to come without the smallest apprehension of injury, or personal danger. These men repaired accordingly to the abode of this once haughty chieftain, to whom they communicated the invitation of Abû Mosslem: but one of them, either by accident or design, repeating some words from the sacred text of the Korân, which sufficiently indicated the fate which awaited him, Nusser Seyaur readily agreed to accompany them; but as it happened to be the hour of prayer, he availed himself of the pretence to retire to one of his private apartments. In this apartment was a window communicating with the garden, and from thence, the night being fortunately very dark, he descended without delay; then calling for the groom of his stables to bring him a particular horse, which he described, he immediately mounted; and abandoning all his vast possessions, made the best of his way, accompanied by no more than a single attendant, towards the city of Neyshapûr.

The messengers of Abû Mosslem had continued for some time to expect the return of their victim, before they discovered that he was flown. They were then constrained to appear before their general to acccount for the failure of their mission. Having patiently listened to their statement, Abû Mosslem desired them to dismiss the subject of Nusser Seyaur, who was welcome to dispose of himself wherever he thought fit: but he acknowledged, as he said, some degree of curiosity to learn what it was that had led to the suspicion of their design. They declared that they were not apprized of any thing, further than the short text from the Korân, inadvertently quoted by their associate Laumir, just alluded to. "Even so," said Abû Mosslem, "his flight is now accounted for." And as a reward for this officious, and perhaps involuntary proof of humanity, the offender immediately lost his head.

A.H.CXXX. A. D 748. Tarikh Tebry.

The palace of the fugitive was now pillaged and burnt by Abû Mosslem, who had already given some proof of his stern and vindictive disposition. His agents were dispatched to all parts of Khorassaun, of the whole of which he was at length in possession without an opponent. The unhappy Nusser Seyaur had on the other hand continued his flight by way of Serkhess and Neyshapûr to the city of Râi, and from thence, according to some authorities,* he was conveyed in a litter to Sawah in Irâk Ajem; where the disorder by which he had been attacked on his journey, a dysentery, in a short time put a period to his life and misfortunes.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time, Abû Mosslem appears to have exercised an unsparing vengeance towards all who had been attached to the former government; not a creature of whom being suffered to live. Neither did the son of the Kermaunian experience a more favorable destiny; having been admitted for a few days to serve in the train of Abû Mosslem's followers, he was also dispatched to explore the regions of another world.

Receiving intelligence of the flight of Nusser Seyaur, and of the establishment of Abû Mosslem's power in Khorassaun, the Khalif Merwân, who had long since removed his court to Harran, not scrupling to consider Ibrauhim, the Imaum and representative of the house of Abbas, as the source of these misfortunes, dispatched instructions to his couzin Walid the son of Mauweiah, and grandson of Abdulmêlek, who was lieutenant of Damascus under his authority, to secure the person of Ibrauhim; and send him without delay, and in safe custody, to his presence. The obnoxious chief resided at this period at a small village called Hameimah, near Belka, on the borders of Palestine; the governor of which found no difficulty in seizing his person. He was securely conducted to Damascus, and from thence to Harran, where he was immediately imprisoned. After the confinement of a few days however, an order was issued by Merwaun, in the silence of the night, to put him to death; together with several other distinguished Koraish, suspected of being concerned in promoting his views. Ibrauhim is stated to have been dispatched by a rather singular p[illegible] of cruelty; he was suffocated by inclosing or tying up his head in [illegible]vaur the quick-lime. His brothers, the future Khalifs Abûl Abbas Seffa[illegible]esign Abû Jauffer ul Munsûr, happily escaped from Hameimah, and arrived

* Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

privately at Kûfah, where they were secreted by Abû Seknah Jellaul; both to screen them from the malevolence of their enemies, and to promote the designs which he had in view in favor of the descendants of Ally, some one of whom he meditated to establish on the throne of the Khalifs. For this latter purpose, he is said to have written alternately to the three following personages of that family, intreating their acceptance of the honors to which he had destined them to succeed. First to Imaum Jaufer-ul-Saudek, secondly to Abdullah the son of Hussun, and lastly to Omar the son of Zeyn-ul-aubbedeen, by each of whom his proposals were rejected: Imaum Jaufer, in particular, causing his letter to be burnt without a perusal. These circumstances, however, as will appear hereafter, must have occurred subsequent to the entrance into Kûfah of the generals of Abû Mosslem; when the latter chiefs, discovering the retreat of the Abbassides, obtained from them information of the death of their brother Ibraahim, and of his bequest of all his rights to Abûl Abbas; whose claims they now solemnly pledged themselves to support, even before Abû Seknah was apprized that his proposals had been rejected by the descendants of the prophet's daughter.

A.H.CXXX. A. D. 748. Kholausut-ul-akhbaur.

Kohtbah the son of Shebeb, of the lineage of Hârem Tâi, had at a former period arrived in Khorassaun, with the standard which he had been charged, by Ibraahim the Imaum, to present to Abû Mosslem; by whom he was subsequently appointed lieutenant general of the army which he destined for the reduction of the western provinces of Irâk.

Recurring to the period at which Abû Mosslem became apprized of the death of Nusser Seyaur, it appears that he was determined by the knowledge of that event, to hasten the march of the troops under Kohtbah; whom he now directed to advance towards Gûrgaun, or Jûrjaun, as it is sometimes still recently written, near the south eastern extremity of the Caspian; and from thence, according to circumstances, to prosecute his march to Rai, or to any other quarter, where he conceived it practicable to extend the circle of his victories.

Tarikh Tebry.

In concurrence with his instructions, Kohtbah, whom we find accompanied on this occasion, among other commanders,* by Khaled the son of

* Kh'aussut-ul-akh'baur.

A.H.CXXX. A. D. 748. Tarikh Tebry.

Barmek, proceeded first to Neyshapûr, of which he made himself master without resistance; and having there levied a considerable contribution which he divided among his followers, he advanced, as it would appear, towards the province of Jûrjan, by the circuitous route of Tûss, which, according to some authorities,* he carried sword in hand. In the neighbourhood of Jûrjan he found, however, a numerous body of troops entrenched, under one of the lieutenants of Yezzeid the son of Amrû Hobairah, and prepared to oppose him to the utmost extremity. But carrying with him the fortune of his principal, Kohtbah did not hesitate to attack the enemy in their intrenchments; and after a conflict which continued from sun rise to the decline of day, succeeded in obtaining a complete victory; Benaunah the commander of the enemy, with his son Hentelah, and ten thousand of their followers, perishing in the battle. The rest, whether Syrians or natives of Irâk, escaped by flight. This conflict is stated to have taken place in the month of Zilhudje.† However that may be, Kohtbah entered the city of Jûrjan soon afterwards, and putting to death, without mercy, all whom he could discover of the adherents of the house of Ommeyah, he remitted a part of the booty which fell into his hands to Abû Mosslem, and distributed the remainder as formerly among his soldiers.

Kohtbah now advanced without opposition to Damaghân and Râi; of both which places he transmitted a proportion of such contributions as he could levy to Abû Mosslem, accompanied with a request, that he might be permitted to prosecute his advantages without further delay. Referring to his original instructions, this was not a matter in which he could have expected to experience much difficulty; and the reply of Abû Mosslem accordingly no further restrained his proceedings, than to signify that his first object should be the reduction of Isfahaun. For that purpose, therefore, Kohtbah next directed his march for Kûm, where he appears to have met with no resistance; but on intelligence of his approach, a considerable force was assembled by Aumar the son of Zebbaurah, the governor of Isfahaun, with a determination to give him battle. Accordingly Kohtbah had no sooner shewn himself in the neighbourhood of Isfahaun, than the governor of that city issued from the town, at the head of his troops; and having, with every expression of contempt and insult towards himself, his

* Khulassut-al-Akhbaur. † August, A. D. 748. Ibidem.

principal, and the house of Abbas in general, rejected an appeal to the sections of the Korân, and in favor of the family of their prophet, he left to the lieutenant of Abû Mosslem no other alternative than an immediate attack, to which he directed his followers to proceed without further delay. The fortune of Abû Mosslem was, however, again triumphant. The governor of Isfahaun, with a great part of his troops, fell in this contest, which is stated to have taken place in the year one hundred and thirty-one;* and the city immediately submitted to the conqueror.

A.H.CXXXI. A D. 748. Tarikh Tebry.

Having continued at Isfahaun for the space of twenty days, Kohtbah then led his troops towards Nihawend; which had been secured against him by a certain Malek ben Mahommed ul Bahely, with some of the family of the unfortunate Nusser Seyaur. After he had for some time been closely invested within the walls, and had sustained considerable annoyance from the warlike machines of Kohtbah, which continued to play upon the town without intermission both night and day, the governor at last sent out to request a capitulation for himself, and the men of Syria who composed his garrison: to which Kohtbah consented without much difficulty. The garrison accordingly evacuated the place, and put themselves at the disposal of the besiegers, together with forty individuals of the family of Nusser Seyaur, who confided in the deceitful possibility that they should escape detection. The ministers of vengeance were however not to be eluded. These unhappy persons were all discovered, and in cold blood deliberately put to death by their remorseless persecutors. From thence Kohtbah proceeded to Hulwaun, which was precipitately abandoned on his approach by the officer who held it under the authority of the grandson of Hobairah; and who fled to his master to acquaint him with the danger, which, like a gathering tempest, seemed now ready to burst upon him, from the ridges of Persian Irâk.

Entering Hulwaun without opposition, Kohtbah, as usual, levied a contribution on the inhabitants for the supply of his troops, and prepared to march into the lower Irâk. In the mean time he employed a detachment of four thousand men, under Abdulmêlek the son of Yezzeid, called Abû Awun, one of his associates, to take possession of Sheherzûr, which was

* Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

A.H.CXXXI. A. D. 748. Tarikh Tebry.

still held for Yezzeid the son of Amrû, by a certain Abû Soffeyan ben Othman. With a force something superior in number, this commander took post at a station about two Persian leagues on that side of Sheherzûr, determined to oppose the troops under Abû Awun: But being killed with a considerable part of his followers, the remainder dispersed in all directions, and Abû Awun entered Sheherzûr without further resistance.

By this time the intelligence which he continued to receive of the progress of these formidable insurgents, had at last convinced the governor of Irâk that it behoved him in person to meet the danger, before it sought him in the repose of his capital; he therefore left Waussit at the head of his army, and approached Hulwaun; in the neighbourhood of which he now encamped, immediately surrounding his position with intrenchments. On this, instead of proceeding to attack the enemy, Kohtbah drew his troops from Hulwaun towards Khânekein, followed by the grandson of Hobairah; who decamped to Destgueirah, as if determined to attend his motions for an opportunity of attacking him to advantage. When this circumstance became known to Kohtbah, he thought fit to explain to his associates, that for the present it was necessary to abstain from molesting the grandson of Hobairah; and that he should be permitted to amuse himself by whatever movements he chose; unless indeed he placed himself in such a situation that an action could be no longer avoided: that they had come thus far, not in search of him, but of his master Merwaun. Having thus explained himself, Kohtbah proceeded further to inform them, that he required guides to conduct him to Kûfah, in such a manner as to avoid all communication with the high road, or usual route. On which a person of the tribe of Hamdan stepped forth, and told his general, that he would undertake to lead him to Kûfah in a way that he should be entirely withdrawn from the observation of the enemy. "Lead on," said Kohtbah, "and if heaven prosper, ten thousand dirhems shall be thy reward." The guide proceeded accordingly, and by an expeditious march, brought the army to a place called Baussa; from whence turning off to the right, he conducted them ultimately to the city, as it is here called, of Odeid, but which it would be at present difficult to recognize, unless it were perhaps Jedeidah on the Euphrates: this, from what follows, could not however be the place.

On intelligence of this devious and unexpected movement on the part of his adversary, the governor of Irâk demanded of his friends, what they now thought of the views of the invaders. "The designs of Kohtbah," said they, "are manifestly directed towards Kûfah; it is however the business of "our general to leave him for the present to his fortune, and proceed "straight into Khorassaun to attack the insurrection at its source." Declining however the hazard of a conflict with Abû Mosslem, whose force he did not calculate at less than one hundred thousand strong, Yezzeid the son of Amrû, determined on marching with all the celerity in his power towards Kûfah, in the expectation that he should yet be able to reach that place before his antagonist. Which resolution being carried into immediate effect, was the means of bringing the two armies, perhaps before they were aware of it, within a very short distance of each other.

A.H.CXXXI. A. D. 748. Tarikh Tebry.

In the mean time, having apparently crossed the Tigris without any remarkable occurrence, Kohtbah was arrived on the left bank of the Euphrates, and had already sent the greater part of his force to the other side, when some time after sun set, they were unexpectedly attacked by the troops of Yezzeid. Either attempting to cross to the assistance of his followers on the other side, or exerting himself to repulse the enemy on his own, the horse of Kohtbah stumbled in the obscurity and confusion of the night, and threw him into the river; where he was immediately drowned. Being however ignorant of the fate of their general, the troops of Kohtbah continued the action with unabated spirit and resolution, until they had driven off their assailants in complete disorder. They then sought their general, and having for some time explored the banks of the river in vain, at last discovered his horse, the drenched state of whose equipments too clearly bespoke the fate of his rider. His son Hussun was immediately chosen by the army to succeed him, and the march for Kûfah was resumed without further interruption. While the son of Amrû, with his vanquished and dispirited followers, withdrew towards Waussit, confiding the defence of Kûfah, that nest of sedition and inconsistency, to Abdurraihman the son of Beshir; but as this chief would have found it perhaps difficult to have opposed any effectual resistance to the enemy, at the head of a turbulent and disaffected population, he thought it best to abandon the place, and hasten to join his patron.

Hussun Kohtbah now approached Kûfah without further opposition, and in the month of Mohurrem, of the year one hundred and thirty-two,*

* Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur, September, A. D. 749.

A.H.CXXXII. A. D. 749. entered that city at the head of thirty thousand men. He was visited on his arrival by Abû Selmah Jauffer the son of Jellaul, entitled the minister or agent of the family of Mahommed, whom we have already had occasion to notice; and whom the son of Kohtbah appears to have received with singular respect and distinction. For this indeed he alleged the instructions of Abû Mosslem, by whom he expressly stated that he was directed to place himself under his authority; and he accordingly desired to know in what manner he wished him to conduct his future proceedings. The result of the interview, however, was a joint proclamation by which the inhabitants were invited to meet at the principal mosque; to which, not a person of any rank or respectability in the town or neighbourhood failed to repair at the time appointed; although the object for which they were assembled was, to the last, studiously withheld from the knowledge of the public.

Tarikh Tebry.

There was at the same period residing at Kûfah a considerable party attached to the interests of the race of Ally, and who entertained expectations accordingly, that the allegiance of the people would be required, as they conceived it due, for the descendants of Abû Tauleb. But when Abû Selmah, after performing the ordinary functions of the Imaumut, further prorogued the assembly, with a request that every individual among them who could put on armour, or mount a horse, would appear the next day in the same place, arrayed in black, for the purpose of swearing allegiance to that person who should be found most worthy of the government; the hopes of that illustrious and persecuted family were at once extinguished.

Be this however as it may, the mass of the people, more interested possibly about the ensuing spectacle, than about the justice or injustice of any particular claims, dispersed to their habitations, to provide themselves with the required uniform. So that the next morning, by break of day, the whole of Kûfah appeared completely shrouded in black; the people hastening to the mosque in prodigious crouds, in black turbans and vesture, with banners of the same colour displayed, and rending the sky with their acclamations. In due time, Abû Selmah, the reputed vezzeir of the family of Mahommed, a title which, perhaps to favor the deception, appears to have been confirmed to him by Abû Mosslem, entered the assembly clad in the like sable colours with the rest; and having, as before, taken possession of the pulpit, and dispatched the ordinary forms of divine worship, he

proceeded to demand of the listening multitude, if they were willing to concur in the act, which he was about to disclose to them. They desired him, without further prelude, to explain his views. On which he further proceeded to state, that Abû Mosslem, the captain general of the insurrection in favor of the descendants of Mahommed, had written to him to require that he should establish a prince of the race of Haushem, on the throne of the Khalifs—To redeem the world from the tyranny of the house of Ommeyah, and of the unprincipled and arrogant immolators of the children of the prophet—That he had sought through the mansions of the Beny Haushem, and had not been able to discover among them any one of a character more exalted, or of a disposition more pious than Ally the son of Mahommed the son of Ally, the son Abdullah Abbas; that he was at the same time, by priority of birth, the most excellent of the family of Abbas, and a man of unblemished morals. "This therefore," continued Abû Selmah, "is the person who challenges my approbation; let that approbation be confirmed by your choice." The assembly immediately declared, that his decision was entitled to their utmost applause; that it was manifestly under the direction of providence; that their prayers were offered to heaven, to continue to inspire him, with the same regard for the principles of truth and justice; and that their resolutions should be entirely governed by his. All which they confirmed by the usual solemn and tremendous acclamation, "God is most powerful!"

A messenger was now dispatched by Abû Selmah, to conduct this favored individual to the assembly; and he made his appearance soon afterwards, riding on a she camel, and arrayed in the same sable uniform that enveloped all around him. As it was Friday, and the day set apart by the precepts of his religion for the more solemn performance of the duties of divine worship, he desired, on entering the mosque, that the mûezzin would proclaim the hour of prayer in the usual strain. Then ascending the pulpit, after the customary exordium of praise to the supreme being, and of benediction to the spirit of his messenger, he proceeded, perhaps as a public and solemn attestation of the orthodoxy of his principles, to address his auditors in a discourse of some length; in which he expatiated in particular on the blessings of heaven, the torments of hell, and on the punishments and rewards which in a future state would be infallibly adjudged to the practice of vice and virtue in the present: he closed this discourse

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however with an assertion, that next to the prophet, and the [illegible] his immediate successors, their allegiance was to none so justly due as to himself. That subdued and harrassed, as they had been by their oppressors, he had been a sharer in all their sufferings, and like them, had been compelled to submit to usurpation and injustice; but that Omnipotence had at last, among the faithful adherents of his family, inspired a hero to their assaun, with the glorious resolution of avenging all their injuries, for all which he could not forbear to offer his tribute of humble praise to the Almighty ruler of the universe.

Abûl Abbas then quitted the pulpit, and advanced among the people, in order to pass with them through the prescribed and customary exercise of adoration; after which he seated himself in the Meksûrah, or more sacred part of the mosque; the barricade of which was in a short time broken down by the throng which eagerly pressed forward to pledge allegiance to him. But on this subject all that at present appears necessary to add, is, that the important scene in which the authority of the Khalifs was thus transferred to the house of Abbas, took place on Friday the twelfth of the first Rebbeia, of the year one hundred and thirty-two.*

At the same time, in opposition to what has appeared in a preceding page, it becomes necessary to remark, that the fate of Ibrahim, the elder representative of the house of Abbas, is here stated not to have been determined, until the inauguration on this occasion of his younger brother Ally, by the people of Kûfah, was announced to Merwaun, and produced from that prince an immediate order for his seizure and execution.

Be that however as it may, the proceedings at Kûfah seem at last to have roused Merwaun from that unaccountable apathy, in which he appears to have been so long absorbed in his new capital of Harran; but to which, from his acknowledged talents and personal valour, it is not probable that he would have yielded, unless from motives of extreme necessity and embarrassment. These were, however, again lost in the contemplation of new dangers equally formidable and alarming; and the Khalif finally determined on marching in person to defeat if possible in a general conflict, the aspiring views and vindictive plans of the Hâshemites. Yet before he took his final resolution, he is said to have required, in particular, the opinion of Issmauil the son of Abdullah ul Kesheiry, possibly one of those most zealously attached to his person. "Abû Mosslem," observed

* October 28th, A. D. 749.

the embarrassed monarch on the occasion, "is in possession of Khoras- A.H.CXXXII.
"saun, and Abdullah the son of Mahommed," alluding to Abûl Abbas, A D. 749.
"is master of Irak, where the inhabitants have publicly sworn allegiance Tarikh
"to him. In such circumstances, tell me, Issmauil, how I may best pro- Tebry.
"ceed in order to defeat the further designs of my adversaries? to enable
"me to deliver an opinion," replied Issmauil, "I must, in some degree,
"be previously apprized of the intentions of my sovereign. My design,"
said Merwaun, "is to withdraw in the first instance, with the whole of
"my followers, into the territory of the Greek emperor, (at this period Con-
"stantine Copronymus) through the Grecian Derbend; and to take up my
"abode in one of the cities belonging to that monarch, until I receive
"answers to the applications which I shall immediately transmit, to claim
"his assistance against the enemies of my person and authority. "Heaven
"avert," exclaimed Issmauil, "that in any case my sovereign should be
"induced to resign the destiny of his children, to the discretion, or arbitra-
"tion, of the advocates of an impious polytheism; and this, in defiance of
"the clearest conviction that were any misfortune to befal him, while
"in the Roman territory, his family would be ruined beyond redemption.
"My advice is, on the contrary, to cross the Euphrates immediately, and
"proceed into Syria; where his appearance may effectually deter the inha-
"bitants, of that part of the empire at least, from adopting any resolutions
"prejudicial to his government. And if, after all, events should there
"turn out contrary to our just hopes and expectations, it will be still in
"his power to retire into the African provinces; where the situation of
"my sovereign will be infinitely more desirable, and respectable, than
"among the impious Greeks." "Worthy Aba Hâshem," said Merwaun,
"thy observations I acknowledge to be consistent with the strictest pro-
"priety and truth; but I am resolved to try the issue of one conflict, at
"least, with the enemy. If the result should prove favorable, our embar-
"rassments will in a great measure be dispelled. If the reverse, Syria
"will yet remain before us." And on this he appears to have taken his
final resolution, to proceed in quest of his adversaries.

In the mean time, having received the allegiance of the men of Kûfah, and of the troops of Khorassaun lately arrived in that city, in the manner

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already related, Abûl Abbas, accompanied by his uncles, proceeded to take up his abode in the palace of government. On the day following he caused an encampment to be formed at a station called Hamaumâyein, and assigned the command of the army which was destined to encounter Merwaun, to one of those uncles, Abdullah the son of Ally. On the other hand, Merwaun, who was also advancing from Harran at the head of all the troops he could collect, at the station of Zaub, on the banks of a certain river either of that name, or the Euphrates, fell in with the army of the house of Abbas; and having there cast his fortune on the hazard of a battle, was totally defeated with equal shame and loss: great numbers of his troops perishing in their disorderly flight across the river. This fatal discomfiture is by some * ascribed to the following accident. Whilst the armies were standing prepared for battle, in the presence of each other, Merwaun unfortunately dismounted from his horse on some necessary occasion; and the animal, being incautiously left at large, immediately galloped off among the troops. The latter conceiving from the circumstance that their sovereign had perished, without waiting for the attack of their adversaries abandoned the field of battle, and dispersed in every direction: which furnished to the Arabians ground for the observation, that Merwaun lost his throne and empire, (to avail ourselves for once of the assistance of a foreign idiom) *pour un pôt de chambre.*† But whatever might have been the source of this irretrievable disgrace, the unhappy monarch, in a state of despair and destitution, wandered from the scene of consternation across the Euphrates, directing his course for the Syrian frontier. Possessing, however, little in his character to exempt him from the ordinary lot of the unfortunate, and the intelligence of his discomfiture having preceded the arrival of the forsaken fugitive, the gates of the Syrian cities in most instances were closed against him; and he was ultimately constrained to continue his flight through Palestine westward, to the confines of Egypt.

Successful beyond his expectations Abdullah of the house of Abbas proceeded to the neighbourhood of Mossûl; and having been joined at the expiration of a few days by his brothers Salah and Abdussummud, with a reinforcement of ten thousand men from Irâk, he entered that city apparently without resistance. Remaining there however no longer than was

* Tarikh gûzeidah. † Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

necessary to place it in a state of security, he left it in charge of one of the adherents of his family, and prosecuted his march to Merj, (possibly the Merj-ur-raumet of a former occasion); all the towns in the country voluntarily submitting on his approach, and adopting with little apparent reluctance the sable badge and livery of the triumphant party. Neither does he appear to have experienced any hostile interruption until he reached the walls of Damascus. That city, under the directions of Walid the son of Mauweiah, the cousin of the present, and the grandson of the former Merwaun, and in support of a family of whose power it had been the cradle, might perhaps have been expected to make a formidable defence. But being closely pressed by Abdullah and his brothers the inhabitants quarrelled among themselves, some declaring for the house of Abbas, and others adhering to their allegiance; and proceeded to actual hostilities; in which the governor Walid having however fallen, and the party of the house of Abbas consequently prevailing, the gates were immediately thrown open to the besiegers; who thus became masters of the fair metropolis of the Benni Ommeyah without further exertion. Having continued at Damascus for some short time, to restore peace and tranquillity to the inhabitants, Abdullah no longer delayed the pursuit of the fugitive Merwaun, in search of whom he now advanced with the greater part of his force into Palestine; but, in consequence of instructions from Abûl Abbas, he there resigned the further prosecution of this object to his brother Salah, with a detachment of ten thousand men; which was probably deemed sufficient to drive an abdicated monarch to perish in the burning sands of Africa.

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Aware of these arrangements the unfortunate Merwaun, in order as much as possible to retard the progress of his pursuers, appears to have stood his ground, as long as was necessary to consume the forage and lay waste the country; after which he accelerated his flight into Egypt, still spreading conflagration in his rear, until he reached Fostât, or the old town of Cairo. That place, however, affording but very slender means of defence, or security, he appears to have crossed to the western side of the Nile, and continued his flight along that river upwards. On the other hand Salah, but little retarded by the devastation which had been intended to impede his approach, pressed through the smoking towns and villages which

A.H.CXXXII. A. D. 750.

Tarikh Tebry.

seemed to mark the course of the unhappy monarch's flight, until he came to the city, or rather district of Feyûm; where he resigned the pursuit to Aumar the son of Issmauil the Jûrjanian, with an inferior detachment of four thousand horse. At this very period Merwaun is stated to have halted, for a short repose, at a place called Eyne-u-shums, here unequivocally represented as the ancient metropolis of Pharaoh.* The designation of "fountain of the sun," together with the remark with which it is accompanied, would lead us in speculation to search for the spot high up towards Thebes the city of Busiris, and the Heliopolis of antiquity. There are, however, other authors who fix this concluding scene indifferently at Buseir,† of which name there still appears a village, some miles above Cairo, on the western side of the Nile; and at Zaur-ul-sellaussil,‡ of which we can form no conjecture, unless it is the chain of hills which appears to stretch eastward of the same river, below Syene. But as this may be a matter of little importance, the author proceeds to describe, that his pursuers, arriving at night unexpectedly in the place where the distressed fugitive had taken up his precarious abode, happened to surprise perhaps his only domestic, while rubbing down his horse; and to extort from him, either through apprehension or inadvertency, the discovery that his master was lodged in a neighbouring Christian church; to the attack of which, Aumar accordingly conducted his soldiers without the smallest delay. By some means or other, however, Merwaun became apprized of his danger, although not in time to effect his escape; and having put on his armour, he rushed sword in hand against his assailants. Being immediately recognized by the Jûrjanian, the latter called out to his followers, in Persian, "to give it him," with all their force; on which Abdullah the son of Shahaub ul Mauzeny, one of the chiefs, transfixed him with his lance below the short ribs, and killed him on the spot. The horsemen now drew round, to contemplate the spectacle of fallen greatness; a slave belonging to the chief who had put, *perhaps a welcome*, period to his misfortunes, dismounted and struck off the head of Merwaun; which was as usual, ultimately conveyed to Abûl Abbas at Kûfah, to attest his final triumph over the destiny of his opponent.

* Were we not led by the former statement, in the opposite direction of Feyûm towards Upper Egypt, we should be disposed to lay the scene of the approaching catastrophe at Menûph, or Memphis, at the head of the Delta.

† Tarikh gûzeidah. ‡ Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Thus, in the month of Zilkaudah,* of the year of the Hidjerah one hundred and thirty-two, would appear to have perished the last Khalif of the house of Ommeyah, in the sixty-second year of his age, and after a most perplexing and turbulent reign of five years and eight or nine months. The æra of his death is further established in the odious epithet of *Kelb*,† traitor, false miscreant, bestowed upon him by the illiberal spirit of the triumphant party, the three consonants of which representing respectively the numerals one hundred, thirty, and two. The appellative of Azrak-ul hûr, or blue eyed, has also been sometimes applied to this unfortunate prince; and occasionally that of the Jaudian, from a schismatic, or sectary of the name of Jaud the son of Derhem, to whose doctrines he is said to have been attached. But the designation, by which he is become more generally known to succeeding times, is that of Ul Hummaur,‡ which in some of the dialects of Arabia is, it seems, intended to express the extremity, or close of a century; the power of the house of Ommeyah, which may be said to have attained to nearly that duration, concluding with the fall of Merwaun; although it is commonly supposed that he was entitled Hummaur-ul-Jezzeirah, the ass of Jezzeirah, or upper Mesopotamia, (of which he was for some time governor under the preceding Khalifs) from the persevering obstinacy, the pertinacity, which distinguished his earlier exploits in the field of battle. In the last place it becomes necessary to state, that if we calculate from the month of July of the year six hundred and sixty-one, when Imaum Hussun abdicated his authority in favor of Maauweiah, to the month of June of the year seven hundred and fifty of the Christian chronology, when Merwaun perished, in the manner just related, on the banks of the Nile, the sovereignty of the Ommeyades or race of Ommeyah, will appear to have subsisted for the exact period of eighty-nine years: though the power of this celebrated family in a subordi... traced to a much earlier period; namely to the Khelaufut of Omar, ...eiah, as we formerly observed, succeeded, on the death of Abû Obaidah, to the government of Damascus.

A H. CXXXII. A. D. 750. Tarikh Tebry.

We cannot perhaps conclude this volume more properly than with the following just and comprehensive reflections, which we derive from that well known abridgment of oriental history, the Tarikh gûzeidah.

* June 750. † Kholaussut-ul-akhbaar. ‡ Ibidim.

A.H. CXXXII. A. D. 750.

Tarikh Ghzeidah.

When in the last stage of his misfortunes it was asked of the unhappy Merwaun, to what circumstance of his government he principally ascribed the sad series of calamities which ultimately produced his ruin; he is said to have replied, that they had all arisen from the fatal contempt in which he had too long continued to hold the designs of his adversaries; from the blind presumption with which he had too haughtily relied on his own personal valour and military skill; but more particularly from his unpardonable neglect of the earnest and repeated solicitations of Soliman, to furnish him with the necessary reinforcements, before the enemy should have discovered the means of establishing his power. In the same sober strain the historian proceeds to remark, that it is worthy of our most serious reflection to consider, that the glory of the house of Ommeyah should have been extinguished, at a time when it was upheld by the talents and experience of such a monarch as Merwaun; by the unrivalled valour of his general Yezzeid the son of Amrû Hobairah; and by the consummate abilities of his minister Abdul Hameid the son of Yahaya, who was second to no statesman upon earth in sagacity and political skill. For had these things been otherwise, man, in his short-sighted and imperfect survey of events, would have presumed to ascribe the result to the ordinary operation of weak counsels, pusillanimity, and indolence. But God Almighty so ordained it, to afford us an awful, and striking example, that the fate of states and empires doth not depend upon the degrees of human capacity; but upon the inscrutable operations of his mysterious providence.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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